RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

CHRONICA

MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE.

EDITED

BY

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PREFACE.

PREFACE.

THE present volume contains that portion of the compilation of Roger of Hoveden which corresponds with the "Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi," commonly known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, down to the death of Henry. It is the first and larger half of the third division of the entire Chronicle, which I have described in the preface to the first volume as partly an abridgement, partly an expansion, of the "Gesta" or "Benedict." Contents of the present volume.

Although in preparation for editing the more ancient of the two books I had to inform myself thoroughly, by collating them both in print and in manuscript, of their structure and mutual relations; and again, in drawing up the preface to the first volume of the present work, I had to go over again with even greater minuteness the same ground, starting as it were from the opposite terminus, yet it was almost a necessity that, in the process of editing and seeing through the press that portion of Hoveden which had been most immediately the subject of those researches, some new light should be thrown upon the matter.

This has certainly been the case in many minute points, some few of which, being otherwise interesting, I shall return to by and by. But as to the main question, I am glad to say that in every case the result has been to confirm the theory of the structure and relation of the two Chronicles which I have already advanced in the prefaces. To attempt therefore to detail

The examination of the present volume confirms the views given in the preface to the first volume.

here the minutiæ of additional proof is unnecessary. Such a detail would consist of little more than a recapitulation of arguments which I have already twice stated, accompanied by a series of illustrations less obvious and less strong as proofs than those already given, and which being of the nature of circumstantial or confirmatory, and not direct evidence, might by themselves be regarded as weakening rather than strengthening the case. I have on all occasions called attention, in the notes to the present volume, to the particulars which have struck me as illustrating or elucidating the connexion of the books, and it is very possible that a careful student will be able to increase the number. But I think I may confidently say that there is no single instance to be adduced which does not fall in with the conclusions I have already drawn.

New edition of Simeon of Durham.

As regards the earlier portion of Hoveden's work, where the question of his use of the "Gesta" does not come in, I may be allowed to mention that, since the first volume was published, the Surtees Society have put forth a new edition of the Chronicle of Simeon of Durham, edited with great critical and antiquarian acuteness by Mr. Hodgson Hinde.[1] The value of this edition is not merely literary: the editor has brought to the work a remarkable local knowledge of Northumbria, and a thorough acquaintance with the historical productions of the Northumbrian school; and the result is a careful anatomy of the work on which the successive Durham historians founded their compilations, and which is finally reproduced in the first part of Roger of Hoveden. Mr. Hodgson Hinde's researches, although begun from a different starting point, and running into questions which did not immediately concern the task which I had set myself, have brought him to the same conclusions to which my own,

[1] Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea; vol. i., *Durham*, 1868.

mainly literary ones, had brought me. As these investigations were carried on by us quite independently, and even unknown to one another, and as the books were in fact passing through the press at the same time, I venture to think that the force of the evidence in the two cases is mutually strengthened, and that the questions which we have treated in common may henceforth be considered as settled.

How far it illustrates the work of Hoveden.

But there are other questions, touching the relation of the manuscripts of Hoveden with one another, and with the text of Savile's edition, which call for some short discussion in this place, and I am not sorry to have the opportunity of adding to what I said in the preface to the first volume such further illustrations on these points as the process of editing has brought out. Some little repetition on this head is, I fear, unavoidable.

Present volume closes with the death of Henry II.

I must premise that the division of the work which appears in the present volume is made to close with the death of Henry II. by a mere arbitrary arrangement, for the sake of convenience. It would have been impossible to get into a single volume the whole division that coincides with the "Gesta," and which runs on to the year 1192; and in default of this the best arrangement seemed to be to carry it no further than the end of the reign. This result does not accord either with the natural division arising from the structure of the work, which would have made 1177, 1180, or 1192 the limit,[1] nor with any of the divisions created by the almost accidental condition of particular manuscripts; but it is hoped that it will be found an advantage in the practical use of the book.

And I must repeat, once for all, that the text of the volume up to the close of 1180, and the Appendix of

[1] The original manuscript of Benedict ends in 1177; the first volume of Hoveden in 1180; and the second manuscript of Benedict in 1192.

Source of the text of this volume.

Laws which follows, is taken from the Royal Manuscript in the British Museum, Reg. 14. C. 2; and from the year 1181 onwards from the Laudian Manuscript 582, in the Bodleian Library. It is not necessary to reiterate the arguments which have convinced me that the Royal Manuscript is, as far as it goes, the most ancient and genuine version of Hoveden's compilation,[1] and that the Laudian Manuscript, for the portion that it contains, is even nearer to the original. The Royal Manuscript is, down to 1180, a fair copy of (probably) the original draught: the Laudian Manuscript partakes of both characters; it is primarily a fair copy, but gradually runs into the form of an original draught. Beginning in the same fair round hand, and with the same number of lines to the page, as the Royal Manuscript, as it goes on it changes penmanship more than once, and loses the uniformity of lineation. The changes of hand are however, all strictly contemporaneous; and there is no opening for the supposition, which indeed would be completely silenced by other evidence, that the portions written by the various scribes were additions to or alterations of the work as it was left by its compiler.[2]

1. The Royal MS.

2. The Laud MS.

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[1] See preface to vol. i. pp. lxxiv—lxxx.

[2] Some of these changes of hand occur at the end of the annals of the several years. The manuscript is written on a lavish scale, and at the end of each year there is a blank leaf, or part of one, left for additions. It will be found that several of Hoveden's additions to Benedict are on these extra leaves; see for example the agreement between archbishop Roger and Bishop Hugh, at p. 70, at the end of 1174; —the acts of the council of Lombers at p. 105, at the end of 1176:—both these occur in the Royal manuscript. In the Laud MS., in which more care has been given to begin each year at the head of a new leaf, the fact of the addition is even more obvious. The story of Eustace of Flay's servant, at p. 272, at the end of 1182, is one case; the epistle of Pharamella at p. 297, at the end of 1184, is another; the account of Alfonso, king of Portugal, at the end of 1187, at p. 333, is a third, and this is added in a different hand; and the description of the death of Henry II., with which the volume ends, is the fourth. But all these appear in all the manuscripts, and the change of hand does not coin-

The two MSS. early separated.

Although the similarity of hand and uniformity of page exhibited in the two manuscripts are evidence sufficient to prove that they were closely allied in origin and probably intended to be companion volumes, I believe they very early parted company. I have already stated that Walter of Coventry, who transcribed the latter of the two divisions, knew it alone as the work of Roger of Hoveden. The relation of Manuscript B. (Arundel 69),[1] which was described in the preface to the first volume, is not the same to both; a fact which looks in the same direction.

Relation of MS. Arundel 69 to the Royal and Laud MSS.

This beautiful volume is, down to the end of the Laws of Edward the Confessor, which form the second part of the legal Appendix to 1180, a very exact transcript of the Royal Manuscript. It agrees with it in every point except where an occasional mis-spelling of a common word has been corrected.[2] It follows even the very capricious spelling of the original in the case of proper names. But it does not with equal servility correspond with the Laudian Manuscript from 1181 downwards; and we are therefore obliged to suppose either that it may have been transcribed from a fairer copy of the second part, which may once have accompanied the Royal Manuscript,[3] or that it may have been

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cide with any of the omissions in MSS. B. and I. mentioned below. MS. B. must have been transcribed before 1213, and it contains all these. A reference to p. 195, note 3, will show that the Royal MS. was not considered by its writer beyond the possibility of being augmented with new matter.

[1] See vol. i., pref., p. lxxx.

[2] In one or two places in the Laws, MS. B. supplies a better reading than A.: but MS. A. is occasionally unintelligible, and the correction probably conjectural. See below, p. 218, note 3.

[3] It would appear from what is stated at p. 241, that MS. B. was written before 1213. Thus ;—at the end of the pedigree of the kings the original scribe of the Royal MS. has brought down the line to the reign of John. A later hand has added *annis xiiii.* to the word *regnavit* as the length of John's reign. Now as John reigned several years longer, this addition cannot have been made later than the fourteenth year of his reign, 1213, and the penmanship suits the date. But MS. B. does not contain the *annis xiiii.*:—therefore it was written before the addi-

The Arundel MS. perhaps a revision of the Laud.

a revision, by the faithful copyist of the Royal Manuscript, of the much rougher text of the Laudian. I am inclined to the second of these suppositions; first, because we have no evidence that a second volume of the Royal Manuscript ever existed, unless that second volume be the Laudian Manuscript; but more especially because of the character of the divergencies of MS. B. from the text of the latter.

Omissions of Letters in the Arundel MS.

These divergencies are of the exact character which would belong to a revision; slight improvements in the spelling of words, both common and proper. With these corrections it is a close copy of the original, except in one great point. It omits several letters of the Scottish series, touching the disputed election to the bishoprick of S. Andrews, and some of the astrological calculations and prophecies, which occupy so large a portion of the Chronicle for the year 1184. Two theories may be adduced to account for the omission of these documents: either they were left out as tedious and irrelevant, or they were, when the transcript was made, not yet introduced into the original volume. The former supposition is the only possible one, for the omitted letters occur, for the most part, not at the end of their respective years, where they might have been inserted later than the rest of the text on the liberal interleaves of the magnificent manuscript, but are imbedded in the text, which on both sides of them has been carefully copied by the later scribe.

These do not agree with the variations of Benedict.

The further question is now raised: seeing that the insertion and omission of letters is one of the great features in which Hoveden's Chronicle departs from that of Benedict, do the letters omitted in MS. B. correspond with those which are not found in the Manuscript of Benedict? It is not a very important question, for, as I have shown in the preface to the latter chro-

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tion was made, as it is a servile copy in all other respects: therefore before 1213; and the penmanship agrees with the date.

Comparison of the Arundel MS. with Benedict on the point of omission.

nicle,[1] the manuscript to which alone we are indebted for Benedict's History from the year 1177 downwards, was not transcribed until after Hoveden had chronicled the same period, and there may be some uncertainty as to which of the writers or copyists drew the letters from the other. But in point of fact there is no correspondence between MS. B. and the existing text of Benedict in this matter. The former omits the five letters of Clement III. given by Benedict and Hoveden under the year 1188,[2] and the letter of the monk Anselm of Worcester, with the long poem which it contains,[3] which is common to the two works. It contains the astrological consolation of Pharamella,[4] which is in Hoveden and not in Benedict; and it omits the epistle of William the astrologer in 1184,[5] the Scottish letters of 1182 and 1186,[6] and a short letter of pope Gregory VIII. in 1187,[7] which are given by Hoveden and are not in Benedict. No argument can be drawn from such an arbitrary treatment of the originals, except that these omitted documents were omitted as being tedious, or superfluous or irrelevant. They are so generally in fact, and the omission in a revised edition is quite excusable. It is possible, and even probable, that the work as it proceeds will disclose greater divergencies on the part of MS. B., as the Laudian Manuscript becomes much rougher towards its close.

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[1] Benedict, vol. i., pref., pp. xxvi. and xxvii., and note 3. I will remind the reader here that, as the Vitellius MS. of Benedict was evidently written after Hoveden's Chronicle was compiled, some of the common passages may have been incorporated from Hoveden: as for example the lament of Berter of Orleans, about which Hoveden was clearly better informed than his predecessor. But this does not affect the general relation of the two works, the so called Benedict being both in language and detail uniformly fuller than Hoveden.

[2] Benedict, ii. 42, 57, 64. Hoveden, ii. 347, &c.

[3] Benedict, i. 325, &c. Hoveden, ii. 293, &c.

[4] Hoveden, ii. 297, &c.

[5] Hoveden, ii. 292.

[6] Hoveden, ii. 268, 271, 311, 312–314.

[7] Hoveden, ii. 332.

Uselessness of MS. Arundel 150 as affecting the soundness of the text.

Further experience of the use of MS. C. (the Arundel MS. 150),[1] has gone far to convince me of its absolute worthlessness as affecting the text of Hoveden. It is so carelessly written,[2] there are so many omissions, and so many apparently wanton liberties taken with the order of the narration, that it can only be regarded as a comprehensive epitome of the domestic history and leading foreign episodes of the original work. It does however still, as in the earlier portion, supply once or twice a sound reading for a corrupt one,[3] and give the true version of an original document which has been misrepresented and disfigured in the whole of the other copies. It is possible that it may have been drawn up with the assistance of other books besides that from which it is mainly abridged. And this possibility has induced me to continue the collation of it throughout this volume, although I have given the various readings in the notes only where they were illustrative of some point of comparative importance. I do not regard it as a version of the text of Hoveden, or as having any authority of its own.

MS. Claud. B. vii.

MS. D.,[4] the ancient part of the Cottonian manuscript Claudius B. vii., from the year 1187[5] onwards agrees in all important points, such as omissions and the spelling of words, with MS. B. And the same is true of MS. I.,[6] which begins a few pages earlier, and for the use of which for the present edition I have to render my respectful thanks to the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is a very fine fragment,

MS. Trin. Coll. Camb.

[1] See vol. i., pref., p. lxxxii.

[2] See especially p. 137, note 5; p. 167, note 3; p. 190, note 2; p. 215, note 1; p. 264, note 3, &c.

[3] See especially, p. 164, note 2; p. 176, note 3: where the word *incurrat* is a better reading than *amittat*, and is in fact found in the corresponding passage in Gervase of Canterbury, and in other copies of the Acts of the Lateran Council, in the canons of which it occurs.

[4] See vol. i., pref., p. lxxxii.

[5] See p. 324, note 1, below.

[6] See vol. i., pref., p. lxxxiv.

extending from the year 1187[1] to the end of the work, written in double columns on a quarto page, forty-nine lines to the page, and contains eighty folios. The hand is of the first half of the thirteenth century, but it is not so old as MS. D. This manuscript belonged to Gale, and is marked in the Trinity Catalogue O. 9. 23. It is rubricated throughout in the same hand as the text, and has a few marginal notes of various dates, but of no importance whatever.

Account of the Trinity MS.

The only other manuscript which calls for any mention is MS. G., the Harleian 3602.[2] This is, so far as the work has proceeded, a careful transcript of the Laudian manuscript; it is probably the second volume of a pair, of which the first is lost; or it may be like Walter of Coventry's copy,[3] made from the second volume by one ignorant of the existence of the first. It is the only copy which, up to the death of Henry II., contains every document and every statement which is found in the Laudian manuscript.

MS. Harl. 3602 agreeing with the Laud MS.

These remarks must be considered for the present to refer to the contents of the present volume only. Further use of the manuscripts may disclose further peculiarities: at present they fall into three classes; the first and fullest represented by A. and G.; the second, less full and possibly more finished, represented by B., D., and I.; the third, least full and least accurate, represented by C.

The text of Savile's edition does not agree exactly with any one of the manuscripts which have been within my reach for the purpose of collation. It is possible that another manuscript may yet be discovered with which it will be found to agree; but as at present informed, I am inclined to consider it an eclectic if not a critical version. It contains all the matter which has hitherto come under my revision in the Royal and

Relation of Savile's text to the MS.

[1] See p. 321, note 1, below.
[2] See vol. i., pref., p. lxxxiii.
[3] See vol. i., pref., p. lxxii.

Savile's text probably eclectic: its omissions.

Laudian manuscripts, with the following not very important exceptions:—

1. Savile omits the list, in French, of the Crusaders who took part in the siege of Nicea in 1098,[1] and in the First Crusade. This list is found in all the manuscripts of Hoveden, but does not occur in the Durham compilation (MSS. S. John's, Oxford, 97, and Reg. 13 A. 6), on which the first part of his work was founded.

2. Savile abridges, in the documents relating to the betrothal of John the son of Henry II. to the heiress of Maurienne, the long list of the names of the persons[2] who were appointed sureties for the fulfilment of the negotiation by the count of Maurienne, summing them up briefly in a general way, and on the plan adopted in several places by the writer of MS. C. I mention this the more prominently because Savile's treatment of these names might easily mislead the student in the collation of this work with Benedict, and variations of this sort might be ascribed to Hoveden, which ought with more justice to be attributed to his editor Savile. In this particular case Savile might plead the authority of one of the manuscripts of Benedict, the later one Vitellius E. xvii., which also abridges the list of names in its copy of the same record.[3]

3. A third case in which apparently Savile's treatment of the manuscripts is unsatisfactory, may be found in his version of the letter of Manuel Comnenus to Henry II.[4] which contains the history of the battle of Myriocephalon. This letter is no doubt a somewhat puzzling composition, and reads like a literal translation from the Greek. The use for instance of the form "imperium "meum" for the simple "ego" or "nos," and the consequent substitution of the third person of verbs for the first throughout the letter, compels the reader to

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[1] Hoveden, i. 152.

[2] Hoveden, ii. 42, 43. Benedict, i. 37, 38, 39.

[3] Benedict, i. 38, note 4.

[4] Hoveden, ii. 102. Cf. Benedict, i. 128.

Omissions in Savile's text.

think twice before he catches the meaning. This seems to have been felt by our historians. The imperial letter was no doubt handed about the court, and fell into the hands, amongst the rest, of the dean of St. Paul's,[1] Ralph de Diceto, and of the author of the Gesta.[2] The dean contents himself with giving a very succinct abridgement; and the author of the Gesta omits all the earlier and more pompous part of the letter, giving the historical details in the words of Manuel. But Hoveden gives the whole letter, and that with such small blunders as show that he did not care to construe it. Savile, or the copyist whose manuscript he used, was not content with this, and has tried by altering the wording in several places to give a better sense. In this he or his authority has acted exactly as in other cases the writer of MS. C. has done.[3] In this part of the work MS. C. is imperfect, or it might have been found to authorize Savile's alterations.

4. But the most unsatisfactory case of all is to be found under the year 1176, in the Acts of the Council of Lombers, against the Albigensian heretics.[4] Here Savile not only abridges the list of persons present at the Council, but supplies, apparently without authority, the full names of several of the prelates, who in the manuscripts are denoted only by an initial.[5] These are generally wrong. "P." archbishop of Narbonne appears in Savile's text as Peter instead of Pontius; "G. Lugdo-

[1] R. de Diceto, c. 596.

[2] Benedict, i. 128.

[3] As for instance, p. 337, note 5; and especially in the treatment of the letter of the patriarch of Antioch, p. 340, note 3.

[4] Hoveden, ii. 105–117.

[5] Savile has, I am sorry to say, done the same in one other case at least, p. 37; where he turns G. (for Gerard, archbishop of Ravenna,) into Gilleberto. At p. 56 he has supplied the surname of the bishop of Chichester which the MSS. leave blank, as *Greneforde;* John de Greneforde appears in the lists of the bishops of Chichester, probably on this authority. Yet it is most probable that *Greneforde* is a misreading of *Oxeneforde*, and John of Oxford was not bishop of Chichester, but of Norwich. Of this, however, it is impossible to feel sure.

Savile's editing of the Council of Lombers.

"vensis," appears as "Gilebertus Lugdonensis," instead of Gaucelin bishop of Lodeve. "G. Tolosanus" appears as Gaucelin; the name really is Giraldus. These are the worst instances. Many other names are altogether omitted. As Savile's text has been regarded as authoritative[1] as to this, the most ancient copy of the Acts of the Council, it is no wonder that the difficulty of fixing its date has been thus unnecessarily complicated. I shall have to return to this subject further on, and notice it here only as an instance, happily rare, of the illustrious editor's mistaken manipulation of the text. Here again MS. C., which may have been followed by Savile, is imperfect, and it is possible that a manuscript may yet be found which will justify him from the charge of rashness. But even if this should be the case, it is hardly possible to acquit him altogether; for it would appear certain that he had access to the best manuscripts, and yet departed in this point from them. His edition is in all material respects so good, and its usefulness for the last two hundred and seventy years has been so great, that I feel sure no such criticism as this will be interpreted as directed to the depreciation of it. It is even probable that the lists of outlandish names are omitted from an honest desire to escape mistakes, or to avoid mystifying the student with readings of which the editor was in doubt, and which to neither editor nor student were likely to be anything better than a puzzle.

Savile's emendanda.

Savile, at the end of his Hoveden, has given a list of *emendanda*.[2] The passages so corrected stand part of the Frankfort text of 1601, which in all other respects is an exact reproduction of Savile. Most of them are unimportant; but one, the extraordinary interpolation in the laws of Edward the Confessor, by

[1] See Labbe and Cossart, *Conc.*, x. 1470.

[2] Savile's *Scriptores*, ed. 1596, f. 471 verso.

which Charles and Pipin are represented as consulting William the Conqueror on their right to take the title of king,[1] is to say the least curious. It is found only in MS. C. of the existing manuscripts of Hoveden, and the acceptance of it would appear to prove Savile's acquaintance with that or a kindred version. It is impossible to say what led him to insert it among the emendanda, or how the Frankfort editor was so rash as to incorporate it in the text. Perhaps, however, the emendanda were supplied by an underling. This absurd story seems to be peculiar to MS. C.[2] At all events I have been unable to find it in any other version of the laws, even in those which have been most largely and preposterously interpolated.

Absurd mistake perpetuated in the Frankfort edition.

The only further literary question which it is necessary to discuss in this place, concerns the additions made by Hoveden to his original authority in the history of the years contained in this portion of his work. I shall not recapitulate in minute detail the several cases which I have enlarged on in the preface to the first volume,[3] nor is it worth while to do more than call the attention of the reader to the merely casual divergencies which are marked by the difference of type and the marginal references of the present edition. Of three classes of additions, the new letters on the history of Thomas Becket, the sketch of his manner of life, and the amplification from extant authorities of the details of the martyrdom; of the additional documents on the subject of the disputed election to the see of S. Andrews; and of the two new astronomical calculations on the conjunctions of planets in

Hoveden's additions to the earlier chronicler.

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[1] See below, p. 226, note 4.

[2] It is not in Lambarde's version, nor in Wilkins' *Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ*, both of which are largely interpolated; nor in the Oriel MS. No. 46, which agrees in substance with Lambarde, though not in order or form. It contains indeed far from the whole of what is in Lambarde, but I think nearly all the patent interpolations.

[3] Vol. i., pref., pp. liii–lxv.

Hoveden's additions.

1186 no more need be said.[1] On three other additions, the Acts of the Council of Lombers in 1176, the laws of England given under the year 1180, and a variety of small incidental stories somewhat characteristic of their compiler's turn of mind, some little comment is indispensable.

Acts of the Council of Lombers.

1. The Acts of the Council of Lombers are introduced by Hoveden at the end of the annals of 1176.[2] That the council belongs properly to the year 1165 may be considered as proved by the existence of two manuscript copies of the Acts agreeing in all other particulars of importance with Hoveden's text, but distinctly fixing them to the earlier date.[3] The names of the persons present are indicated in all the copies by initials, many of which may be interpreted to suit either date;[4] but the little distinct evidence derivable from them inclines unmistakeably to the year 1165, and although, being of a negative character, it is by itself insufficient to prove it, it confirms the authority of the French manu-

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[1] I give here, however, a list of the additional *Documents;* for this volume only.

1. p. 7. Letter of Alexander III. to Roger of York and Hugh of Durham.
2. p. 22. William, archbishop of Sens, to Alexander III.
3. p. 36. Charter of Absolution of Henry II.
4. p. 37. Cardinals Albert and Theodinus to the archbishop of Ravenna.
5. p. 70. Agreement between Roger of York and Hugh of Durham.
6. p. 102. Letter of Manuel Comnenus to Henry II.
7. p. 105. Acts of the Council of Lombers.
8. p. 209. Alexander III. to the Scottish bishops.
9. p. 215. The legal Appendices of 1180.
10. p. 268. Lucius III. to the Scottish bishops.
11. p. 271. Rolland and Silvanus to Lucius III.
12. p. 292. Letter of William the astrologer.
13. p. 297. Letter of Pharamella.
14. p. 311. Urban III. to William, king of Scots.
15. p. 312. Urban III. to Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow.
16. p. 332. Gregory VIII. to all prelates.

[2] Vol. ii. pp. 105, &c.

[3] Below, p. 106.

[4] Below, pp. 107, 116, 117.

Acts of the Council of Lombers.

scripts. On this council, with the exception of what Hoveden says of it, there is deep silence amongst historians, and the probability is that our author having stumbled on an undated copy of the Acts, and finding the matter of them illustrative of the proceedings carried on by the royal and papal commissioners of 1178 in the neighbouring districts, incorporated them with his chronicle at what he thought was a likely date. It is to be observed, however, that he does not in the text attempt to fix the date. It is to the rubricator that the definite statement, 'Eodem anno damnata est Ariana " hæresis,"[1] is due. Most probably the document reached the chronicler by the same road by which the other letters on the heretics of Toulouse came into the hands of the earlier historian; through the medium perhaps of Reginald Fitz-Jocelin, bishop of Bath, who who was one of the commissioners of 1178. Great interest was felt in the transactions of that year in the English church; Gervase of Canterbury[2] preserves at length the letter of the count of Toulouse to the Cistercian chapter, by which the proceedings against the heretics were originated. Hoveden himself shows his anxiety to be clear on the subject by giving twice over the detailed acts of the commissioners, first in his own words, then in the copies of the letters from which his knowledge was derived. He gives moreover, in the anecdote told of the servant of abbot Eustace of Flay,[3] some countenance to the idea that the misfortunes of Henry II. were occasioned by his tolerance of heresy in his dominions at a time when the king of France was burning the "Publicani." Walter Map has preserved some very important memoranda about the Waldenses at the same period.[4]

Interest felt in England about the heretics.

[1] Below, p. 105.

[2] In Twysden, c. 1441.

[3] p. 272; and see below, pp. lii.–lviii.

[4] *De Nugis Curialium* (ed. Wright), p. 64. Cf. pp. 60–64.

Hoveden's version of the Laws of England.

2. Of far more importance than the Acts of the Council of Lombers, to English history at least, is that version of the Laws of England which is introduced by Hoveden into his Chronicle at the end of the history of the year 1180, in connexion with the appointment of Ranulf Glanvill to the office of Great Justiciar.[1]

Contents of his Appendix to A.D. 1180.

This legal Appendix, in the Royal Manuscript of Hoveden, consists of four sets of documents or abstracts of documents: first, the enactments of William the Conqueror;[2] secondly, the so called laws of Edward the Confessor with the amendments and confirmation of the Conqueror,[3] and the statement of the descent of the kingdom of England and of the duchy of Normandy, with pedigrees to prove it, down to the reign of John; thirdly, the work of Ranulf Glanvill on the laws of England, which for reasons already given[4] is not included in the present edition; and fourthly, the Assizes of Woodstock and Clarendon,[5] the two most ancient monuments of Henry II.'s jurisprudence, illustrating the proceedings of the Itinerant Judges and the Jurisdiction of the Forests.

I. Laws of William the Conqueror.

The first of these documents corresponds with the third article of the Laws of William the Conqueror in the Collection of Ancient Laws and Institutes of England,[6] edited by Mr. Benjamin Thorpe for the Record Commission in 1840. In that work it bears the title of "Carta Regis Willelmi Conquisitoris de quibusdam statutis," and is printed from the copy existing in the Red Book of the Exchequer;[7] from which it had been previously printed, with some significant

[1] Below, pp. 215–252.

[2] Below, pp. 215–218.

[3] Below, pp. 219–241: the glossary which follows the pedigrees should not be overlooked.

[4] Vol. i., pref., p. lxxvii.

[5] Below, pp. 242–252.

[6] Ancient Laws and Institutes, folio edition, p. 211.

[7] Printed from the Exchequer copy, for the first time exactly, I think, in Selden's edition of Eadmer, London, 1623.

alterations, in Lambarde's Archaionomia,[1] more exactly by Selden, and in the new edition of the Fœdera.[2] In the Red Book of the Exchequer it is found among the documents superinduced on the original matter of the volume, all which are at the earliest of the date of Edward I. or Edward II.[3] I have not been able to discover any manuscript of earlier date than the fourteenth century, which gives this charter of William in the same form. The Liber Custumarum, the Cotton Manuscript Claudius B. 9, in which also it occurs, is certainly not earlier than the fourteenth century, nor is the Oriel Manuscript 46, which likewise gives it, with variations, of more ancient date.

Laws of William the Conqueror in the longer version.

The differences between this version of William's enactments and the shorter one preserved by Hoveden are very great, and relate to some of the most important points of our early constitutional history. It is thus a very serious question which of them represents the original most closely. Hoveden's version has the superiority in point of age, and is confirmed, moreover, by the great authority of the Textus Roffensis.[4] I have been able to collate with it also another copy of the same act written at least twenty years earlier than the earliest manuscript of Hoveden. This is found in a manuscript hitherto almost unknown, and hidden among the Rawlinson treasures in the Bodleian Library. The Royal manuscript of Hoveden is certainly earlier than 1213, probably as early as 1201; the Rawlinson manuscript is, so far as can be decided by the usual tests of age, not later than the year 1180.[5]

Is the shorter or the longer version of most authority?

The Rawlinson MS.

[1] Lambarde, *Archaionomia*, ed. 1568, fo. 124; and Wheloc's edition of the same, (quoted below as Wheloc,) 1644, agreeing rather with the Oriel MS.

[2] Vol. i. p. 1.

[3] Report of the Commissioners on the Public Records, 1837, pp. 169, 172.

[4] Hickes, *Thesaurus*, iii. 275.

[5] I think, from the fact of its containing the Assize of Clarendon, of 1166, instead of that of Northampton which superseded it in 1176,

The Rawlinson MS.

If the form of Hoveden's version were as perfect as its antiquity is certain, there could be, I think, no question as to its authority. But its departure from the usual formulas of such documents is so great, that it can hardly be safe to regard it as more than an epitome of a supposed original. For instance, in the first clause the enacting word is *vellet*, in the second *statuimus*, in the third *volo*. In the Exchequer copy the corresponding words are *statuimus*, *statuimus*, and *volumus*. In other points except those which are affected by the change in grammatical construction from the direct expression of command to that of historical narration, Hoveden's version departs but little from that of the Red Book in the wording of the clauses which they have in common. Almost if not every word of Hoveden's version is found in the other; but the latter contains seven new articles and several considerable expansions of the common portions. Were the seven additional articles, and the numerous amplifications of the others, as given in the Red Book, carelessly omitted by the chronicler; or are

Form of Hoveden's version anomalous.

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that it may have been written before the latter date. The following are its most important contents:—Fo. 1–3. A series of extracts from the proceedings of councils and opinions of fathers. Fo. 3–10. The laws of Edward the Confessor. Fo. 10–13. The account of the Constitutions of Clarendon in Norman French verse, copied from the poem of Garnier of Pont S. Maxence, which however was not completed until 1176 (Hardy, *Catalogue*, &c., ii. 340). Fo. 13–19. A collection of proverbs in Latin and French, very curious. Fo. 19. Assize of Clarendon, printed below pp.cii.–cv. Fo. 20. Inquest of sheriffs of 1170, nearly corresponding with the version printed from Gervase, in Benedict of Peterborough, vol. ii. p. clv.–clviii. Fo. 21. Assisa de Essoniatoribus, printed below, pp.cv., cvi. Fo. 21–29. Magna Carta of King John written in a hand half a century later than the rest of the volume. Fo. 30. An early and interesting Latin version of the Laws of Canute, not agreeing at all with the ordinary editions. Fo. 43. The Great Charter of Henry I., with the witnesses. See Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, p. 214, note a. Fo. 44. The Laws of William the Conqueror, referred to in the text and printed in the Appendix to this Preface.

Question as to the additional Articles of the Exchequer copy.

they to be regarded as interpolations in the text made at no very great distance of time before the transcription of the Exchequer record? The question involves a detailed collation of the two texts. At the cost of wearying the student with repetition, I will briefly attempt this, taking first the clauses which are common to the two versions, and leaving the additional articles for later discussion.

Collation of the first Article of William's "Charter."

The first article in the Exchequer copy stands thus: "Willelmus rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum, om- "nibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis, salutem. "Statuimus *imprimis super omnia unum Deum per* "*totum regnum* nostrum *venerari, unam fidem Christi* "*semper inviolatam custodiri, pacem et securitatem* "et concordiam, judicium et justitiam *inter Anglos et* "*Normannos,* Francos et Britones Walliæ et Cornubiæ, "Pictos et Scotos Albaniæ, similiter inter Francos et "insulanos, provincias et patrias quæ pertinent ad coro- "nam et dignitatem, defensionem et observationem et "honorem regni nostri, et inter omnes nobis subjectos "per universam monarchiam regni Britanniæ firmiter "et inviolabiliter ob*servari,* ita quod nullus alii foris- "faciat in ullo super forisfacturam nostram plenam." The words in italics, with the substitution of *vellet*[3] for *statuimus,* represent Hoveden's version, which has not the form of a charter, but begins with the words, "Hic intimatur quid Willelmus rex Anglorum

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[1] Ancient Laws and Institutes, p. 211. Selden's Eadmer, 189.

[2] Lambarde (1568) retains the word *vellet,* agreeing therein with the Oriel MS., but incorporates the rest of the additions. So also Wheloc and Wilkins. The Textus Roffensis of course reads *vellet.*

[3] Compare with this the first clause of the Latin version of Canute's laws as given in the Rawlinson MS. fo. 30:—"Hæc est institutio quam "Cnud rex cum consilio principum "suorum sapientum ad laudem Dei "et honorem sui ipsius et profectum "totius regni cui præerat, instituit;—In primis quod super omnia "vellet semper unum Deum colere, "amare, honorare; unam fidem "Christi unanimiter servare, ecclesias Dei in pace et securitate custodire."

Collation of the two versions of the Laws of the Conqueror.

"cum principibus suis constituit post conquisitionem "Angliæ."[1]

The second article:[2]—"*Statuimus etiam ut omnes* "*liberi homines fœdere et sacramento affirment quod* "*intra et extra* universum regnum *Angliæ* (quod olim "vocabatur regnum Britanniæ) *Willelmo regi domino* "*suo fideles esse volunt, terras et honores illius omni* "*fidelitate* ubique *servare cum eo, et contra inimicos* "et alienigenas *defendere*."

The third:[3]—"*Volumus autem* et firmiter præcipimus, "ut *omnes homines quos* nobis*cum adduximus, aut* "*post* nos *venerint, sint* sub protectione et *in pace* "nostra per universum regnum prædictum. *Et si quis* "de *illis occisus fuerit, dominus ejus habeat intra* "*quinque dies homicidam ejus, si poterit, sin autem,* "incipiat *persolvere*[4] nobis *xlvi. marcas argenti quam-* "*diu substantia domini* illius per*duraverit. Ubi vero* "*substantia domini defecerit, totus hundredus in quo* "*occisio facta est communiter solvat quod remanet.*"

In the latter clause Hoveden uses the first person singular instead of the first person plural where the king speaks of himself.

The fourth article[5] is, with the same exception, almost identical in both versions:—"*Et omnis Francigena* "*qui tempore Eadwardi propinqui* nostri *fuit in* "*Anglia particeps consuetudinum Anglorum, quod* "*ipsi dicunt an hlote et an scote, persolvat secundum* "legem *Anglorum*." Hoveden reads *consuetudinem* for *consuetudinum*, which is probably a clerical error,

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[1] With this agree in this point the Oriel MS. and Lambarde's version with all its copyists.

[2] Lambarde, fo. 124; Wheloc, 136; Selden's *Eadmer*, 189; Wilkins, p. 217.

[3] Lambarde, fo. 124; Selden's *Eadmer*, 190; Wheloc, 136; Wilkins, p. 217.

[4] Here it may be observed the Rawlinson MS. differs from Hoveden's version and agrees with the other authorities.

[5] Lombarde, fo. 125; Wheloc, 136; Selden's *Eadmer*, 190; Wilkins, p. 217.

Collation of the two versions of the Laws of the Conqueror.

and for *legem, consuetudinem.*[1] He adds a clause which appears in a different form in the Exchequer copy at the end of the ninth article: "Hoc decretum et sancitum "est in civitate Claudia."

The next clause common to the two stands fifth in Hoveden, tenth in the Red Book. "*Interdicimus* etiam "*ut nulla viva pecunia vendatur aut ematur, nisi* "*infra civitates et hoc ante tres testes; nec aliquam* "*rem vetitam sine fidejussore et waranto. Quod si* "*aliter fecerit solvat et persolvat et postea forisfac-* "*turam.*" Here Hoveden prefixes *fideles* to *testes,* and for *vetitam* reads *vetustam.*[3] On this I may observe by the way that *vetustam* is the reading which approves itself to common sense. Any old or second-hand article might demand a surety and a warrantor to legalize its change of owners, who might, in case of its being found to have been stolen, exonerate the purchaser: but how a res vetita could be sold at all does not appear; certainly the fidejussor and warrantor would be liable to punishment.

Res *vetita* or *vetusta?*

The next article stands twelfth in the Exchequer copy:[4]—"*Decretum est etiam ibi ut si Francigena ap-* "*pellaverit Anglum de perjurio aut murdro, furto* "aut *homicidio, ran quod dicunt apertam rapinam,* "*quæ negari non potest,*[2] *Anglus se defendat per quod* "*melius voluerit, aut judicio ferri aut duello. Si* "*autem Anglus infirmus fuerit inveniat alium qui* "*pro* eo *faciat. Si quis eorum victus fuerit emendet* "*regi xl. solidos. Si autem Anglus Francigenam* "*appellaverit et probare voluerit judicio aut duello,* "*volo tunc Francigenam purgare se sacramento non* "fracto." The forms are identical, except in the last

[1] In these points the Rawlinson MS. corrects Hoveden.

[2] Lambarde, fo. 125 verso; Wheloc, 137; Selden's *Eadmer,* 191; Wilkins, p. 218.

[3] Hoveden is here confirmed by the reading of the Rawlinson MS. The Oriel MS. has *venditam.*

[4] Lambarde, fo. 125 verso; Wheloc, 137; Selden's *Eadmer,* 192; Wilkins, p. 218.

Collation of the versions of the Conqueror's Laws.

word, which Hoveden reads *ferro*. If *ferro* be right, the ordeal is forbidden to the Frenchman, his oath being regarded as sufficient purgation. *Non fracto* as a description of the oath certainly seems superfluous, and thus *ferro* is prima facie the better reading. But the Rawlinson manuscript has *fracto*, and on this point the balance of evidence is altogether against Hoveden. It appears from William's decree respecting appeal, which is preserved in Anglo-Saxon and Latin (Thorpe, Will. II., pp. 210, 211), and of which this article is a somewhat obscure abridgement, that the meaning is the same; the oath of the Frenchman is enough without ordeal, provided it be "mid unforedan athe," corresponding with *sacramento non fracto*.

The seventh article of Hoveden, the thirteenth of the Red Book:[1]—"*Hoc quoque præcip*imus,[2] ut *omnes* ha-" beant et teneant *leg*es *Eadwardi regis in omnibus* " *rebus,* adau*ctis his qua*s *constitu*imus *ad utilitatem* " *Anglorum.*" Here Hoveden has the singular *præcipio* for the plural *præcipimus,* and *constitui* for *constituimus.*

The eighth article,[3] "*Omnis homo qui* volu*erit se* " *ten*eri *pro libero sit in plegio, ut plegius eum ha-* " *beat ad justitiam si quid offenderit. Et si quis-* " *quam evaserit talium, videant plegii ut solvant quod* " *calumniatum est, et purgent se, quia in evaso nul-* " *lam fraudem noverint. Requiratur hundredus et* " *comitatus, sicut antecessores statuerunt; et qui juste* " *venire debent et noluerint summoneantur semel; et* " *si secundo non venerint accipiatur unus bos; et* si

[1] Lambarde, fo. 125 verso; Wheloc, 137; Selden's *Eadmer*, 192; Wilkins, p. 218.

[2] Here the Oriel MS. and Lambarde have *præcipio,* agreeing with the shorter form so far, but *constituimus* in common with the longer.

[3] Lambarde, fo. 125 verso; Wheloc, 137; Selden's *Eadmer*, 192; Wilkins, p. 218.

"tertio, alius bos; et si quarto *reddatur de rebus* hujus "*hominis* quod *calumniatum est, quod dicitur* ceapgild, "*et insuper regis forisfactura.*" Here the differences are minute: Hoveden's version is rather easier of construction, but his word scapweld has less authority than ceap-gild. Scapweld is perhaps a corrupt word, intended to signify the penalty payable for the escape of the criminal; ceap-gild, the market price probably of the article in dispute, although no stolen article has been mentioned.[1]

Collation of the versions of the Conqueror's laws.

To the ninth article of Hoveden the Red Book makes a long addition which may be considered later on. The enactment by itself stands in the latter, "Et pro-"hibemus ut nullus *vendat hominem extra patriam.*" Hoveden reads, "Et prohibeo ne quis," &c.

The last article is common to the two,[2] "*Interdici-*"mus *etiam ne quis occidatur vel suspendatur pro* "*aliqua culpa; sed eruantur* (or enerventur) *oculi,* "*et abscindantur* pedes vel *testiculi* vel manus, ita quod "truncus remaneat vivus in signum proditionis et ne-"quitiæ suæ, secundum enim quantitatem delicti debet "pœna maleficis infligi. Ista *præcepta non sint violata* "*super forisfacturam* nostram *plenam.*" Hoveden has here, as usual, the singular instead of the plural, and restricts the punishments to blinding and castration, by implication excluding the mutilation of hand or foot.

Result of the collation.

Before proceeding to discuss the articles in the Exchequer version, we may ask what is the result of the collation carried so far? It amounts to a good deal.

Use of the first person plural in the longer version.

In the first place, the uniform use of the first person plural by the king speaking of himself is fatal to the form of the charter. It is found in no other act of William the Conqueror, in no act of any English sovereign down to the reign of Richard I., who begins to use it, but

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[1] The Rawlinson MS. has ceap-gild, which is the word in all the other versions.

[2] Lambarde, fo. 126. Wheloc, p. 137. Selden's *Eadmer*, 193. Wilkins, p. 218.

This is an objection to the form of the charter.

not with perfect grammatical consistency.[1] I do not deny that it was occasionally used earlier, or perhaps was introduced by copyists into their transcripts of legal acts ; it is employed, for instance, twice in Hoveden's version of this very act, and this may be used as an argument against his exactness as a copyist. But the proper legal form is the singular, and it is almost impossible that the writer of the Exchequer copy, or his authority, should have found the original in the singular, and as a mere matter of form have converted it into the plural throughout with a single slip of the pen.[2] I do not believe that this document is, or even with this change made represents, a genuine act of the Conqueror.

Further objection in the absence of the words of notice.

Further, the form of the charter is far removed from the usual expression in such cases. I do not wish to insist on this, because I believe the first objection to be fatal. But the passing from the salutation to the form of direct command is not usual in documents of the kind. The greeting is usually followed by the word " Noveritis " or " Sciatis." This is the form of the Conquerer's Charter on Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction ; of the Great Charter of Henry I., a document supposed to be issued on almost exactly the same occasion as this ; it is the form of both charters of Stephen, of that of Henry II., of Magna Carta and all its confirmations. A mode of expression common enough in the acts of Henry III. and Edward I. would be very strange were it found *in a single case* two hundred years earlier.

Thirdly, the character of the amplifications observable in the first and second articles is suspicious Without

[1] Compare the release of William the Lion by Richard I., (1) as given in Chronicle of Benedict ; and (2) as given in the *Fœdera*, i. 50. In this the transition process is clearly seen. In Benedict we have " nos, pater meus—ut mihi—ante-" cessoribus nostris." In the *Fœdera* all are reduced to the plural forms. Hoveden follows the same.

[2] The use of *volo* for *volumus* in clause 12 : in this single place the interpolator (for such I suppose him to have been) has forgotten to alter the singular into the plural, whilst throwing the collection of enactments into the form of a charter.

Suspicious character of the amplifications.

wishing to throw any doubt on the genuineness of the early casual indications of a monarchia of Britain, I confess that the expressions, "inter Anglos et Normannos, " Francos et Britones Walliæ et Cornubiæ, Pictos et " Scotos Albaniæ, similiter inter Francos et insulanos," " per universam monarchiam regni Britanniæ," " uni- " versum regnum Angliæ quod olim vocabatur regnum " Britanniæ," are redolent of the age of Edward I. and the claim of supremacy over Scotland.

Analogous amplifications in the so called Laws of Edward the Confessor.

Nor is the suspicion the mere wantonness of would-be criticism. That a similar process of amplification or interpolation has been applied to the document called the Laws of Edward the Confessor must be admitted by all who have ever read them. These interpolations have some of them a distinct value of their own, as showing what the interpolators, generally well informed men, wished to be received and regarded as the letter of the ancient law. None of these is of so great interest as the chapter " de Heretochiis,"[1] yet none is more certainly a forgery. In this we read, " Et qui legibus apostabit, si fuerit Anglicus vel Dacus " vel Waliscus, vel Albanicus,[2] vel insulicola," " per " provincias et patrias totius regni prædicti." In the chapter on the duties of a king, engrafted on the 17th Article of Edward's laws, the chapter famous as being the vehicle of the first introduction of the letter of pope Eleutherius into English history, we find, "Uni- " versa vero terra et tota, et insulæ omnes usque " Norwegiam et usque Daciam pertinent ad coronam " regni ejus et sunt de appenditia et dignitatibus regis, " et una est monarchia, et unum est regnum, et voca-

[1] Thorpe, p. 197. Wheloc, p. 147.

[2] The word *Albani* does occur in the uninterpolated form, as given by Thorpe, and in the Rawlinson MS., in article 15; see p. 225 below: but there it means Englishmen or Britons, not *Scots* as in the passage quoted in the text. But *Albani* was the war cry of the Scots at the battle of the Standard, and there is no occasion to prove that the epithet belonged to them.

Edward's laws interpolated.

" batur quondam regnum Britanniæ, modo autem " vocatur regnum Anglorum." Putting together the facts that the amplified form of William's charter and the interpolated edition of Edward's laws are always found in manuscripts in conjunction, and that the words quoted, common to the two, are new to English history about the time at which the earliest of these manuscripts are written, the conclusion is irresistible that they proceeded from the same or kindred hands, were addressed to the same or a kindred political object.

Use of the word *alienigenas*.

Two minor points may be noticed: in Article II. the use of the word *alienigenas* as a pair with *inimicos* is a form improbable indeed under the Conqueror, but possible and probable enough from the time of Stephen to that of Piers Gaveston; in the last Article, *de suppliciis*, no reader of English and Norman history can hesitate to decide which is the most characteristic of the age of William, the punishment of blinding and emasculation, common enough and cruel enough, under the Conqueror, or that of mutilation of hand and foot, known as the practice, if not recognized as the institution, of Henry the First.[1]

Law of mutilation.

An accumulation of argument on such points is tedious, but no argument on a question so important as the fundamental statute of the Anglo-Norman jurisprudence, should be begun unless it can be carried through. I must proceed to examine the additional Articles. In these it will be unnecessary to re-state objections of form common to them with the clauses already discussed. The objections to regarding them as genuine are based not so much on the manner as on the matter.

[1] Chr. Sax. ad. 1125. Hoveden, i. 181. William Rufus contented himself with his father's penalties, at least in the case of the count of Eu, Ord. Vit., viii. 23; and in his reign further mutilation was regarded as monstrous: See Hoveden, i. 153, 154. Matters had developed further before the assize of Northampton in 1176.

[2] Lambarde, fo. 125. Wheloc, 136. Selden's *Eadmer*, 190. Wilkins, p. 217.

The first in place, and perhaps in importance, is that which stands the fifth in the interpolated version :—

Examination of the additional articles of the Conqueror's charter.

"Volumus etiam ac firmiter præcipimus et concedimus, " ut omnes liberi homines totius monarchiæ regni nostri " habeant et teneant terras suas et possessiones suas " bene et in pace, libere ab omni exactione injusta, et " ab omni tallagio, ita quod nihil ab eis exigatur vel " capiatur nisi servitium suum liberum, quod de jure " nobis facere debent, et facere tenentur ; et prout " statutum est eis, et illis a nobis datum et concessum " jure hæreditario in perpetuum, per commune consilium " totius regni nostri prædicti."

Abolition of talliages;

If this clause is really William's, we must believe, that he granted to all the free men of the kingdom an immunity from taxation, and contented himself with the exaction of the definite services belonging to their respective modes of tenure, in a way which was endured by no English king before Edward I.: that the privilege by which Henry I. tried to conciliate his military tenants, freeing them from all "gildis, et ab " omni opere proprio,"[1] a privilege which he enlarges on as the gift of his own benignity, was really no privilege at all, but the restriction in their favour, of a benefit that had been bestowed on all free men by his father: that William the Conqueror anticipated almost in words, certainly in fact, the bestowal of an immunity which was not nearly so clearly expressed in Magna Carta; which the nation failed in securing, by the greatest exertions and sacrifices, until eighty years after Magna Carta, but which was exacted by the barons

unknown to Henry I.

or to the barons of 1215.

[1] The learned editor of the "Ancient Laws" regards this clause of Henry I.'s charter as borrowed from the charter of William "which " it explains and limits to the de- " mesne lands of military tenants." But is it possible that Henry whilst limiting the more liberal grant of his father, should expatiate on his own benignity in doing so? The words of William's grant, if genuine, convey no such idea as a limitation to demesne lands or to military tenants.

Did the Conqueror abolish talliages?

from Edward I.: that Stephen Langton and Simon de Montfort, either were ignorant of the existence of the most explicit law of the most famous of our kings, or deliberately preferred to exact the smaller privilege when they could have demanded the greater one, and to draw their programme of reform from the charter of Henry I., rather than from the more liberal one of his father. If the use of the word *talliage* is not fatal to the clause, and if the historical improbabilities are here overstated, can we withhold our assent to the proposition clearly deducible from the close of the article, that William on some occasion unspecified, "per com-" mune consilium regni," as clearly as if he were bound by Magna Carta itself, gave and granted to all the free men of England, their lands and possessions, in hereditary ownership, on the condition of receiving from them a certain free service, appointed, given, and granted by him? That William feudalized the tenure of lands in England to a great extent will hardly be denied; but the days when it was believed that he did it universally and by the common consent of the realm, are neither his nor ours.

Law of watch and ward.

I proceed to the sixth article; "Statuimus etiam et " firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes civitates et burgi, et " castella, et hundreda et wapentachia totius regni " nostri prædicti, singulis noctibus vigilentur et custo-" diantur in gyrum, pro maleficis et inimicis, pro ut " vicecomites et aldermanni et præpositi et cæteri ballivi " et ministri nostri melius per commune consilium ad " utilitatem regni providebunt." It may be safely affirmed that the idea of watching a wapentake[2] every

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[1] Lambarde, fo. 125. Wheloc, p. 137. Selden's *Eadmer*, p. 190. Wilkins, p. 217.

[2] The watch and ward of the hundred, as represented by the ward-staff, was an *annual* ceremony. See Morant's *History of Essex*, i. 126, for the whole process. On the watching of the township see the Act of Henry III., *Fœdera*, i. 209, and especially 281.

night "in gyrum" could not have occurred to the Conqueror, nor could he have anticipated by two centuries the use of the word alderman for the civic magistrate to whom it is now applied. A perusal of the Statute of Winchester, 13 Edward I.,[1] will I think show either that Edward had a much better acquaintance with the laws of the Conqueror than any of his predecessors, or else that William's laws were founded on those of Edward I.

Difficulty as to the form of the article.

The seventh article[2] is one which might fit in with any period of the reign of any king since the days of the Heptarchy. "Et quod habeant per universum reg-"num mensuras fidelissimas et signatas, et pondera "fidelissima et signata, sicut boni prædecessores statu-"erunt." There are extant laws of Edgar and Canute on the subject; it was a favourite project of the statesmen of the reigns of Richard and John; it was embodied in an Act of Parliament by Edward I.

Article on weights and measures.

The objections to the eighth and ninth articles[3] are of a character less marked: the first of the two orders that all the free men of the country shall hold themselves ready with arms and horses for the defence of the kingdom according to the liabilities of their fiefs; the second directs that they shall be sworn brethren to defend the realm. The words are as follows,

"VIII. Statuimus etiam et firmiter præcipimus ut "omnes comites, et barones, et milites et servientes, et "universi liberi homines totius regni nostri prædicti "habeant et teneant se semper bene in armis et in "equis, ut decet et oportet, et quod sint semper prompti "et bene parati ad servitium suum integrum nobis ex-"plendum et peragendum, cum semper opus adfuerit, "secundum quod nobis debent de feodis et tenementis

Article ordering the provision of arms and horses for the defence of the realm.

[1] Statutes of the Realm, i. 97.

[2] Lambarde, fo. 125. Wheloc, p. 137. Selden's *Eadmer*, 191. Wilkins, p. 217.

[3] Lambarde, fo. 125. Wheloc, p. 137. Selden's *Eadmer*, 191. Wilkins, p. 217.

This article is perhaps based on a real enactment of the Conqueror.

"suis de jure facere, et sicut illis statuimus per commune consilium totius regni nostri prædicti, et illis dedimus et concessimus in feodo jure hæreditario. Hoc præceptum non sit violatum ullo modo super forisfacturam nostram plenam." Here the last clause is borrowed from the last article of the charter. The substance of the injunction is in full accordance with the Conqueror's policy, both as based on the ancient common law of the Anglo Saxons, and as exhibited in the compilation of the Domesday Survey. A very similar provision is found in the charter of Henry the First: under Henry II. the principle appears in the Assize of Arms: it is reiterated in the similar assize published by Henry III. in 1252: and it becomes a part of the statute law in the statute of Winchester.[1] This chapter then may represent a distinct act of the Conqueror, although the allusion to the act by which England was distributed on feudal principles is to my mind more than questionable. The ninth article is this:[2]—

Article imposing an oath to the monarchy, on all free men.

"IX. Statuimus etiam et firmiter præcipimus, ut omnes liberi homines totius regni nostri prædicti sint fratres conjurati ad monarchiam nostram et ad regnum nostrum pro viribus suis et facultatibus, contra inimicos pro posse suo defendendum et viriliter servandum, et pacem et dignitatem coronæ nostræ integram observandam, et ad judicium rectum et justitiam constanter omnibus modis pro posse suo, sine dolo et sine dilatione faciendam." To this is added, as in the last article, a clause found in the shorter form: "Hoc decretum sancitum est in civitate Londoñ."[3] For London Hoveden reads *Claudia*, Gloucester. This chapter is apparently a statement thrown into the form of a statute of the proceeding which took place at the council

[1] Fœdera, i. 281. Statutes of the Realm, i. 97.

[2] Lambarde, fo. 125 verso. Wheloc, 137. Selden's *Eadmer*, 191. Wilkins, p. 218.

[3] Lambarde reads *Londra;* giving Claudia as a various reading.

of Salisbury in 1086,[1] when the king took the oaths of fealty from all the free men of the country. It may be that even the form of the oath is preserved, and that we have here a genuine relic of the acts of that assembly. But is not even this superfluous after the strict direction of the second article?

Founded perhaps on the act of the Council of Salisbury.

The eleventh article relates to the privileges of markets:—"Item nullum mercatum vel forum sit nec fieri "permittatur, nisi in civitatibus regni nostri, et in "burgis clausis et muro vallatis, et in castellis, et in "locis tutissimis, ubi consuetudines regni nostri et jus "nostrum commune, et dignitates coronæ nostræ, quæ "constitutæ sunt a bonis prædecessoribus nostris, de"perire non possunt nec defraudari. Et ideo castella "et burgi et civitates sitæ sunt et fundatæ et ædificatæ, "scilicet ad tuitionem gentium et populorum regni, et "ad defensionem regni, et idcirco observari debent cum "omni libertate et integritate et ratione." This also may represent a real act of the Conqueror, much disfigured by verbiage.

Article on markets.

The remaining clauses are both on the same subject, and that one of very great interest. The Exchequer copy in its fifteenth article, after rehearsing the noble injunction, "Et prohibemus ut nullus vendat hominem "extra patriam," the ninth in Hoveden, proceeds thus: "Si qui vero velit suum servum liberum facere, tradat "eum vicecomiti per manum dexteram in pleno comi"tatu; quietum illum clamare debet a jugo servitutis "suæ per manumissionem, et ostendat ei liberas vias et "portas; et tradat illi libera arma, scilicet lanceam et "gladium; deinde liber homo efficitur." The other is

Addition to the law against the selling of men.

Form of manumission.

[1] Hoveden, i. 139. Sim. Dun. 213.

[2] Lambarde, fo. 125 verso. Wheloc, 137. Selden's *Eadmer*, 192. Wilkins, p. 218.

[3] Lambarde, fo. 126. Wheloc, 137. Selden's *Eadmer*, 192. Wilkins, p. 218.

Law of emancipation of a "servus" abiding a year and a day in a town or city.

as follows:[1]—"Item si servi permanserint sine calumnia "per annum et diem in civitatibus nostris, vel in burgis "vel muro vallatis, vel in castris nostris, a die "illa liberi efficiantur, et liberi a jugo servitutis suæ "sint in perpetuum." Of the former of these I can say little or nothing. It may very well be ancient, for forms of manumission are part of the legal apparatus of every nation that has ever practised slavery. A very similar provision appears in the large compilation of usages known as the Laws of Henry I., an authority which would be more conclusive if its own date and authorship could be ascertained, but which exists only in manuscripts contemporary with the Red Book. Granting that in it we have a vestige of ancient law, it might be further enquired, at what period or with reference to what sort of servitude it can be supposed to have ever held good in England?

Difficulty of ascribing this to the Conqueror as a general act of legislation.

The sixteenth article is capable of more definite treatment. If it proceeded from the Conqueror, we must believe that he made it a part of the general liberties of the country that if a "servus" remained for a year and a day unclaimed by the person who had rights over him, in any city, borough, walled town, or castle, he became free from that day forward for ever. It is important to observe that there is no restriction on the number or condition of the towns where residence for a year and a day confers perpetual freedom. In the middle of the twelfth century we have two town charters, granted by Henry II., in which a similar institution is made the subject of a solemn grant of confirmation. There may be many more, but these two are all that are printed in the Fœdera; they come at an early period in the history of chartered towns; the

[1] This is not in Lambarde of 1568, nor in Wheloc; and is omitted by Wilkins. It is, however, in Selden's *Eadmer*, 193; and in the Oriel MS.

[2] Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, 254.

towns which received them very shortly after received new ones superseding these and not containing this particular privilege. We may conclude then that the middle of the twelfth century is the only period at which it was granted by charter. The charters in question are those of Lincoln and Nottingham. The words of the Lincoln charter are these: "Confirmo etiam "eis quod si aliquis manserit in civitate Lincolniæ per "annum et unum diem, sine calumnia alicujus calum-"niatoris, et dederit consuetudines, et poterit monstrare "per leges et consuetudines civitatis quod calumniator "exstiterit in regione Angliæ et non calumniatus "sit eum, extunc ut in antea remaneat in pace in civitate "mea Lincolniæ sicut civis meus."[1] The charter is attested by Thomas as chancellor, and must fall therefore between 1155 and 1162. The Nottingham charter is simpler:[2] "Et si aliquis, undecunque sit, in burgo de "Notingeham manserit anno uno et die uno tempore "pacis absque calumnia, nullus postea nisi rex (de eo) "jus habebit." Here then we have two communities, a city and a borough, receiving by special charter a privilege which nearly a century before had, on the hypothesis of the genuineness of William's charter, been bestowed or confirmed as the common law of the land. But we are not left without an interpretation of the law; Glanvill has a passage on the same right, well known, but not too well known to be worth quoting at length: "Item si quis nativus quiete per unum

It is a special privilege of certain chartered towns at a much later period.

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[1] Fœdera, i. 40.

[2] Fœdera, i. 41. A similar usage was in force at Newcastle-on-Tyne, "Si rusticus in burgo veniat manere, "et ibi per annum unum et diem "sicut burgensis maneat in burgo, "ex toto remaneat nisi prius ab ipso "vel domino suo prelocutum sit ad "terminum remanere." — Acts of Parl. of Scotland, vol. i., pref., p. 34. Compare with this the following,— "Si homo alicujus baronis vel "cujuscunque servus venerit in "burgo et emerit ibi burgagium, et "manserit in burgagio suo per "unum annum et diem unum sine "calumnia domini sui vel ejus "ballivi, semper erit liber sicut "burgensis et libertate burgi gaude-"bit."—Leges quatuor Burgorum Scotiæ; Acts of Parliament of Scotland, i. 22.

The enactment was intended as a privilege to the towns, not as a boon to the villein.

" annum et unum diem in aliqua villa privilegiata " manserit, ita quod in eorum communem gildam tanquam " civis receptus fuerit, eo ipso a villenagio liberabitur."[1] Here it is not every walled town that emancipates, nor is it every serf who has eluded detection for a year and a day that is emancipated; it is only the " villa " privilegiata," whether that be the town which has received this special right, or, as it is more probable, every chartered town; and the stranger is freed by the reception to citizenship, not by ipso facto residence. The law, whenever it passed, was a law which conferred on the citizen of villein birth the same rights that belonged to the knight or the clergyman of the same extraction, and it went even beyond this, for the liberty was perpetual. But it was a privilege granted to the city or town to encourage its growth;[2] it can hardly be considered as a boon bestowed upon a suffering class, whose status up to the reign of Edward III. was one as full of immunity as of service.[3] I can not venture

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[1] Glanvill, v. 5, ed. 1604, fo. 37. By the time of Britton, the privilege belonged to all demesnes of the crown; Britton, ed. Nichols, i. 200. Fleta has " in civitate aliqua vel villa pri- " vilegiata vel dominico regis," p. 235, § 2, ed. 1685. Mr. Nichols' notes on the subject of servitude are very interesting and valuable. They seem to show that notwithstanding the profession that the law favoured liberty, the practice of lawyers went on the principle of defining and hardening the line between the villein and the free.

[2] So Britton in the person of Edward I. (i. 200) " ou a demorer " en nos demeynes par un an et un " jour sauntz chaleng, que en acun " tens nous fust communement " graunte pur noster profit et pur " emendement de nos villes." Could William have granted such a privilege to fugitive villeins when the towns themselves were not yet enfranchised from the servitude which was the normal state of lands held in demesne?

[3] On the condition of the villein in Henry II.'s reign, see Walter de Mapes, *De Nugis Curialium*, pp. 9, 13. It is time that the exaggerations of the hardships of the villein should be brought to the test of truth, and his condition fairly compared with that of the agricultural labourer under the old law of settlement. The investigations of Professor Rogers and Mr. Pearson seem to me to confirm my own view. I believe that as the knowledge of the civil and continental systems increased amongst our lawyers, the hardships of villenage increased too, and the de-

here on any discussion of villenage. It is unnecessary to ask how William's liberal grant became so cruelly restricted when all other institutions were advancing in the direction of liberty. After the time of Glanvill I do not deny that the rule may have become universal, but then also every borough and town in the kingdom received some sort of charter, so that his words may be applicable to any period between his own date and that of Edward I. I may add that this clause was omitted in one of the MSS. used by Thorpe, being found only in the Red Book of the Exchequer. Certainly it is very different in spirit from the clause "de nativis" in the bilingual version of the Conqueror's laws, which forbids them summarily to desert their lands, and orders that if they do they shall be returned with all that they have to their own lords.

As the number of chartered towns increased the privilege became general.

Whatever may be the weakness of some of the illustrations I have brought forward, their united force is considerable. They are surely enough to prove that the longer form of the charter is not William's; they are surely enough to suggest the conclusion that it is the work of the lawyers whose history is bound up with that of the reign of Edward I. Could a more subtle way of securing the newly confirmed liberties of the country be conceived, than to throw them back to the legislative authority of the Conqueror, and embody them in a charter which, by its clear enunciation of the *monarchia* of Britain, would be sure to earn and retain favour with Edward and his race. If a genuine act of Henry I. had been the programme and the basis of the charter of king John, why should not an interpolated one of the Conqueror be used to prop the liberties extorted from king Edward. John was a false king, forced to confirm and enlarge a true charter; here was

Joint force of these objections.

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finiteness of the theory; until after the troubles of the 14th century they threatened a social revolution.

Possible purpose of the interpolator.

a false charter framed to confirm the liberties granted by a true and faithful king, a king whose grants would have been waste paper had he not been true; but who would have not been nearly so great a king if he had not required great pressure to extort the charters which, once granted, he was too faithful to break. If this is too fanciful, we may suppose that the expanded version was not intended to impose on any one, but merely to represent in a formal way, laws which William was supposed to have made,—a commentary, not a pious fraud. Either way, the lawyers of Edward's time would have seen little in it to find fault with.

The three forms of this "charter."

If this was the case, then our several versions of these articles are the result of different stages of legal development. In all probability the most ancient form, represented by Hoveden's text, the Rawlinson manuscript, and the Textus Roffensis, was a mere collection of distinct enactments made at different times and under various circumstances by the Conqueror. The mention of the enactment being made in one instance at Gloucester, seems to prove this; and one if not more of the clauses we have elsewhere in a fresher and more direct form.[1] A second stage is represented by the version of Lambarde, and of the Oriel manuscript: this varies the language of the older form, interpolates new principles, and adds several new clauses which at the time of the edition may have been popularly ascribed to the Conqueror. The version of the Red Book has gone a step farther and reduced the language and form to the shape of an orthodox charter.

1. A collection of separate enactments.

2. The arrangement as articles of a statute.

3. The reduction into the form of a charter.

But if the longer version is an expanded form of the true act, it does not follow that Hoveden's version represents the original very exactly: still, if the exactness of the former is an argument of its interpolation, the inexactness of the latter cannot be argued as fatal

[1] That on appeals. Several of the articles of the shorter form are to be found in the bilingual laws of William; none I think of the longer.

to it. It may have suffered at the hands of Henry I.'s lawyers, what I have supposed the other to have done at the hands of Edward I.'s. If Edward issued his laws in the first person plural, Henry I. in the first person singular, and Henry II. in the third person singular, it is perhaps not very strange that the law of the Conqueror should appear in all three. But I shall not insist on this character for Hoveden's version. It is enough that it is confirmed by the more ancient manuscripts I have so often referred to, and that it contains nothing which is contrary, very much that is agreeable, to both the letter and spirit of the laws, most certainly believed to be William's, his confirmation of the laws of Canute, which, as so famous in its French and Latin dress, I have ventured to call the bilingual code; and the regulation on the subject of appeals which is preserved in English as well as in Latin. Hoveden transcribed what he believed, on the authority of the great justiciar of his own day, to be a genuine act of William.

No certain decision can be arrived at.

Hoveden's version appears the most ancient in form.

This discussion will I trust have shed so much light on the following article of Hoveden's legal Appendix, that it may be dismissed in a very few words. This is a version of the code known as the Laws of Edward the Confessor, published by Mr. Thorpe in the Ancient Laws and Institutes, from three manuscripts, a Harleian, a Holkham manuscript, and another in private hands; all, I believe, of the thirteenth century.

The second article of Hoveden's legal appendix.

This collection of laws purports to be the result of the inquiries which were made in or after the fourth year of the Conqueror, by his command, through an assembly of twelve wise men from each shire, sworn to declare the laws and customs. It contains thirty-nine clauses,[1] some of them historical rather than legal, and a genealogical summary which is brought down

The laws of Edward the Confessor.

[1] Lambarde, fo. 126 verso. Wheloc, p. 138. Thorpe, p. 190.

Not drawn up in its present form until after the time of William Rufus.

to the beginning of the reign of John.[1] Unfortunately it bears on its face evidence of a date later than that which it claims in the title; for the eleventh article, "De Denegeldo," refers distinctly to the great Danegeld levied by William Rufus to raise the sum required for the mortgage of Normandy on the occasion of duke Robert's departure for the Crusade. Until a copy shall be discovered which is free from this anachronism, the whole of the document must be considered as the work of a later hand, or all existing versions must be regarded as interpolated; and this being so, it is unnecessary to adduce now and here further evidence, such as several other clauses might afford, of the same fact.

This document has been also tampered with.

It is not unimportant, after the discussion I have just closed, to mark the treatment which this document has received from successive copyists; more especially may be noted their manipulation of the historical introduction.

Illustration of the manipulation of successive transcribers.

The most ancient copies, the Holkham and Rawlinson manuscripts, begin with the account which is given by Hoveden of William's proceedings in or after the fourth year of his reign: the jurors are summoned to declare the customs, and swear to do so, omitting nothing, adding nothing, changing and perverting nothing. It would have been well if the transcribers had held themselves bound by the same obligation. The record continues, "A sancta itaque ecclesia exor-" dium sumentes, per quam rex et regnum solide sub-" sistere haberent, pacem illius et concordiam concionati " sunt, dicentes;" then follow the laws. Between the

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[1] This pedigree, in the copy used by Lambarde, comes down only to the death of William Rufus; another, described by Mr. Hardy in the *Catalogue of Materials*, p. 264, brings it down to the end of Stephen's reign. If we might argue from the existence of the first mentioned, it would be clear that these laws were drawn up not later than Henry I.'s reign. But it would be rash to place them much earlier than Henry II.'s.

two latter clauses of the preamble, however, the early lawyers, anxious to explain the way in which the verdict of the jurors was reported, inserted an explanatory sentence :[1] "Aldredus autem Eboracensis "archiepiscopus, qui regem Willelmum coronaverat, et "Hugo Londoniensis episcopus, per præceptum regis "scripserunt propriis manibus omnia quæ prædicti "jurati dixerunt." These words are found in the Lichfield manuscript, a fourteenth century one, used by Wheloc,[2] now the Cottonian MS. Cleopatra D. 9. As archbishop Aldred died in 1069, and Hugh did not become bishop of London until 1075, the anachronism by itself is fatal to the authenticity of that version as a whole.

Anachronisms introduced into the preamble.

Archbishop Aldred, and bishop Hugh.

Another version, which is represented by the Oriel manuscript, steered clear of this, or perhaps improved upon it. Following the original in the preamble, the writer inserted the explanatory clause in one of the final sections, the thirty-fourth of the present edition :—"Thomas vero archiepiscopus et Mauritius episcopus "scripserunt propriis manibus omnia ista prædicta "per præceptum prædicti regis Willelmi." Unfortunately, although Thomas became archbishop of York before the expiration of the fourth year of the Conqueror, Maurice was not made bishop of London before the year 1085.

Altered to archbishop Thomas and bishop Maurice.

But the ingenuity of the interpolators does not stop here; the Oriel manuscript does not specify Thomas's archiepiscopal see. But another copyist, I suppose, whose version was used by Lambarde, Wheloc, Spelman, and Wilkins,[3] dissatisfied with this omission, boldly revindicates the credit for the martyr of Canterbury (and may we not here detect the act of a Londoner?), and

Further change of Thomas of York to Thomas of Canterbury.

[1] Wheloc, 158.

[2] The words are not in the edition of 1568; nor in Wilkins, p. 197; but are given by him after Wheloc, from the Lichfield MS.

[3] Lambarde, 138 verso. Wheloc, 149. Wilkins, 207.

Anachronism.

inserts *Cantuariensis* after *archiepiscopus*, making an anachronism of just a hundred years.

Other interpolations.

This is a fair specimen of the clumsy ingenuity which has been brought to bear on the text of a document which, although not what it pretended to be, was still by its age and its incorporation of the traditions sanctified by the name of the Confessor, deserving of more honest treatment. Of the interpolations of the body of the record, the letter of pope Eleutherius to king Lucius is the best known; but there are very many others, some of them full of stupid fables,[1] but some, especially the article "de Heretochiis,"[2] of great interest, and suggestive at least of valuable tradition. Arguing from internal evidence, I should say that they are all of London origin, and none of them earlier than the reign of Edward I. They are not, however, in question here.

Hoveden's version free from the later interpolations; but not a good text.

The version given by Hoveden contains, of course, nothing resembling these; it specifies no channel of tradition, except the oral pronunciation of the jurors and the promulgation of the code by Ranulf Glanvill. It has nothing about king Lucius and Eleutherius, or king Arthur, or the monarchy of Britain. But it is neither a good text of the uninterpolated version, nor, as I have stated, is it a copy of anything so ancient as the fourth year of the Conqueror. Whilst the text of the present edition was passing through the press, I was under the impression that Hoveden's manuscript was older than any other existing manuscript version of these laws, and, although unsatisfactory in itself, considering the interpolations common in later copies, was entitled to be received as an authority. Since the sheets were printed I have made the acquaintance of

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[1] I believe these have never been printed in their integrity. Several of them are from Geoffrey of Monmouth.

[2] Wheloc, 147. Thorpe, 197.

the Rawlinson MS., which contains the whole code free from the later interpolations, and in so remarkably good a text that I cannot but think it superior in authority to any other yet known. It is not later in date, I think, than 1180, for it does not contain the forest assize of 1184, and is older, therefore, by twenty years than Hoveden's manuscript; older perhaps by half a century than the Holkham and other manuscripts used by Mr. Thorpe. A collation of this text with that of the "Ancient Laws and Institutes" shows that it is not identical with any of those employed for the Record edition, but it comes nearest the Holkham copy, and is generally superior to it in clearness as to the small points on which they seem to differ.[1] But even this, the most ancient copy, contains the clause mentioning William Rufus, in the article on Danegeld.

Text of the Rawlinson MS. agreeing for the most part with the Holkham MS.

All copies later than William Rufus.

The natural conclusion in this as in the former case is, that Hoveden's account of the record is true; that it is a version put forth by Ranulf Glanvill at the beginning of his justiciarship, founded possibly on an early report of the verdict of the jurors of 1070, of which no copy has been preserved; but clothed in the language and admitting illustrations of a later date. This version may be very properly considered to be

Possibly this version was issued by Ranulf as an adaptation of an early genuine one.

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[1] I will note one or two points:—At cap. ix. the Rawlinson MS. begins "Die illo quo," which is better than either of the other versions. In cap. xii. it has, "Kingesachansel-"degrid"—"Hichenilde strete"—"Bugge spere of syde othe bere." In cap. xv. it has *Albani* where Hoveden has omitted the word. In cap. xvii., "papa Johanne," with the better MSS. In cap. xxi. it begins like the Holkham MS. with "Ba-"rones etiam milites suos," and not with "Archiepiscopi." Either reading is better than the text of the *Ancient Laws.* Cap. xxiii. it reads, "Two nicht gest, thridde nicht og-"han hywen." Cap. xxvi., "iterum "tantundem quod Angli vocant "forisfacturam," omitting the awkward word *astridelthot.* Cap. xxx. it reads, "Everwichescyre," not "Warewicheschire;" and "quod "Angli vocant." In cap. xxvii. it agrees with the Holkham text, but reads Norguenses, not Norwicenses, which is absurd. It ends with "cognitione venditorum," as in the *Ancient Laws.*

Hoveden's version inaccurate.

represented by the Holkham and Rawlinson manuscripts. Hoveden's recension is an inaccurate and irregular, but illustrative abridgment of the same.

Hoveden included in his appendix the well known work of Glanvill.

The third part of Hoveden's legal Appendix contains the well known work of Ranulf Glanvill on the laws of England. This is not given in the present edition, for good reasons which have been already rendered;[1] but I have in a rough way collated it with the printed text of 1604, and am inclined to believe it a very sound and good version. It lacks the division into books and chapters which is found in the editions, but in other respects seems to contain exactly the same matter. The Royal MS. of Hoveden contains what is perhaps the oldest existing copy of this venerable work, and must be carefully studied by all future editors.

The fourth article of Hoveden's appendix; the Assizes of Clarendon and Woodstock.

The fourth and last article contains the Assize of the Forest and the Assize of Clarendon. Of the former I have said enough in the preface to the first volume of this work,[2] and the history of the second has been carefully treated in the preface to the second volume of Benedict of Peterborough,[3] in reference to the legal reforms of Henry II. It has been my singular good fortune to find another copy of the Assize of Clarendon, in the Rawlinson manuscript so often referred to already; a copy considerably earlier in date, and more perfect in text, than the Royal manuscript of Hoveden. This document is so valuable and interesting, and the superiority of the text is so obvious, that I have printed it as an appendix to this preface. The reader has now in this volume the pure text of this Assize, as well as Hoveden's somewhat imperfect version, and Henry II.'s revision of the act itself ten years after its promulgation.[4] If the Rawlinson manuscript can be thrown

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[1] Vol. i., pref., p. lxxvii.

[2] Hoveden, i., pref., lxxvi.

[3] Benedict, ii., pref., pp. lix. et seqq.; app. to pref., pp. cxlviii–clxiv.

[4] Hoveden, ii. 89.

Date of the Rawlinson MS.

back in date before the year 1176, we may so account for the fact of its containing the Assize of Clarendon, and not that of Northampton which virtually superseded it. It contains, in the original hand, no document that is later in date than 1170; the inquest of sheriffs which it does contain being of that year. But if so early a date as 1170–1176 be assigned to it, we lose sight of the connexion of Glanvill with the two documents which we have supposed on Hoveden's authority to be put forth by him, and must seek an earlier promulgation than 1180 for the Articles of the Conqueror and the Laws of Edward the Confessor.

General character of Hoveden's Appendix as a truthful copy.

The matter, however, does not much affect Hoveden's accuracy; his text of the Articles of William in the Royal manuscript represents, with some small omissions, the shorter and more ancient form. That of the Laws of Edward the Confessor is inaccurate, and in some parts almost unintelligible; that of the work of Glanvill is fairly good; that of the Assize of the Forest is imperfect, wanting several articles which are known to have formed part of it; that of the Assize of Clarendon is perfect, but by no means exactly accurate.

Other additions of Hoveden to Benedict.

This account of his way of copying, applicable in the first instance to the Legal Appendix of 1180, may be considered as giving a fair idea of the way in which, mutatis mutandis, he has generally treated the earlier authority for the main portion of the Chronicle itself.

Besides these more important additions made by Hoveden to the work of his predecessor, drawn doubtless from the materials supplied by his official experience, as one of the king's clerks and chaplains, and later as a justice of the forests, there are a few occasional stories inserted, and a few illustrations adduced,[*] which have some claim to originality, and some few of which are entitled to a passing notice. The principal ones are these :—

Story of Berter of Orleans.

1. The jest of Berter of Orleans[1] on the absence of Geoffrey Riddel from the papal court, when Reginald Fitz-Jocelin and archbishop Richard were suing for his confirmation to the see of Ely, "He hath married a "wife, and therefore he cannot come." It is possible that Hoveden got the story from some one present on the occasion, if not from Berter of Orleans himself, to whom he introduces us further on as the author of the hymn of exhortation to the New Crusade.

This poem occurs in Benedict likewise, but with no notice of Berter's authorship.

Henry's accident at Seleham.

2. The account of the accident which befel Henry II. at Seleham in 1174, from the kick of the horse of the Templar Tostes of S. Omer, is peculiar to Hoveden, who gives it in direct narrative.[2] The elder chronicle omits all notice of it in the corresponding passage, but refers to the wound later on, as the cause of the king's removal from Stansted to Winchester, in July 1177.[3] He does not, however, either give the name of the Templar or specify the time and place of the accident.

Portent at the battle of Ramlah.

3. In his account of the victory of the Crusaders at Ramlah in 1177, Hoveden mentions the miraculous appearance of the cross borne on the occasion by the bishop of Bethlehem.[4] This story is derived probably from the letter from which both he and his predecessor had drawn their account of the battle, or possibly it may have been an additional wonder learned from some returning Crusader.

Character of Henry's sons.

4. At p. 166 is an interesting passage on the character of the sons of Henry, partly derived from the Chronicle of Benedict, which here for a moment kindles into a little enthusiasm, and into something like a quotation:

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[1] Hoveden, ii. 58.

[2] Hoveden, ii. 64.

[3] Benedict, i. 182.

[4] Hoveden, ii. 133. W. Tyre mentions the bearing of the cross, but not the miracle; xxi. 21.

"Erat eis mens una, scilicet, plus cæteris posse in armis; "quia ars bellandi, si non præluditur, cum fuerit ne-"cessaria non habetur." These words are common to the two chroniclers, and are manifestly borrowed, from what source I have not yet discovered; and with them the Chronicle of Benedict ends the subject. Hoveden, however, proceeds with a quotation of several lines from Seneca, and he adds a few short apophthegms, in post-classical Latin apparently, but clearly not original, and whose source I have been unable to trace. They may possibly be derived from some Medulla or Margarita of select passages, which may have furnished the extract from Seneca. Such supposed quotations are by no means uncommon in the ordinary medieval historians and are frequent enough in letters. The peculiarity of the instance is this. Seneca is an author not very often quoted in English chronicles,[1] and this class of quotations hardly ever appears in Hoveden. It is therefore within the bounds of possibility that Hoveden made the extract direct from Seneca. That Seneca was within his reach is almost proved by the existence of a manuscript which must have been, at no great distance of time, at the English court. It is mentioned by Ruhkopf, in the preface to the first volume of his edition of Seneca, p. x., as a manuscript of the twelfth century, belonging to Erfurt, and containing the portion of the Epistles from which Hoveden's extract is taken. It contains the following inscription:—"H. Dei gratia "rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Normanniæ et "Aquitanniæ, comes Andegaviæ, dilecto in Christo fratri "Ulrico." This is of course Henry III., and brother Ulric may have been an acquaintance made during the

Quotation on the subject.

Further quotation from Seneca.

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis quotes him several times in the *Gemma Ecclesiastica*; Opp. Gir., ed. Brewer, ii. pp. 182, 205, 263, 352–356: also *Itin. Camb.*; Opp. vi. 41, 59: and he was known of course to John of Salisbury; Policrat. VIII., viii., &c., &c.

Copy of Seneca bearing the name of Henry III.

negotiations for the marriage of Frederick II. with Isabella, or for the king's own marriage with a daughter of duke Leopold of Austria. The question has its interest, at all events, in connexion with the passage quoted. Another sentence occurs on page 167, which is almost as certainly a quotation, relative to the Lateran council:— "Quoties enim morborum violentia," &c.

History of Henry the Lion.

5. At page 199, &c., Hoveden gives an account of the fall of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, which contains some details not only inconsistent with the received account, but unknown to the German historians of the time. The Chronicle of Benedict, in which a different story is told, comes much more near the probabilities of the matter. The history has its own obscurities, which cannot be discussed here. In all likelihood Hoveden's narrative is one of the popular versions of the event, which touching the royal family so closely, would be canvassed in every circle at the time, and with considerable varieties of opinion. The version of Benedict is more in favour of Henry the Lion than this of Hoveden; that of Ralph de Diceto[1] agrees with the latter; and Gervase of Canterbury[2] who gives an elaborate sketch of the character of the duke, is still more severe. The matter may well have been considered an open question in the English court: Henry's support of his son-in-law was bestowed in money and mediation only, and for many reasons he was anxious to stand well with the emperor; although Henry the Lion was known as a brave and munificent prince, the English did not exempt him from the general feeling which they maintained towards foreigners.[3]

Supernatural story.

6. Hoveden relates at p. 272, a story of a warning sent from heaven to Henry II., through Walter a servant of Eustace abbot of Flay. The message to be

[1] R. de Diceto, 614.

[2] Gervase, 1466.

[3] See below, pp. xc., xci.

delivered to the king was, "In nomine Christi, pro-"dele, (or perdele) endele." Neither Henry nor his advisers understood the language of the warning, and soon after it was brought to him the king lost two of his sons. Hoveden closes the narrative with the remark that it was just at this time the Publicani were being burned in several places in the kingdom of France, a thing which Henry by no means permitted to be done in his territories, although they contained very many of these heretics. It would appear then that Hoveden or his informant believed the warning to be a command to execute judgment on the heretics, and that the deaths of the younger Henry and Geoffrey were a punishment of their father for his neglect of the command. The story comes at the end of the year 1182, and may possibly have been a later addition of Hoveden, who at the close of his work, in the history of the third year of John, introduces us again to Eustace abbot of Flay, as a worker of miracles and as an indefatigable preacher of the observance of the Lord's day.[1] Although the editors of the Gallia Christiana make these particulars refer to two different Eustaces, the probability is great that they are the same person, and it is not impossible that the story of 1182 was a reminiscence of abbot Eustace which our author may have heard from him when he visited Yorkshire on his mission of 1199. Hoveden's love of the marvellous I have already called attention to; he seems himself to have witnessed an accident which, taken in conjunction with Eustace's preaching, he believed to be a miracle. At Nafferton in the

Warning sent to Henry II. by Walter, servant of Eustace, Abbot of Flay.

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[1] It is a curious coincidence, on this head, that the warning given to Henry II. at Cardiff in 1172, and described by Giraldus, *Itin. Kamb.* (opp. vi.) p. 64; and in the *De Inst. Pr.*, ed. Brewer, p. 37; touches this same point of Sunday observance, which we find Eustace of Flay preaching in 1199.

Miracle apparently attested by Hoveden himself.

East riding, a vill belonging to Roger of Arundel, an old acquaintance of Hoveden's both at court and in his native county, a certain man baked himself a cake on the hearth on a Saturday afternoon, and having eaten a part, kept the rest until morning. When he broke it on the Lord's day, blood came out, "and he "who saw bore witness, and his witness is true." The force of the miracle would seem to be rather in favour of a Saturday half-holiday.

Importance of this story, as bearing on Henry's tolerance of heresy.

It is with relation to the final remark of Hoveden, whether that be his own or Eustace's, that I think the passage at p. 272 is of importance. Whatever be the truth or the meaning of the mysterious warning, it is clear that Henry refused to allow the burning of Publicani in his dominions, at the time when they were being burned in France. The statement of the prevalence of the heresy in Henry's dominions must be understood, I think, of his French possessions only; in them, in those over which he possessed little more than a nominal suzerainty, especially, were the chief seats of the offenders: if Philip chose to persecute a party that was growing in popularity whilst Henry spared them, it might lead to a great increase of Angevin influence in the southern provinces. Henry's religion was of a kind which would not suggest persecution, although if it had a political purpose it might not scruple to tolerate it.

The one occasion of persecution of heretics by Henry in England.

In connexion with this, it is interesting to refer to the one occasion during the reign on which heresy lifted its head in England. This was in the year 1165, and the movement may have been connected with that which in France was crushed for the time by the council of Lombers; but according to William of Newburgh,[1] the propagators of the errors were Ger-

[1] Will. Newb. ii. 13 (ed. Hamilton), p. 121.

mans. Their leader was named Gerard: in number the apostles of the sect were, according to the same author, thirty; according to Walter Map,[1] only sixteen. Their success was very small; for they converted only one young woman; and she afterwards recanted.[2] Their opinions are variously stated; Walter Map brings against them the common accusation of immorality; "their masters say and teach that perfect love "is to do or to suffer whatever any brother or sister "shall desire."[3] A very different story is told by Ralph of Coggeshall, according to which it would seem that the resistance of a young maiden of Rheims to the solicitations of Master Gervase of Tilbury, was interpreted as a proof presumptive that she belonged to the obnoxious sect.[4] William of Newburgh states that the disciples of Gerard were orthodox as to the substance of faith, and heretical as to the means of grace; a description which seems to coincide with that of the heretics of Lombers. But however this was, their appearance in England was unwelcome, and their doctrines clothed in a strange language may easily have been misunderstood. The country was at the moment in a very paroxysm of orthodoxy, the lord justiciar himself, earl Robert of Leicester, having refused to salute the emperor's envoy, archbishop Reginald of Cologne, on the ground of his being a schismatic and adherent of the antipope; and Henry himself being most anxious to avoid giving the exiled archbishop of Canterbury any handle against him as a favourer of heresy. The fate of the heretics was referred to a council of bishops, which met at Oxford in the king's presence early in 1166.[5] After an examination, the delinquents were condemned to be branded; Gerard on his forehead and chin,[6] the

The heretics of 1165 and 1166.

Orthodoxy of the English at the time.

Council of Oxford, A.D. 1166.

[1] *De Nugis Curialium*, p. 62.
[2] W. Newb. p. 122.
[3] Map, *de Nug. Cur.*, p. 62.
[4] Ed. Dunkin, pp. 192, 193.
[5] R. de Diceto, 539.
[6] W. Newb. 123.

Sentence on the heretics.

rest on the forehead only;[1] they were then to be stripped to the waist and scourged; then to be driven out of the town.[2] The sentence was carried out: the unhappy creatures in the depth of winter were pitilessly outlawed; the assize of Clarendon, which was issued immediately after the council, directed that none should receive any of them in his house, estate, or soke, throughout England; if any presumed to disobey, he himself was to lie at the king's mercy, and the house which had held the heretics was to be pulled down and burned.[3] The result of this treatment was, according to William of Newburgh, that "they miserably perished;" according to Walter Map, "they disappeared into Normandy." The consensus of the historians is so complete about this, that it is strange that it should have been misrepresented. The punishment was not severe, if it be compared with the rigour of the criminal law, or even of the forest jurisdiction. There is no burning, no mutilation; simply branding and flogging. Yet Milman[4] can assert "that fires were kindled and heretics burned "in Oxford," with a reference to this very transaction. The assertion of the "Livere des Reis de Brittaine" that each of them lost a foot,[5] is a confusion between their sentence and that of criminals who failed under the ordeal, whose fate was decided by the same judicial assize. If we consider that at this very time the punishment for a transgression of forest law was, blinding and castration,[6] this treatment seems sufficiently lenient. That it was effective we know from William

Comparative mildness of the sentence.

[1] Clave candenti in frontibus de-"formiter sunt signati, et effugati," R. Coggeshall, p. 193; "adusti et "virgis cæsi," Map, *de Nugis &c.*, p. 62; "facies cauteriata," R. de Diceto, 539; "cauteriatis frontibus "publice . . . cæsi," W. Newb., 123.

[2] W. Newb. ii. 13, p. 123.

[3] Hoveden, ii. 252.

[4] History of Latin Christianity (ed. 1867), v. 390.

[5] Ed. Glover, p. 218.

[6] Benedict, i. 323.

of Newburgh; it not only purged England for the time, but secured it from further incursions of the same evil. Although Henry II. refused to burn, the next case of heresy is late in the reign of John. Whatever may have been Henry's policy in this, it can only be interpreted in a way creditable to his humanity.

Heresy did not increase after this.

7. On Hoveden's account of the illness and death of the younger Henry, given at p. 278 of the present volume, I have already remarked at sufficient length. I may add however, that there can be no doubt in the mind of any one who has read the funeral sermon preached for him by Thomas Agnellus, archdeacon of Wells,[1] and promised to the public by Mr. Stevenson in his forthcoming edition of Ralph of Coggeshall; that Henry had a very considerable following in Eng-

Death of the younger Henry.

[1] "Beatus itaque rex Henricus "cum tyrannicæ potestatis pestilentia totam pervagaret Aquitaniam "et dominandi cupiditas ecclesiasticam undique deprimeret libertatem, violentaque depressione "liberam principum conditionem "servilibus perurgeret angariis, sic "semper erat misericordiæ visceribus affluens; miseratus tantæ "depressionis angustias et lacrymabiles servitutis ærumnas, pietatis "zelo in libertatis oppressorem (sc. "Ricardum) arma convertit."
"Merito etiam sanctorum annumerandum credimus collegio qui "tam eximio decessit sanctorum "occurrentium vallatus præsidio" (sc. S. Thomas et S. Eustace). "Non præsumat obstinata detractorum malitia beato viro meritum "et coronam martyrii abnegare." "Utroque igitur modo Beatus H. "martyrium illustravit, quem ecclesiasticæ depressionis zelus et "libertatis oppressio vehementius "urebat, et toties configebatur aculeo compassionis, quoties alios "gloriari videbat onere indebitæ "oppressionis." "Annon instar erat "martyrii quod cum esset ad regni "gubernacula provectus et sacri "crismatis liquore delibutus, diabolo per officiales regios et consiliarios instigante, pater ejus pœnitentia ne dicam invidia ductus, "ipsi regni et gubernationis omuimodo potestatem ademit, et sub "mendicitatis opprobrio privatim "vivere coegit?" "Hoc quoque viro "mitissimo ac liberalissimo erat "instar patibuli, quod passim videbat et dolebat jus ecclesiasticum "conculcari, et nulli in Aquitaniæ "partibus jus libertatis conservari. "Conculcabatur sicut populus sic "sacerdos, et ipse ad amplioris tribulationis cumulum nulli poterat "impendere consolationis remedium, patre suo præstante fratri in "omnibus patrocinium." Miracles began early to be wrought by his relics. MS. Laud, 71, fo. 113 et seqq. See also vol. i. pref. p. lxviii.

The younger Henry regarded as a champion against his father's innovations.

land and France, who regarded him as the champion of the old regime against the reforming tendencies of his father, as well as against Richard. That class of politicians which, like Ralph Niger, pertinaciously regarded the king's reforms as acts of tyrannical interference with feudal liberties, were it seems blind enough to accept the championship of such a man as the younger Henry was, and weak and wicked enough, as that sermon shows, to extenuate his vices and exaggerate his very supposititious virtues, in order to give to his death the character of martyrdom. Hoveden is very far from this, but his connexion with Hugh de Puiset did perhaps make him somewhat lenient in his judgment.

Curious legend of the Crusade.

8. The Herodotean legend given by Hoveden at page 302, in connexion with the preparations made in 1185 for a new crusade, is, so far as I know, peculiar to this writer. It was most probably written, if not entirely invented, after the calamities of the siege of Acre, and the failure of the third Crusade, had proved the truth of the devil's prophecy, "that the sorrow of hell would " be turned into joy, for the iniquity and sin of the " crusaders would be so great that the Lord would " blot them out of the book of life, and many of them " would desert the religion of the Cross, and become " persecutors of it and of the name of Christ."

Notice of Portuguese History.

9. At page 333 is a little episode of Portuguese history which, if it be authentic, is exceedingly interesting. The principal fact related is the quarrel between Alfonso king of Portugal and the legate cardinal Hyacinth, who subsequently became pope as Celestine III. According to Hoveden, Hyacinth was executing his legation very severely, and had degraded several Portuguese abbots. When however he wished to degrade the bishop of Coimbra, Alfonso sent him a message to the effect that if he did not leave his territories immediately he would cut off his foot. The cardinal fled, and the bishop retained his see. It is unfortunate for the exact credit

of the story that Hoveden places it in 1187, two years after Alfonso's death. It is true however that Hyacinth was for some time legate for the whole of Spain, and whilst acting in that capacity had compelled Ferdinand II., king of Leon, to divorce his wife, a daughter of king Alfonso of Portugal; the divorce is placed by Spanish historians in the year 1175,[1] and to this year it is possible that the transaction referred to by Hoveden should be assigned. Alfonso would be then indignant at the conduct of the legate, who had separated his daughter from her husband after ten years of married life, on the ground of remote consanguinity. Hoveden makes another mistake in his subsequent remarks on Alfonso. It was at Badajoz,[2] not at Silvia, that he broke his leg in endeavouring to escape from his son-in-law Ferdinand. This event is placed in the year 1167.[3] Silvia however was a name far better known to Englishmen than Badajoz, for it was the scene of one of their great contributions to the deliverance of Portugal from the Moors. It was taken by Sancho, the successor of Alfonso, with the assistance of the Londoners and other northern crusaders, in September 1189.[4] The event is commemorated by several of our historians, and is a striking parallel with the capture of Lisbon forty years before, the ancient and most curious account of which, was published for the first time in the Appendix to the Preface of the Itinerarium Regis Ricardi, edited by me in this series in 1864. Probably misdated.

10. The last and perhaps the most important passage which I shall remark upon, is Hoveden's account of the the illness and death of Henry II. It contains several Death of Henry II.

[1] The same year, or thereabouts, the Council of Salamanca was held by cardinal Hyacinth: Catalani, *Conc. Hisp.* v. 97.

[2] Roderic. Toletan, vii. cap. 23, in *Rerum Hisp. Scr.* Beli, vol. i. p. 260.

[3] Modern Universal History, vii. 689; viii. 385.

[4] R. de Diceto, 645, 646. Benedict, ii. 90, 117.

Death of Henry II. related by Hoveden with some additional particulars.

particulars unknown to or unrecorded by Benedict, and has some little dramatic force of its own that is strange to the chronicler's usually impassive mood. It was indeed an event that might startle the most dignified historian into sentiment. The greatest monarch of the time, the most cautious politician, and the wealthiest man, practised in all the arts of the warrior and the statesman ; a man who never gave way, never truckled, never missed his aim before, falls before the rising fortune of an enemy whom he despised as a boy, and the arms of the son whom he had trained to his own humiliation. It is impossible to read the narrative of Giraldus Cambrensis, who probably had it either from Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, in whose retinue he was at the time,[1] or from Geoffrey archbishop of York, the only one of Henry's sons who was faithful to him to his death, without being astonished at the suddenness and completeness of the collapse of the king's fortunes. The interest of the closing weeks of his life is great, but the details are obscure. I may be allowed to wind up this portion of my discussion of Hoveden's Chronicle with an attempt to piece the fragments of the story into something like consecutive order.

Sketch of the last days of Henry II.

Henry had been in France since July 1188. Early in that year he had concluded his arrangements to join Philip in a crusade, and had returned to England to make preparations there. From England he was recalled by the outbreak of war. Philip had made a pretext of the quarrel between Richard and the count of Toulouse, to invade Berry and take possession of Châteauroux. His expedition was anything but glorious, for he fled at the very news of Richard's approach, and did not attempt a battle. As the territories which he ravaged were the property of Henry, the old king, after an ineffectual attempt at peace, defied Philip and in-

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[1] Gir. Camb., *De Inst. Pr.*, iii. 14, ed. Brewer, p. 117.

vaded his states. Several efforts for pacification having been defeated by the inveterate mistrust which was mutual between Philip and Henry, a truce was concluded for the Christmas holidays, to end as was usual on the feast of St. Hilary. At the expiration of the truce war was renewed, but in the meantime Richard had deserted his father and joined Philip. The winter of 1188.

Henry seems to have lost hope and energy. He was suffering from a fistula, and depressed in both body and mind. He continued at Le Mans with his court,[1] but with no great force, during the spring of 1189, the allies in the meantime devastating the border territories, and the papal legate, John of Anagni, attempting to mediate. But Philip believed that the legate was in Henry's pay, and took advantage of his arrogance to refuse his arbitration. At Whitsuntide a last attempt at peace was frustrated, and from that date the stream of events ran rapidly. Henry's illness in the spring of 1189.

The conference was held on Trinity Sunday. It broke up in a more determined quarrel than ever. Yet Henry returned to Le Mans and took no overt action. Within a week[2] Philip had overrun Maine, and announced his determination to attack Tours. Still Henry did not move. On the Monday week[3] after the conference Philip suddenly appeared before Le Mans, and the royal forces prepared for a siege, or at least for an assault. Last attempt at peace, June 4. Philip conquers Maine and approaches Le Mans.

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[1] Gir. Camb., *De Inst. Pr.*, iii. 13, ed. Brewer, p. 115. There were three archbishops at court, Baldwin of Canterbury, Walter of Rouen, and Bartholomew of Tours, whom Giraldus, in common with Benedict and Hoveden, calls William. It does not appear which of the prelates was with him at his death, but he was buried by the archbishops Bartholomew of Tours and Fulmar of Treves. R. de Diceto, 645. Baldwin remained in France until the end of July, and it is strange if he was not with his old friend until the last. But I have no evidence to prove that he was (Gervase, 1546); and he certainly was at Rouen when the king was at Azai two or three days before he died. Epp. Cantuar. 296.

[2] Between Trinity Sunday, June 4, and S. Barnabas's day.

[3] June 12.

Burning of Le Mans.

Stephen of Turnham, steward of Anjou, in attempting to burn a suburb that might otherwise give shelter to the besiegers, set fire to the city itself. A struggle ensued for the possession of the bridges, and between the fire and the French Henry found his position untenable. Unable to keep the oath he had sworn to the Manceaux that he would never leave them, he was compelled to fly, and leave his birthplace and his father's tomb in the hands of the enemy. The few of his knights who could, threw themselves into the citadel, and held out until the third day; but Henry with 700 horsemen fled in panic before Philip and Richard, and had it not been for the breaking down of the bridge over a stream that the pursuers could not ford, they must have inevitably been taken.[1] It is here that Giraldus takes up the story.[2]

Flight of Henry.

The king's companions.

Besides Geoffrey the chancellor, Henry had with him William Fitz-Ralph, the steward of Normandy, and William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, and in his wife's right count of Aumâle, two of the small number of nobles who had been faithful to him during all the treasons and struggles of his reign. John was not there, but his father had not yet learned his treason, and the rebellion of Richard had probably strengthened his determination to make him his successor. It would appear that the fugitives left Le Mans by the northern of the two bridges over the Sarthe; it was defended by a strong fortification, which held out against the French for some days after the citadel had surrendered. They fled towards Normandy.[3] The day was extremely

They fly northwards.

[1] Benedict, ii. 68.

[2] *Vita Galfridi*, Angl. Sac., ii. 381.

[3] The words of the *Philippis* are clear as to the direction of his flight, although he did not, according to Giraldus, go so far as Alençon; "dum fugit oblitus famæ et regalis "honoris, Donec Alençonis tuta se "clausit in arce, Continuo fugiens "viginti millia cursu." *Philippis*, ap. Pithœum, p. 266.

hot, the roads narrow and heavy:[1] the flight had all the circumstances of a rout. The pursuit indeed was not carried far. The horse of Richard, who was leading it, was wounded by the lance of one of his knights, and he was thrown.[2] Perhaps the stoppage gave him time to think, and he turned back. At a distance of two miles[3] Henry was able to draw rein, look back on the burning city, and bid it his last farewell. The farewell was, as Giraldus reports it, uttered in the very spirit of blasphemous defiance which was so characteristic of the Plantagenet temper. "My God, since, to "crown my confusion and increase my disgrace, thou "hast taken from me so vilely the town which on "earth I have loved best, where I was born and bred, "and where my father lies buried, and the body of "S. Julian too; I will have my revenge on thee also; "I will of a surety withdraw from thee that thing "which thou lovest best in me." He said more still, which Giraldus thought safer not to record; then he continued his flight. Twenty miles[4] they rode that day, and towards night reached La Frenaye,[5] a castle of Henry's kinsman, the viscount of Beaumont, lying on the left bank of the Sarthe, on the road to Alençon. The castle was too small for the whole retinue, and the chancellor wished to remain outside in the village, in case of an attack being made by the enemy in pursuit. But Henry seems to have clung to him with the earnestness of despair; he insisted on his coming in, and they passed the night together. Geoffrey

The flight from Le Mans, June 12.

Henry's farewell to his native city.

Arrival at La Frenaye.

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[1] Gir. Camb., *Vita Galfridi*; in Anglia Sacra, ii. 381.

[2] Gir. Camb., *De Inst. Pr.*, iii. 24, ed. Brewer, 140.

[3] Gir. Camb., *De Inst. Pr.*, iii. 24, ed. Brewer, 138.

[4] *Philippis*, p. 266.

[5] "Frenellas," Gir. Camb., *De Inst. Pr.*, iii. 25, ed Brewer, 140; and *Vita Galfridi*, in Ang. Sac. ii. 381. I suppose the place to be la Frenaye. Giraldus describes it as containing a castle, a municipium, and a "villa "modica." It is at the right distance and in the right direction from Le Mans. See Stapleton's *Norman Rolls*, ii. p. xxxii.

The king spends the night there.

had lost all his baggage in Le Mans; the king was a little better provided, and furnished his son with a change of linen.[1] The discomfort of the journey had been very great; many of the knights had perished from heat and fatigue before they reached the place of safety.

They took supper together; but after supper, Henry, with that passionate waywardness which marks his failing powers, refused to be undressed. He lay down on a couch, and Geoffrey spread his own cloak over him.

He determines to go into Anjou or Touraine.

In the morning, Tuesday, June the 13th, the king had changed his mind. He would not desert his native province; he would return to Anjou, and if he must die he would die there. In vain his counsellors argued that his strength lay all to the north, that the Norman castles were out of the reach and above the strength of Philip. Geoffrey might lead the army, the scanty force that still mustered round him; he would go back; he could go to Chinon.[2] The nobles were forced to obey. William Fitz-Ralph and William de Mandeville swore that, if anything unlucky befell the king, they would surrender the castles of Normandy only to John. The chancellor was to see the force in safety to Alençon; then he might rejoin his father. How Henry reached Anjou we are not told. It must have been an adventure equal in secrecy and rapidity to those of his best days, for all the roads were beset by Philip's forces. Henry, however, knew the country, both as a soldier and as a huntsman. Geoffrey hurried to Alençon, and then, having assured himself of the safety of the place, took a hundred chosen and well equipped knights,

Geoffrey conducts his force to Alençon.

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[1] "Interulam propriam et vesti-"menta," Gir. Camb., *V. Galfr.*, 381.

[2] "versus Andegaviam," Gir. Camb., *V. Galfr.*, Ang. Sac. ii. 381; Hoveden, ii. 364; Benedict, ii. 68; Rigord, 185, who however makes Henry fly direct to Chinon.

and set off to seek the king. He overtook him at a place called Savigny,[1] thence they proceed to Chinon, and a few days later to Saumur. They meet at Savigny.

Of the acts of Henry during the following fortnight we have no record. He was probably suffering from his disease, aggravated by the heat of the weather and the loss of rest. In the meantime Philip was possessing himself one by one of the fortresses of Maine, and announcing his intention not to rest until he had taken Tours. Philip overruns Maine.

There were on both sides many counsellors of peace, and it is probable that several interviews were held between the subordinates in the last week of June, for otherwise it is difficult to account for the differences of the date of the final agreement, as given by the several historians. But it is not probable that Henry, Richard, and Philip met more than once again. An interview was arranged, as Giraldus states, to be held at Azai on the 30th of June,[2] but Henry was too ill to attend. On that very day he was seized with fever. Philip and Richard refused to believe that this was anything but an excuse for delay, and, although the terms of peace were proposed, and probably accepted on both sides, no formal armistice was made. Philip Conference at Azai, June 30. Henry seized with fever.

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[1] "Savigniacum." There are so many places in Maine of this and similar names, that I cannot venture on deciding which is the one referred to. As the western part of the county was less in Philip's hands than the eastern, I should look for it in that direction. But possibly it is the village on the Vienne, between Chinon and Cande.

[2] There is a consensus of historians as to the festival of S. Peter and S. Paul as marking the date of the drawing up of the treaty. R. de Diceto, 645. Giraldus speaks of the conference as held in Henry's absence: "sumpto inter reges colloquio non procul ab oppidulo Turoniæ, cui nomen erat Azai, feria sexta, rex Anglorum eodem quo convenire debuerant die, apud Azai, lethaliter acuta febri correptus accubuit." R. de Diceto, places it on the eve, June 28, Wednesday; Giraldus on the Friday, June 30.

was determined to take Tours before he laid down his arms.

Philip approaches Tours, Friday, June 30.

On the same day, the 30th of June, on a Friday,[1] Philip appeared before Tours; Henry being at Saumur, and knowing himself to lie at his enemy's mercy. The young conqueror announced his intention of attacking the city on the Monday, whether or no Henry should in the mean time determine on submission. One more attempt was made to end the war. With Philip were his uncle, archbishop William of Rheims, Philip count of Flanders, and Hugh duke of Burgundy. The two former were now growing old men, and were better able to estimate Henry's character and position than they had been twenty years before, when they had been the chief supporters of Becket. The count of Flanders and the duke of Burgundy were earnest and sincere crusaders; they both perished two years afterwards in

Visit of the French nobles to Henry at Saumur, July 2.

[1] The French historian, Rigord, 185, places the assault of Tours on the 23rd of June, and the death of Henry twelve days after. But the evidence of Benedict, Hoveden, and of Giraldus also, is clearly against this. It is true that the earlier date would give more room for the otherwise crowded action of the week; but Rigord is not so exact a chronicler, nor so nearly contemporary, as the others. It is impossible altogether to reconcile the statements of the different writers. Hoveden and Benedict place Henry at Saumur on Sunday July 2; Giraldus makes him fall ill at Azai on the Friday before; William the Breton makes him come from Chinon to Colombieres on the Tuesday. Again Hoveden seems to suppose that he was present at the conference at which the terms of the treaty were drawn up; Giraldus says that although he was at Azai he was sick, and disappointed Philip and Richard, who refused to believe the excuse. I have tried to follow the sequence of facts, arranging the localities as I found the authority of the historians confirmed by the relative position of the towns where the events happened. Chinon lies about half way between Saumur and Azai, Azai about half way between Chinon and Tours, and Colombieres half way between Tours and Azai. If Henry were at Azai on the Friday, he could hardly have gone back, ill as he was, to Saumur for Sunday, he would rather have gone to Chinon. To harmonize the statements is impossible, for Giraldus clearly believed that he was at Azai from Friday to Tuesday; Hoveden as clearly says that he was at Saumur on the Sunday.

Palestine, Philip on his second pilgrimage. If the holy city were to be recovered, peace must be made before Henry was crushed and Christendom maimed of one of its mightiest members. Gratitude as well as piety, and prudence as well as gratitude, may have swayed them. Henry had more than once interfered to save them; it would not be well that Philip should become too powerful. The year before they had mediated successfully, and vowed to desert Philip if he would not agree to peace. Against his will they visited Henry on the Sunday at Saumur. We have no record of the conversation; they had no authority to make terms other than were determined on the Friday before. They were inclined to mediate.

On the Monday Philip assaulted Tours; it was defended by a scanty force, and its natural strength was not sufficient to counterbalance the deficiency. The Loire was half dried up by the continued heat, and on the river side the ladders of the besiegers were planted. It surrendered the same day. Philip takes Tours, Monday, June 3.

And now Henry nerved himself for an interview which he knew could have but one issue. Ill as he was, he moved from Saumur to Azai, and in the plain of Colombieres[1] met Philip and Richard on the day after the capture of Tours.[2] Henry goes to Azai.

[1] "Anglicus interea pacem rogat,
" et licet ægra
" Febre laboraret, calida Chi-
" none relicta
" Usque Columbare pro pacis
" amore venire
" Sustinuit." *Philippis*, ap. Pith. p. 261.

[2] At p. 365 of this volume, and I am sorry to say twice in the second volume of Benedict of Peterborough, I have given Rigord as the authority for this statement. Both place and day are derived from the Philippis of William the Breton, which occurs in the same volume with Rigord. He mentions Colombieres expressly as the place. The day is fixed by the statement "post " triduum," which is confirmed by Matthew Paris. I quoted Rigord by memory, and forgot to verify the reference. *Philippis*, p. 268; M. Paris, (ed. Wats), p. 151. According to Giraldus, the conference between Philip and Henry took place on the day after the capture of Tours.

Conference at Colombieres, Tuesday, July 4.

Henry, notwithstanding his fistula and his fever, was able to sit on horseback. His son Geoffrey had begged leave of absence, that he might not see the humiliation of his father;[1] but many of his other nobles, and probably two of his three archbishops, rode beside him.[2] The terms which he had come to ratify had been settled beforehand. He had but to signify his acceptance of them by word of mouth. They met face to face, the unhappy father and the undutiful son. It was a clear sultry day, a cloudless sky and still air.[3] As the kings advanced towards one another a clap of thunder was heard, and each drew back. Again they advanced, and again it thundered louder than before. Henry, wearied and excited, was ready to faint. His attendants held him up on his horse, and so he made his submission. He had but one request to make; it was for a list of the conspirators who had joined with Richard to forsake and betray him. The list was promised, and he returned to Azai. Before he parted with Richard he had to give him the kiss of peace; he did so, but the rebellious son heard his father whisper, and was not ashamed to repeat it as a jest to Philip's ribald courtiers, "May God not " let me die until I have taken me due vengeance on " thee."[4]

Henry's submission.

But not even his submission and humiliation procured him rest. Among the minor vexations of the last months had been the pertinacious refusal of the monks of Canterbury[5] to obey the archbishop in certain matters in which they believed their privileges to be infringed. Henry had, as usual with him in questions

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[1] Gir. Camb. Vita Galfr., *Ang. Sac.* ii. 381.

[2] Archbishop Baldwin was at Rouen: *Epp. Cantuar.* 296.

[3] Hoveden, p. 366, below.

[4] Gir. Camb., *De Inst. Pr.*, iii. 26, ed. Brewer, p. 150.

[5] The whole story of the dispute is in Gervase; and the letters written on the subject are in the *Epistolæ Cantuarienses*, which form the second volume of my *Memorials of Richard I.*

Visit of the monks of Canterbury to Henry at Azai.

of ecclesiastical law, taken a personal interest in the matter, and had not scrupled to back the archbishop with arms at Canterbury and support of a still more effective kind at Rome. A deputation from the convent, sent out in the vain idea that Henry's present misfortunes would soften his heart towards them, had been looking for him for some days. They found him at Azai,[1] most probably on his return from the field of Colombieres. "The convent of Canterbury salute you "as their lord," was the greeting of the monks. "Their "lord I have been, and am still, and will be yet," was the king's answer; "small thanks to you, ye traitors," he added below his breath.[2] One of his clerks prevented him from adding more invective. He bethought himself probably that even now the justiciar was asking the convent for money towards the expenses of the war; he would temporize as he had always seemed to do with them. "Go away, and I will speak with my faithful," he said when he had heard their plea. He called William of S. Mere l'Eglise, one of the chiefs of the chancery, and ordered him to write in his name. The letter is extant,[3] and is dated at Azai. It is probably the last document he ever issued. It begins, "Henry, "by the grace of God king of England, duke of "Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to the "convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, greeting, and

[1] This is certain from the date of the letter issued by the king, and from Gervase, c. 1544. The latter author distinctly says that he died and was buried within a week of his interview with the monks. He died on Thursday July 6th, and on the following day the funeral started for Fontevraud. We are not told the exact day of the burial, but it could scarcely have been before Saturday, on which day Giraldus seems to place it, *V. Galfr.*, p. 382. If I am wrong in supposing the king to have gone from Saumur to Azai on Monday, or early on Tuesday, the interview with the monks may have taken place two or three days earlier.

[2] *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 295.

[3] *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 297; Gervase, c. 1545. Gervase omits the peculiar words of the salutation.

The king's letter to Canterbury.

"by God's mercy on his return to England, peace." The substance of the letter is, that the monks should take advantage of the delay in his return to reconsider their position, and the things that make for peace, that they might find an easier way out of their difficulties when he should come. The monks, delighted with their success, retired, and the king lay down to rest. It was then, probably, that the fatal schedule was brought him,[1] which he had so unwisely demanded at Colombieres.

He receives the list of the traitors: and hears the name of John.

It was drawn up in the form of a release from allegiance; all who had adhered to Richard were allowed to attach themselves henceforth to him, in renunciation of the father's right over them.[2] He ordered the names to be read. The first on the list was that of John. The sound of the beloved name startled him at once. He leaped up from his bed as one beside himself, and looking round him with a quick troubled glance exclaimed, "Is "it true that John, my very heart, the best beloved of "all my sons, for whose advancement I have brought "upon me all this misery, has forsaken me?" The reader had no other answer to make than to repeat the name. Henry saw that it was on the list, and threw himself back on the couch. He turned his face to the wall, and

His despair.

groaned deeply. "Now," he said, "let all things go "what way they may; I care no more for myself nor "for the world." His heart was broken, and his death blow struck.

He moves from Azai to Chinon.

He could not, however, remain at Azai. His people carried him in a litter to Chinon,[3] where Geoffrey was waiting for him. It was the fifth day of the fever, and in all probability he was delirious with the excitement of the morning. It was remembered and reported in England that after he was brought to Chinon he cursed

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[1] He was still at Azai. Hoveden, p. 366. Cf. Gir. Camb., *De Inst. Pr.*, iii. 25, ed. Brewer, p. 148.

[2] Gir. Camb., l.c.

[3] Hoveden, 366; Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., *Ang. Sac.*, ii. 381.

the day on which he was born,[1] and implored God's malison on his sons: the bishops and priests about him implored him to revoke the curse, but he refused. But Giraldus, bitter enemy as he was, somewhat softened by his misfortune, tells a different tale. He draws the picture of the dying king leaning on Geoffrey's[2] shoulder whilst one of his knights held his feet in his lap. Geoffrey was fanning the flies from the king's face, as he seemed to be sleeping. As they watched, the king revived and opened his eyes. He looked at Geoffrey and blessed him. "My son," he said, "my dearest, for that thou hast ever striven to show "towards me such faithfulness and gratitude as son "could show to father, if by God's mercy I shall "recover of this sickness, I will of a surety do to thee "the duty of the best of fathers, and I will set thee "among the greatest and mightiest men of my dominion. "But if I am to die without requiting thee, may God, "who is the author and rewarder of all good, reward "thee, because in every fortune alike thou hast shown "thyself to me so true a son." Geoffrey, of whose sincere sorrow there can be no doubt, was overwhelmed with tears; he could but reply that all he prayed for was his father's health and prosperity. Another day passed, and the king's strength visibly waned. He kept crying at intervals, "Shame, shame on a conquered "king."[3] At last when Geoffrey was again by his side, the poor king kept telling him how he had destined him for the see of York, or, if not York, Winchester;[4] but now he knew that he was dying. He drew off his best gold ring with the device of the panther, and bade him send it to his son-in-law, the king of Castile; and

Stories of his cursing his sons.

Giraldus's account of the last days.

Geoffrey's conversations with his father.

[1] Hoveden, ii. 366; M. Paris, 151.

[2] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., *Ang. Sac.*, ii. 381.

[3] Gir. Camb., *De Inst. Pr.*, iii. 26, ed. Brewer, p. 150.

[4] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., *Ang. Sac.*, ii. 382.

another very precious ring, with a sapphire of great price and virtue, he ordered to be delivered out of his treasure. Then he desired that his bed should be carried into the chapel, and placed before the altar.[1] He had strength still to say some words of confession, and received "the Communion of the Body and Blood of "the Lord with devotion." And so he died, on the seventh day of the fever,[2] on the sixth of July, the octave of the apostles Peter and Paul.

The king's confession and death, July 6.

Local particulars preserved by Hoveden.

11. Among the minor points of history illustrated by Hoveden's local and personal knowledge, which occur in the present volume and have not been already adverted to, may be mentioned the circumstances of the election of Paulinus of Leeds to the see of Carlisle,[3] about which he preserves some additional particulars; the deaths of the abbots of Selby and of S. Mary's at York in 1184;[4] the confused story about S. Godric of Finchale in 1170;[5] and the burning of the cathedral church of S. Julian at le Mans in 1184.[6] Nicolas, the dean of S. Julian, was, like Hoveden himself, one of the king's chaplains, and from this connexion his interest in the place may have arisen. The church stood also very high in the estimation of king Henry as his father's burial place.

Importance of this work.

Such are the most important contributions made by this writer to the history of the reign which, to the student who loves to trace the actual connexion between cause and effect, as well as to develop the broader features of national development, must always be one

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[1] This is mentioned, I think, only by Hoveden, ii. 367.

[2] "feria quinta, et a quo decubuit "septima; die videlicet quem phy- "sici criticum vocant." Gir. Camb., *De Inst. Pr.*, iii. 26, ed. Brewer, p. 150.

[3] Hoveden, ii. 309.

[4] Hoveden, ii. 288.

[5] Hoveden, ii. 16.

[6] Hoveden, ii. 288.

of the most interesting in our annals. The work of Hoveden was, for centuries after English history began to be studied carefully, the great store of facts for the reign, upon which both in medieval and modern times the historians who followed him chiefly drew. Even after the existence of the earlier work known as "Benedict" was ascertained, Hoveden was so much more accessible and so much better worked, the relations between the two being as yet very obscure, that as a matter of fact he continued to be the first authority. Studied as the primary authority on the history of a reign of primary importance, this work affords material for discussion of the most interesting kind on an immense variety of points constitutional and political. In treating the Chronicle of Benedict, I endeavoured to illustrate the history of the age of the two writers, by elucidating some of the more marked steps of constitutional progress. On this head Benedict is somewhat more full than Hoveden, for the common period: I shall not recapitulate these points here. But there is a branch of politics without some consideration of which our view of the reign and of the value of its historians would be very imperfect. I will point out very briefly the ways in which the foreign policy of England during the middle ages was affected by the circumstances, the acts, and the alliances of the first king of the house of Anjou.

The reign of Henry II. generally studied in Hoveden.

The foreign policy of England dates from this time.

It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that England owes her introduction into the family of European nations to the Norman Conquest. Almost all her previous intercourse with the continent had been of that personal and occasional sort which, although it helps to increase acquaintance, has little in common either with the dynastic policy of kings or the political action of nations. It is the first step indeed, but only a step towards it. The early intermarriages of the house of Wessex with the Karlings, and the later ones with the

Isolation of England before the Conquest.

Englishmen and transactions abroad before the Conquest.

families of the Saxon and Franconian emperors; the momentary jealousy of Charles and Offa, that of Lewis and Kenulf[1] (if it were more than a mere verbal bravado); the travels of Ethelwulf and Alfred; the wanderings of the children and grandchildren of Ethelred; the long list of pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem that stretches through the whole of the Anglo-Saxon annals from Willibald to Ealdred and Sweyn, from Ina to Harold and Tostig; all these had done little more than remind the struggling powers of the "dark" ages, that in the Northern Sea, separated in language and laws from the races that had fallen and risen under the spell of Rome, lay two islands full of Christian men and churches, that had their wars and peace, their councils and policy, almost entirely to themselves.

Intercourse maintained by the churches only occasional.

In one respect indeed there was an apparent and an obvious exception to this general severance: from the first ages of the Conversion some sort of intercourse had been maintained between the churches. But even this was scanty, interrupted and exceptional. Northumbria by her missions to Friesland, Wessex by the gift of Boniface to Germany, had done something to fulfil the duty of children to the parent land. Alcuin had more than repaid the debt under which, two centuries before, the Franco-Gallican church had laid the infant Christianity of the Heptarchy. One or two literary friendships continue to throw a ray of light across the gloom of the ninth century. Once or twice a legate is admitted from Rome, but as an inquirer or an ambassador, not yet as a judge; from time to time an archbishop crosses the Alps and is entertained at the Lateran. From Fleury and S. Omer we had imported an unwelcome and unseasonable monachism; and later on had even drawn a new system of education from

[1] Kemble, *Codex Dipl.*, i. 281. Compare this with the letters of Leo III. to Charles, in Mansi, xiii. 969, 974.

the colleges of Lorraine. But there was little in common between the ascetic prelates and pious witan of England and the secularized bishops and disloyal politicians of France and Germany; little harmony of feeling between the scholars of Bede, Alcuin, Alfred, and Elfric, and the schools, moral, political, or intellectual, that produced a Hildebrand or an Adalbert. English bishops were a greater novelty in a council of France or Rome than their British predecessors had been at Arles and Rimini, or the names of Anglo-Saxon saints in the calendar of Lanfranc. From the Conquest this isolation ceases.

Isolation of the English church at this period.

Like many other features of our national character, this, in the age immediately preceding the Conquest seemed to be undergoing a change. The reign of Canute had put his English kingdom in close connexion with Northern Europe; a relation which, beginning under a prince who possessed a larger stake on the continent than any other who ever ruled in England, might have resulted in some such effects as followed the union with Normandy. But in this case the duration of the connexion was so short, and the point of conjunction so far removed from the focus of political life, both in religion and in secular matters, and the English policy of Canute was so English, that, in spite of his statesmanlike and cosmopolitan instincts, no such results followed. Again under Edward the Confessor England seemed first to advance towards and then to retire from intimacy with her foreign sisters. Edward's wandering life had made him familiar with the manners and cities of many men; and although he came back to his island throne little wiser than when he left it, having learned only what had better have been forgotten, his people were awakened somewhat rudely to the fact, that there were other nations than Danes and Norsemen who felt a vivid interest in their fertile lands and cunning goldsmiths' work. From Lor-

Canute brings England more prominently into European society.

And Edward likewise.

Political alliances of the English parties under Edward.

raine and Saxony poured in strange bishops; from Normandy and Flanders came noble adventurers with old Teutonic names, but Frenchmen in manners and intrigue: now each political party at home sought allies and a fulcrum in some foreign court; one in Normandy, one in Flanders, one in Denmark; the king himself most naturally in the imperial house. It was from Germany perhaps that he had learned to admire the relations of Henry II. and Cunegunda,[1] and to see in their Bamberg a pattern for his own Westminster.[2] But just as feudalism itself, although matters had been verging upon it so long, came on England at last per saltum, the result of sudden invasion, not the outgrowth of natural causes regularly developed; so when the time came for her to step into the whirlpool of European interests, the impulse came from without, the step was taken at the time and as a consequence of the Conquest. Henceforth, instead of associating with other nations in casual, personal, or occasional interests only, she was to take her place as a player in the great game.

The Conquest the real starting point.

Importance of the Crusades in this view.

Not less than by the mere fact of the Conquest, this result was affected by the character of the conquering house, by the condition of Europe itself, and by the nature of the great enterprise which had for its chief consequence the bringing the nations face to face with each other,—the first Crusade. Of this latter influence it is almost as difficult to overrate the importance as it is that of the Conquest itself; but whether or no England would without the Norman dynasty have been drawn into the Crusade, — and throughout the

[1] *Vita Heinrici*, Canis. Lect., iii. p. 2, p. 31.

[2] I dare not venture to affirm that Edward ever was in Germany, but the evidence for his political connexion with that country is abundant. Gunhilda, the first wife of Henry III., is called by the biographer of Edward (ed. Luard, 395), Edward's sister. She was the daughter of Canute and Emma.

Crusades, in their whole duration, there is a thread of English distinct from Norman or Angevin interest,—it was by that connexion that it was in fact so involved. It is a consequence of the Conquest, not one of a set of co-ordinate causes.

English as contrasted with Norman exploits in the Crusades.

It might seem more natural to fix our date at the reign of Henry I. It was nearest to the Crusade; it was the earliest point at which the public mind of England could have been consulted on foreign politics, for under the Williams national thought in Norman as in Englishman was in abeyance, and Henry by his relations with France and Flanders, by the marriage of his daughter with Henry V., and that influence over his son-in-law which led to the belief that by his advice the emperor was about to tax the empire on the plan of Domesday Book,[1] clearly exercised an important weight in continental politics. But Henry's position in Europe, dignified as it was, resulted in great measure from his father's policy, and sprang altogether from that startling success which had roused France into terrified jealousy, and spread into further Europe the panic fear that William Bostar, the chosen of Alexander and Hildebrand, was going to descend upon the empire like Alaric or Attila, or as a little later the Normans did on Apulia, at the papal invitation, a scourge at once of schism and civilization. But it is to the Conquest itself, as including all the other secondary impulses, that we may trace everything distinctive in the change. By it the church is brought into close connexion with Rome, and the nation in its political aspect, after a short apprenticeship in the quarrels of French and Flemish provincial sovereigns, takes that place in European parties which, for good or evil, it has retained with little change of attitude for seven hundred years, and more or less to the present day.

Henry I.'s relation to the powers of Europe a result of his father's fame.

Everything of the kind traceable to the Conquest itself.

[1] Otto Frising, ap. Urstis. i. 148.

The historical method preferable in dealing with these questions.

It would, I am aware, be more in accordance with the philosophy of history, to base the relations which subsisted between England and France during the latter middle ages, upon general principles, by a reference to those general laws which are so convenient a revelation in the ignorance of facts: by adducing the natural antagonism between insular and continental nations, between Teutons and Celts, between trading and agricultural peoples; or the jealous rivalry which is of course the normal condition of states which, having no common object of ambition, are always in active competition; or any of the elaborately ingenious arguments which are so apt to show that all things would have been exactly as they are, if everything had been diametrically opposite to what it was. All this may be quite true; it may be a fair experiment for the reconstruction of the moral government of the world; but it is not history, and whatever the philosopher may do, the student may not pretend to view matters from that high standing point at which facts and individualities become invisible. As a matter of fact it was from the Norman Conquest that England as a state was brought into relation with the powers of Europe, and from its initial relations with those powers, as the events of the twelfth century defined them, that its political position was determined down to the period of the second French revolution. And this definition was owing not to antipathies or sympathies of races, not to physical geography, nor to distinctions in the development of feudal institutions, but to the varying personal relations of the rulers of the kingdoms, and to the second nature of peoples educated for twenty generations in the wars, and identifying themselves through good and evil with the interests, and accumulating six centuries' experience of the rights and wrongs of kings.

But although it was by the Conquest that England was forced into the participation of European politics,

it is to the complications of the following century that the determination of her exact position with regard to them is to be ascribed. There were during the medieval period three distinct crisises which defined the relations of England with France, out of which most of her external history resulted ; the Conquest, the reign of Henry II., and the reign of Edward III. Of these three, the second is in this point of view the most decisively important. The French and Norman quarrels might indeed have produced the same results as did the marriage of Henry and Eleanor, but their operation was merged in the larger questions opened by the personal hatred between the Angevin princes and the house of Lewis VII., and by the jealousies accumulated by the transfer of Guienne and Poictou. The wars of Edward III. and Henry V. would have been impossible without that training in the hatred of foreigners which had been growing upon the English since the Conquest, but had reached its maximum during the internal and external quarrels of the thirteenth century. Not that it was by any means an indiscriminating hatred. England accepted the alien Stephen rather than the alien Geoffrey; and by the alien Simon de Montfort wrought her deliverance from the tyranny based on and aggravated by foreign favouritism. The king as a general rule was accepted as the national leader, and so long as his barons remained foreigners in spirit, the heart of the nation was with him against them. When the amalgamation between the barons and the people was completed, and by a singular coincidence the king brought his friends and ministers from abroad, it was time indeed to limit the power of the crown, but there was no thought of changing the dynasty; and the political alliances of the king, unlike mere matrimonial ones, seem to have commanded the full sympathy of the nation generally. To the English of the twelfth century, delivered by Henry II. from the feudal tyranny of the

Relations of England and France during the middle ages.

They take their colour from the reign of Henry II.

The origin of the national feeling towards France.

France the great object of English antipathy.

Norman baronage, France was the great stay and support of the common enemies of themselves and their king: to those of the thirteenth, from the accession at least of Henry III., France was the source and home of men and measures which, as sustaining the royal faithlessness, were alike hateful to nobles and people: from the reign of Edward III. downwards, king, nobles, and people joined heart and soul in a war which lasted as long as the middle ages themselves.

Balance of power in Europe in the twelfth century.

The state of "the balance of power in Europe," in the twelfth century, was this briefly: there were certain great bundles of states, connected by a dynastic or by a national unity; the kingdom of France, the empire in Germany, the Christian states of Spain, the territories of the house of Plantagenet, the still solid remnant of the Byzantine empire, the well compacted dominions of the Normans in Apulia and Sicily. Of these, France, Germany, and Spain were busily striving either for consolidation or against dissolution; the estates of the Plantagenets were bound only by the personal tie; Constantinople was far removed from the interests of Christendom, her face set always eastward, in church and state; the Norman state in Sicily and Apulia was the best organized and most united kingdom, and this taken in conjunction with the wealth, splendour, ability, and maritime superiority of the kings, gave it an importance much greater than was due to its extent. All these great powers, with the exception of the last, had their energies for the most part employed on domestic struggles, and were prevented by the interposition of small semi-neutral territories from any extensive or critical collision, whilst much of their natural aggressive spirit was carried off to the East. Between the Normans and the de facto empire lay the debateable and unmanageable estates of the papacy, and the bulwark of Lombardy, itself a task for the whole imperial energies. Between the same empire and France lay the remains

of the ancient Lotharingian and Burgundian kingdoms, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, hardly ever more than nominally imperial; a region destined to be the battle field of many generations, as soon as the rival nations should have consolidated themselves and girt up their strength; but at present acting as a barrier over which it was useless to fight, and far safer to shake hands. Between France and Spain, neither of which had time for foreign war, lay the southern inheritance of Eleanor and her vassals, whilst, although between Lewis VII. and Henry II. there lay no such convenient welcome border land, there existed in France a class of vassals whose interest was at once to keep the two kings asunder and to prevent either from overwhelming the other. The welfare of Champagne and Flanders depended on the balance of power between the two successive husbands of Eleanor of Guienne. Divisions of Europe.

By broad intervening barriers, and by constant occupation at home, now in the humiliation of aspiring vassals, now in the struggle for existence against the overwhelming power of the greater feudatories, now in the maintenance of peace between rivals, the two great representatives of the resurrection of European life, the kingdoms of France and Germany, were kept at arms' length from each other, and, as being at arms' length, in an attitude something like friendship. So for the most part they continued until the consolidation of France by Lewis XI., and the great accumulation of territory in the hands of Charles V., produced what is now the recognized clue to modern politics, the balance of power properly so called; the days when the border lands became, instead of a guarantee of peace, a battle field of annual wars. The only real question between them at this time was the papacy; and it was not yet time for a European war to be produced by the intrigues of rival popes. The emperor found no sympathy in No general wars.

French policy as regards the papacy and Italy.

France for his claim to nominate or influence the election of a pontiff: France was always the open asylum of the exiled champions of ecclesiastical independence. But France was yet a long way from Italy, and her assistance was given more readily in the applause of councils, and in the material support of board, lodging, and preferment, than in either armies or embassies. Italy could fight her own battles, and her innate life and passionate vigour was more than a match for the strength of Germany removed far from home to a land of strange air and unfamiliar food. Beyond Germany lay towards the East a wide field for imperial energies, whether they took the line of conquest or that of conversion. But the typical dominion of Italy was an object far too dear, even to the wise head and the strong heart of the great Frederick, to allow him to look elsewhere, until the time came for the united effort of the Christian world to recover Jerusalem, lost by their divisions and apathy.

Eleanor's inheritance places Henry in close neighbourhood with the chief European powers.

Into such a Europe was England, or I should rather say the English people under their foreign lord, introduced in the 12th century. The Conquest had taught them what foreigners were; the reign of Henry II. placed them in the closest relation to France, and through it in a position to affect the rest of the continent. By the possession of the insular kingdom the monarchs of the Norman house had made at once the presence of a new influence felt. When Henry had successfully vindicated his claims to the domains and superiorities united in Eleanor's inheritance, he found himself in one part or another of his estates in contact as close as was convenient with all the great powers. Gascony brought him to the borders of Arragon, and to the disputed frontier of Castille and Navarre. The homage of Toulouse[1] placed him in condition to affect the outlying

[1] Hoveden, ii. 45.

provinces of the empire in the south, from which in the north he was separated by the line, geographically and politically thin, of the county of Flanders. Between north and south he bordered on a land French by law and right, but quite willing to be debateable. His earliest measures were taken to make this debateable land his own. By marrying his son Henry to the daughter of Louis VII., he possessed himself of the Vexin, and left the French king with no defensible line in case of war between Rouen and Paris; by the marriage of Geoffrey he obtained immediate possession of Brittany, to which he had already a feudal claim, as to the Vexin he had some show of an hereditary one;[1] by the betrothal of Richard to a princess of Arragon,[2] he seemed for a moment inclined to attempt an intrusion into Spain, but it was really a momentary expedient intended to affect the great claim to Toulouse, and when no longer necessary was suffered to drop, preference being given to another French match which, would secure Bourges and Berry for the future lord of Guienne and Poictou.

His early policy calculated to encroach on France by securing border territories.

In these few circumstances we have the whole of the French policy of Henry II. They point, if not to a high ambition, certainly not to a mischievous one; and they indicate a mind far more desirous of peace than of war. By these measures, and by a policy ot peace, Henry managed to put himself in the right in all disputes with Lewis VII.; and during the early years of Philip II. he acted with singular unselfishness as an arbiter in the quarrels of the French vassals.[3] In the former reign the difficulties always arose from the interference of Louis in the domestic affairs of his ex-wife; and in the latter Henry repaid good for evil,

His general conduct with regard to France.

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[1] Ord. Vit., vii. 14, x. 5. Gir. Camb., *De Inst. Pr.* (ed. Brewer), p. 13.

[2] Robert de Monte, ad 1159, ed. Pistorius, i. 892.

[3] Benedict, i. 277, 312.

Henry's French wars fought by mercenaries.

acting as a pacificator in disputes which originated in the domestic jealousies of the maternal and matrimonial connexions of the young king. In these transactions the English did not often find themselves engaged hand to hand with their French foes. The few campaigns in which battles were really fought Henry carried on by mercenaries. It was rather by sympathy with a sovereign who spared both the blood and money of his own people,[1] who utilized and consumed for the fighting of his battles the objects of their most intense antipathy, that the English hatred of the French originated and grew, until they met to fight side by side under the walls of Acre. The policy of Henry in France was simply a family policy,—Angevin it may perhaps be called, but Angevin in two senses, a bad one and a good one; bad in the inherited feature of petty aggrandizement and unscrupulous chicanery, good in the point that England's men and treasure were not exhausted in a great war or in a large political struggle.

Henry's relations with France not immediately connected with his other foreign relations.

Had the state of Europe been other than what it was, his intensifying and unintermitting feud with France must have driven Henry II. to seek alliances with such of the great powers as might feel the same apprehensions from the same quarter. Spain, Germany, and Italy would be the natural resource in such circumstances. But no two powerful states, as has been remarked already, felt themselves at this time in immediate contact or in immediate rivalry. Eleanor's inheritance had placed England nearer to France than any other two states capable of independent policy yet lay to each other. The rapprochement between Henry and the more distant powers was brought about by other means, more especially by the struggle with

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[1] *Dialogus de Scaccario*, p. 25. "Mavult enim princeps stipendiarios "quam domesticos bellicis apponere "casibus."

The Becket quarrel a cause or occasion for foreign alliances.

Thomas Becket, which from a mere personal quarrel became, owing to the pertinacity of both parties, a topic of intense interest throughout Europe. Henry's three daughters were married into Germany, Spain, and Italy; in two at least out of the three cases the alliance was suggested by the political circumstances arising from this contest. In all three we trace the beginning of a connexion which runs, with some changes of colour, but in an unbroken thread, throughout the middle ages. These marriages, however, were not of Henry's seeking; they were the result of earnest application from the royal suitors, and they were concluded after careful consideration of the eligibility of the husband in the royal or national councils.[1] It is as clear that the goodwill of the nation was consulted in the case of the daughters, as it is that neither its interests nor its wishes were regarded in the case of the sons; and thus that they were married as English, not as Angevin princesses, and into countries where the English were well pleased to place them. Although I should not venture to say that these marriages afford a clue to anything like a comprehensive foreign policy on Henry's part, they do mark the commencement of close relations with European states which considerably affected later combinations. I will take them briefly in order.

Germany during the reign of Henry II.

Germany had been since the year 1152, nominally at least, under the sway of Frederick Barbarossa, who seemed at the beginning of his reign to have united in a family alliance the Northern and Southern, the Saxon and Franconian interests, which had been in their rivalry so pregnant of trouble to Henry IV., and

[1] The marriage of Matilda with Henry the Lion, was the occasion of an aid pur fille marier, as to which see Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, p. 398. That of Johanna with William the Good was the subject of a deliberation in council: Hoveden, ii. 94; Benedict, i. 115, 117.

Strength of Frederick Barbarossa.

which were to divide the world in the parties of Guelf and Ghibelin. In the strength of this union Frederick had set up his own pope, and kept Alexander III. for some years in exile ; he had maintained a strong hold on the Italian cities, and had curbed or intimidated into quietness the too rapidly degenerating Normans of Apulia. Frederick Barbarossa inherited the blood of the emperor Charles the Great, by the same stream that brought it into the veins of Henry Beauclerc and Henry Plantagenet. Judith, the widow of Tostig, son of Godwin,[1] had taken as her second husband duke Welf of Bavaria, the common ancestor of Frederick and his cousin and ally Henry the Lion. Her sister Matilda was the wife of William the Conqueror. The German connexion begun by the children of Ethelred[2] and Edmund, had been maintained by the marriage of Matilda the daughter of Henry I., the heir ultimately of the line of Cerdic, with the emperor Henry V. Much English gold had flowed thenceforth into Germany. German princes visited and revisited the Norman court ; an Austrian duke or margrave had perished in the White ship.[3] The imperial hold on the Belgian provinces, which was vindicated by Henry V.,[4] brought the empire into close con-

Connexion of the English royal family with Germany.

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[1] " Accepit autem reginam Angliæ " tunc viduam, filiam scilicet Bald- " uini nobilissimi comitis Flandriæ, " Juditham, in uxorem ; ex qua " duos filios, Guelfonem et Heinri- " cum, ... progenuit."—Monachus Weingartensis, *de Gwelfis Principibus* (scr. cir. 1188), ap. Canis. *Lectiones*, vol. iii. p. 2, p. 582.

[2] See the curious passage in Hoveden's legal Appendix, ii. 236 below, where the protector of the etheling Edward is called Malescoldus, rex Dogorum. Other copies have Rugorum, others Hunnorum, from which perhaps our author freely translated, Dogorum *quasi* Hundorum. Malescoldus's kingdom was also called Russia. The passage is generally explained of Stephen king of Hungary, but it is surely very obscure. Is there confusion with Godescalc, prince of the Wends ? See Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i. 649.

[3] Ord. Vit., xii. 26. He must have been a son of Agnes of Swabia, by her second husband, Leopold of Austria.

[4] Otto Frising, ap. Urstisium, i. 148.

tact with the coveted Flemish inheritance of his father-in-law. Henry I. had the reputation of greatly influencing the policy of the latter years of Henry V.: on the emperor's death the imperial jewels found their way into the English treasury; it was not altogether impossible that Henry V. intended the empire to go with them to either Matilda or her father.[1] The prompt action, however, of the Saxon party had defeated the designs of both Matilda and the Franconian and Swabian dukes. Lothar had subverted for the time the old imperial policy, and the reign of Stephen had in England centred all men's thoughts on their own safety.

Henry I. and Henry V.

It was apparently the similarity of circumstances and a craving for political sympathy and alliance in ecclesiastical difficulties that brought Henry II. and Frederick Barbarossa together. In 1165 Frederick found himself inextricably entangled with the pope, and saw Henry in the same predicament with Becket, whom the pope was warily and Lewis VII. enthusiastically supporting. It became an object of importance with Frederick to obtain the adhesion of England to the antipope. The emperor proposed two marriages;[2] asked two of Henry's daughters, one for his son, the other for his cousin Henry the Lion. The proposal was favourably received by the king, although his prime minister, the earl of Leicester, refused to hold any intercourse with the imperial ambassador, the archbishop of Cologne,[3] and the altars on which he had celebrated were thrown down by the indignant clergy. Two English ministers attended the diet of Würzburg, in which Alexander III. was renounced, whether with or without their assent is uncertain.[4] One of the royal marriages

Proposals for marriages in 1165.

The English suspect the envoys.

[1] Hoveden, i. 181. Ord. Vit. xii. 43.

[2] R. de Monte, ed. Pist., i. 900.

[3] R. de Diceto, c. 539. Becket was of course opposed to this proposal, and made it the ground of the excommunication of Richard of Ilchester: Ep. 5; *S.T.C.*, iii. 12.

[4] See Robertson's *Becket*, p. 176.

Marriage of Matilda with Henry the Lion.

passed off; the other, between Henry the Lion and Matilda, was carried out three years later.[1] The ecclesiastical importance of the negotiation turned out nil. If Henry ever really thought of committing himself to the antipope, the thought was transient. Far more probably he had determined by negotiation with the enemy to frighten the wavering pope into compliance with his demands. His mother was still alive,[2] and she had, if not experience, at least warning in the case of her first husband of the danger of dealing with antipopes.[3] The time was not yet come for England and Germany to take the same side heartily on such a question.

Career of Henry the Lion.

Henry the Lion, the husband of Matilda, is one of the most interesting characters in medieval history; and in the period before us is second in importance to Frederick alone. He was the heir of the imperial duchies of Bavaria and Saxony, which had been held by his father, and from his mother he inherited, with the vast allodial estates of the Billung dukes and the counts of Nordheim and Brunswick, the right or claim as the representative of Saxon nationality to the affection and obedience of the whole of the people of Lower Saxony. He had family claims as descended from Azzo and Cunegunda to the domains of the house of Este in Lombardy, and by expectancy, from his uncle Welf of Tuscany, to the allodial estates of the great countess Matilda. He had come to this vast inheritance as a child, and, after the usual vicissitudes of a minority, had received from his cousin full investiture of his German estates. His best years were spent in the subjugation of the Wends and Slaves. His success in consolidating

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[1] R. de Monte, ad. 1168, ed. Pistorius, i. 903.

[2] See a letter of Rotrou of Rouen to cardinal Henry, *S.T.C.*, iv., 148. She refused to see the German embassy.

[3] Albert, 1102. Silvester, iv. 1105–1111.

and Christianizing his conquests entitled him to the character of a national hero, which he still possesses in North Germany. A few years after his marriage he made a splendid pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and on his return governed his vast estates in peace for three or four years. At the end of that time occurred the quarrel with the emperor, which resulted from the defeat of Legnano. It is not now the time to attempt to unravel that mysterious business; all that is certain is that Frederick attributed his defeat to Henry's lukewarm support, and in consequence determined on his downfall. Summoned before an imperial court, scorning or fearing to obey the summons, by one sentence the lord of half Germany found himself a landless man. His wife's dower alone was spared, out of respect to her father. The unhappy couple took refuge in Normandy and England, and there their children were born, and brought up as English princes. After four years exile Henry was restored to his Brunswick estates on the intercession of his father-in-law; but in 1188 he was again banished, and was only permitted to return after the death of Frederick. He died in 1195, and lies with his faithful wife in his great church in Brunswick, hard by the ancient picture of the Martyrdom of S. Thomas, whose controversies had brought them together.[1]

Quarrel of Henry the Lion with the emperor.

His death.

On a connexion like this it may seem crotchetty or pedantic to lay much weight; but it points, to say the least, to matters of considerable importance. It illustrates forcibly the characteristic policy of Henry II., to interfere in foreign matters, even those most closely connected with the interests of his own family, only so far as he saw that his interference was likely to be

Character of Henry II.'s policy in Germany.

[1] The monks of Canterbury appealed to Henry and Matilda, by their regard to the martyr, to intercede for them with the king in 1188. *Epp. Cant.*, 158.

Policy of Henry II. in Germany.

effective. He spent his money liberally, he sent ambassadors, he stirred up all his political interest with France, Flanders, and Rome to obtain his son-in-law's restoration; but he did not go to war, nay he admitted a proposal for the marriage of his son Richard with a daughter of the emperor.[1] But further, the connexion itself was very fruitful of effects. One of the sons of Henry the Lion and Matilda, in England earl of York,[2] in France invested with the county of Poictou,[3] the inheritance of his grandmother, in Scotland regarded as the probable heir of William the Lion,[4] and the not impossible successor of Richard himself,[5] achieved by his uncle's aid a higher destiny still, and became emperor as Otto IV. Another son, William of Winchester, carried on the line of Brunswick [6] princes, which after the lapse of five centuries slid into the throne of the Plantagenets. But the chief point of interest lies in the fact that the connexion with Germany continued to subsist throughout the succeeding centuries as a national rather than a merely dynastic one. England was successively the ally of Otto IV. the Welf, of Frederick II. the Ghibelin, and of the papal or Welfic party which achieved his downfall. From England came king Richard of Almain; and in England Rudolf of Hapsburg sought a bride for his son Hartmann. Adolf of Nassau, king of the Romans, fought against France as a mercenary of Edward I. Edward III. was brother-in-law of Lewis of Bavaria,

Otto IV.

William of Winchester.

Rudolf of Hapsburg.

[1] Benedict, i. 319, 322.

[2] Hoveden, ad ann. 1190 (f. 390).

[3] Hoveden, ad ann. 1190 (f. 390 v°.)

[4] Hoveden, ad ann. 1195 (f. 430), and ad 1196 (fo. 432, Savile).

[5] Hoveden, 449 (Savile).

[6] Henry the Wonderful, duke of Brunswick, writes to Edward I. as his cousin, in 1280; and his mother Adelheid of Montferrat, cousin of Edward on the mother's side, consults him as to the guardianship of her children.—*Fœdera*, i. 580, 581. Relationship was probably forgotten before 1352, when John, king of France, arbitrated on a challenge to single combat, sent by Otto of Brunswick to Henry duke of Lancaster.—Leibnitz, *Scr. Rer. Bruns.*, ii. pref. 8–10.

his successor was son-in-law of Charles IV.[1] No sooner was the title of each successive house to the empire established, than the English alliance was sought as the complement of imperial authority. The house of Lancaster acted cordially with the house of Luxemburg. Henry IV. had fought with the German Crusaders, his brother cardinal Beaufort waged war on the Hussites. Henry V. and Henry VI. supported the plans of Sigismund at Constance and Basel. During the schism the German pope was the English pope. English Wycliffe gave the colour to German Protestantism. Until the male line of Plantagenet ended, and the Burgundian inheritance falling to the imperial house added the Burgundian to the imperial traditions of alliance, and at the same time changed the face of Europe: from the Reformation to the year 1830, if not to 1854, this traditionary alliance was still one of those forces of modern Europe whose workings constitute modern history.

Relations of English kings with Germany.

The precise transaction which placed Henry II. in direct political contact with Italy was, as in the case of Germany, the Becket quarrel. In the year 1169 he offered the cities of the Lombard league a large sum of money for their fortifications, and proposed a marriage with one of his daughters to the young king of Sicily, if they would use their influence with the pope to

Relations with Italy begin from the Becket quarrel.

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[1] I only mention here the imperial alliances. The Fœdera contain a vast number of treaties with the several princes. The importance of these transactions should not be exaggerated; for continuous as they are, the advantages derived from the alliances seem to be exclusively on the side of the Germans. Although the connexion was national, there was not much love lost between the nations. I am inclined to place the restoration of a cordial feeling between Germany and England as late as the fourteenth century, when different circumstances combined to make Charles IV. and Richard II. support the pope of Rome against the pope of Avignon, in the great schism. A great deal, religiously as well as politically important, resulted from this accident.

[1] *Spicilegium Liberianum*, p. 548, *S.T.C.*, iii. 122.

Englishmen in Italy and Italians in England.

procure the deposition or translation of the archbishop.[1] Italian affairs had, however, long before this been an object of interest in England. The Norman conquest of Apulia occupied a place in the common histories hardly less important than the Crusades; many Englishmen, such as Robert of Salisbury, the chancellor of Sicily,[2] Herbert of Middlesex, the bishop of Cosenza,[3] and Richard archbishop of Syracuse,[4] had sought and obtained high preferment in the south. English physicians studied like Athelard[5] at Salerno, English canonists like S. Thomas himself at Bologna.[6] Rome had been a kind Alma Mater to Nicolas Breakspere and Robert Pullanus.[7] From North Italy had come to England Lanfranc and the two Anselms; from the court of king Roger, Thomas le Brun, the minister of the English exchequer.[8] Peter of Blois was the intimate friend of both Henry II. and William the Good. The constant missions to and from Rome had made Italians and Englishmen pretty

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[1] Baronius ad ann. 1169. "Confugit ad Italiæ civitates promittens "Mediolanensibus 3000 marcarum "ad murorum suorum validissimam "reparationem, ut cum aliis civitatibus quas corrumpere moliebatur, impetrarent a papa et ecclesia Romana dejectionem vel "translationem Cantuariensis archiepiscopi. Nam ob eandem causam "Cremonensibus duo millia marcarum promiserat, Papiensibus mille, "et totidem Bononiensibus . . . At "quod per se impetrare non poterat, "regis Siculi viribus conatus est "extorquere. Sed nec ille licet ad "hoc toto nisu Syracusanus episcopus . . . ."—From a letter addressed to Alexander III.

[2] John of Hexham, ap. Twysden, 275. He was chancellor to king Roger in 1147.

[3] R. de Diceto, 628.

[4] Richard Palmer, bp. of Syracuse, elect. 1155, a candidate for the see of Lincoln, *S.T.C.*, iii. 123; translated to Messina, in 1183, Græv. Sicil., ii. 293, 613. He entertained S. Thomas's relations in exile: *S.T.C.*, iii. 319, 320. Walter, archbishop of Palermo, 1169–1187: R. de Diceto. His brother Bartholomew succeeded him: Græv. Sicil., ii. 77. He was bp. of Agrigentum, 1172–1187.

[5] Wright, *Biogr. Lit.*, ii. 95.

[6] W. Fitz-Stephen, *S.T.C.*, i. 185.

[7] Chancellor of the Apostolic see under Lucius II. and Eugenius III.; he was a cardinal priest, but of what title I cannot find. J. Hexham, 275; Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum*, pp. 609, 616.

[8] *Dialogus de Scaccario*, p. 17.

well acquainted. Henry's political exigencies, however, brought them still nearer. William the Good was connected by blood very closely with the Beaumonts of Leicester and Warwick, a family which supplied Henry II. with several ministers in his early years. Many of his principal clergy were Englishmen or Normans, and he seems to have been an enthusiastic admirer of Henry II. What action was taken in consequence of Henry's proposition to him is not known, probably none; but we find him in 1173 writing to console the king on the rebellion of his sons, and, as soon as the princess Johanna was old enough to be asked for, petitioning for her as a wife.[1] The proposal was referred to the national council, and accepted. Johanna was sent to Palermo, and received a magnificent dower.[2] In that splendid court she reigned supreme during her husband's life. His fleet covered the Levant, and although the loss of Jerusalem was sometimes laid to his charge in consequence of his disabling the Byzantine empire from action, the last two years of his life were devoted to the equipment of the Crusade. As his health failed he made a will, by which he left to Henry not only all the provisions collected for the expedition,[3] but a vast treasure besides, going moreover so far as to offer the succession to his crown to him or

Alliance between William the Good and Henry II.

William leaves his stores to Henry.

[1] See below, p. 94, note 2. In that note I have argued a little rashly, from the words of William's letter to Henry, *Fœdera*, i. 32, that the renewal of the proposition came from Henry. The date of the letter is too late to show this. It appears from Benedict and Hoveden that the Sicilian ambassadors came to England about April 1176; they received the oath taken for Henry by three of his counsellors, for the marriage, and reported to their master that the king of England demanded his oath in return. His letter to Henry is to excuse himself from taking the oath personally, as beneath his royal dignity; it is to be taken by proxy. This is dated Palermo, August 23. Before receiving it Henry's preparations were made for Johanna's journey (Benedict, i. 119), on the 15th of August.

[2] Benedict, i. 116.

[3] Benedict, ii. 132.

Story of Henry's Italian designs.

one of his sons.[1] This proposal Henry wisely declined, as he did also the thorny crown of Palestine. His moderation was hardly appreciated by his contemporaries, whose idea of his ambition transcended all probability. This close connexion with William the Good, coupled with Henry's attempt to marry John to the heiress of Savoy, a measure which would have put the Alpine passes at his disposal, and some rumour of his promises to the Lombard league, perhaps formed the basis of the story that, looking at the unsettled condition of Italy, he was disposed to become a candidate for the suffrages of the Roman citizens with a view to the empire.[2]

Results of Johanna's marriage.

More substantial results than this followed. The dowry of Johanna was the ground, first of the quarrel, and then of the alliance of Richard I. with Tancred, an alliance that was to be cemented by the marriage of Arthur as heir of England with a daughter of the Sicilian king. This agreement led to the captivity of Richard, and subsequently to his alliance with Henry VI., an alliance broken indeed by the events of the next reign, but bearing fruit in time, in the English marriage of Frederick II., and in the repeated offer of the Sicilian kingdom to Henry III., an event which, however unimportant as regards Italy, was fraught with abundant interest to English constitutional history. It is un-

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[1] Pet. Blesens., ep. cxiii. (ed. Busæus), p. 204.

[2] Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Instr. Pr.* ii. 1, p. 13, "verum etiam ad "Romanum imperium, occasione "werræ diutinæ et inexorabilis "discordiæ inter imperatorem "Fredericum et suos obortæ, tam "ab Italia quam urbe Romulea "sæpius invitatus; comparata qui-"dem sibi ad hoc Morianæ vallis "et Alpium via, sed non efficaciter "obtenta." If we may judge from the particulars preserved by Ralph de Diceto, English sympathy was rather on the side of the Italian cities, c. 584, 585, 590, 591. I fear that nothing can be pleaded but necessity, in favour of Henry, who at the same time was allying himself with Frederick, and contributing to the fortification of the Lombard cities against him.

necessary to mention the later acts of England in North and South Italy, matters certainly of antiquarian and minor historical interest, but,—with a few insignificant exceptions, as regards political history, of little serious import,—secondary in all respects and subsidiary to the more prominent personal interests of the empire and France. It is enough to say that from the time of Frederick Barbarossa to that of the Visconti and the Sforze, Italian politics are faithfully reported in English chronicles, sometimes with more precision and with more verisimilitude than in their own; a fact that shows the existence of constant private as well as public intercourse.

English chronicles rich in Italian history.

With Spain the English as English had little or no connexion. Before the Conquest I do not find record of even a pilgrimage to Compostella. The national intercourse began under the Normans, was greatly increased by the Crusades, and when the inheritance of Eleanor had made the territories of the ruling houses conterminous, ripened into a friendship which lasted until the reformation. Spain was the earliest, as it was the latest, and the most prosperous battle ground for those crusading energies which were so natural to the Norman spirit of adventure. Roger de Toëny, the standard-bearer of Normandy, had won his laurels there whilst duke William was still a baby, and had taught the sagacious Castilians the value of Norman swords. Alfonso the Valiant had petitioned for the hand of a daughter of the Conqueror. Count Rotrou of Perche and Robert Burdet had been the heroes of the war which finally delivered Arragon from the infidels. Norman as well as French and Burgundian valour had helped to found the kingdom of Portugal. Norman

English interest in Spain begins through the Normans.

Normans in Spain.

[1] See Orderic. Vit., xiii. 3, 4; for the exploits of Robert Burdet, xiii. 5, 6, &c.; and the history of Spain generally, xiii., 1–10.

Conquest of Portugal.

piety found and Norman valour kept up the route of pilgrimage to St. James. By the time of Stephen English sympathies were enlisted on the side of the Christian powers. The coast of Portugal lay most convenient for the crusading fleets; there the ships might take in water and horses, the crews stretch their cramped limbs, and the warriors flesh their maiden swords on infidels, by way of prelude to the great battle. So the English in conjunction with the Flemings had taken Lisbon in the second crusade;[1] the English strictly so called, without a single great Norman baron amongst them: the East Anglians under Hervey Glanville, the Kentish men under Simon of Canterbury, the Londoners under Andrew of London, the Hampshire and Hastings men under William Calf. Gilbert of Hastings, an Englishman, was the first bishop of Lisbon. This was done when Stephen and the Norman nobles had not a finger to raise but in their own quarrels. What was then done was the first link in a chain that bound Portugal to England; and it was followed up by the similar capture of Silvia in the year 1188,[2] a conquest which very nearly completed the coast line of the existing kingdom. In the north of Spain, however, the more immediate interest lies. As early as 1158, Henry II., as we have seen,[3] negotiated a marriage for his infant son Richard with a daughter of queen Petronilla of Arragon; in 1170 he married his daughter Eleanor to Alfonso III. of Castile. This latter alliance produced a close intercourse. In 1177 Henry was chosen to arbitrate between the kings of Navarre and Castile, gave audience in a public council of his barons,[4] consulted them as to the verdict, and in their name and

Marriage of Eleanor and Alfonso.

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[1] *Itin. R. Ricardi*, pref., pp. cxliv.–clxxxii.

[2] See above, p. lviii.

[3] p. lxxxiii.

[4] Benedict, i. 139. Hoveden, ii. 120.

Intercourse between England and Spain.

his own pronounced the decision. Spanish bishops took part in the services of the English church. Compostella became a favourite place of pilgrimage. Thither Henry himself proposed to go;[1] Henry the younger offered to do the same in atonement for his rebellion;[2] Henry the Lion actually visited the famous shrine during his exile.[3] It was on his way from Compostella that earl Patrick of Salisbury was slain by Guy of Lusignan,[4] a sin which caused the banishment of the latter, and tended in no remote way to the loss of Palestine. The vicissitudes of Moorish warfare during this period are carefully recorded by English historians.[5] Was it altogether impossible that the king might fulfil his vow as a crusader, and find a fit field for his ambition, in the recovery of Spain for the Christians? From the same association sprang the marriage of Richard I. with Berengaria; but we cannot afford now to trace the line of connexion in detail. Let it suffice to point out the results of the first Spanish marriage, in the claims of Louis VIII. of France on the kingdom of John; in the relations of Edward I. to Alfonso the Wise, from whom he received an exemplary wife, the gift of knighthood, and the curious resignation of the duchy of Gascony, which it was said had been given by Henry II. to his daughter Eleanor.[6] By this second match Ponthieu came to the English crown, and gave Edward III. in his turn a foothold in France; whilst the marriages of his sons, the dukes of Lancaster and York, together with the warlike spirit of the Black Prince, involved the kingdom in the complications of Spanish warfare, and made Edward the ancestor of the

Marriage of Richard and Berengaria:

Edward I. and Eleanor:

John of Gaunt and Edward of Langley:

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[1] Benedict, i. 157.

[2] Benedict, i. 114.

[3] Benedict, i. 288.

[4] R. de Monte, ad 1168. Hoveden, i. 273. Gervase, 1403.

[5] E.g. R. de Diceto, 623, 624.

[6] *Fœdera*, i. 310.

Possible results from the intercourse of England and Spain.

emperor Charles V. In the particulars of all these transactions there are opened to us details of great personal and antiquarian interest. The connexion of the De Montforts with Arragon is another point of importance, which bears more remotely on the present subject, and yet may have exercised some considerable influence on the growth of the English constitution; but it may be we are not yet in possession of materials that may enable us to determine the amount of credit to be ascribed to Simon and to Edward respectively, or, through their education, to Arragon and Castile; to determine in what measure and through what line of events we can connect the Great Charter of England with the Great Privilege of Arragon, or the summoning of borough representatives in England with the like usage across the Pyrenees.

Interest of these particulars.

Whatever we may think of the sagacity of the great prince from whose designs so important results followed, and however much we may be inclined to see in these details but the occasions for combinations which must have taken place in the natural course of things; it is by no means the least interesting part of the work of the historical student to trace the connexion of the facts, and to group them in such a way as may display them, if not as the conscious work of politic heads, at least as the strivings of a family of nations after a social organization; the attempts of the individual peoples to realize their personal identity, if I may so speak, in the exercise of national memory, national affections, national intimacy with each other. I trust that I have pointed out, however sketchily, the way in which England, under dynastic influences, did this. To show how those dynastic influences leavened the nation with kindred sentiment, would be a longer and far more difficult task: it might be done; it would be interesting; but as we already know the result,

the process of investigation would be less important. We do know that England stood on terms of close friendship with the empire, and through it with Spain and Italy, and in immemorial enmity with France, when the Reformation introduced a new element of political life, and at the same time the balance of power in Europe became the leading idea in politics. Nay, we see how, notwithstanding the differences of religion, and throughout the reign of the political idea, England retained for the most part her old affinities :[1] how, in spite of the Spanish armada, Charles I. sought a bride in Spain ; how, in spite of the Palatinate marriage, England abstained from taking an active part in the thirty years war; and how, in spite of all that might have drawn England and France together, for the space of six hundred years, from the siege of Acre and the battle of Arsouf, to the siege of Sebastopol and the battles of the Crimea, English and French armies never met except as enemies.

Actual results from these small causes.

To descend again to particulars. The books on which we are here employed were written by men living in the court, and in daily intercourse with the kings from whose designs such long continued effects have flowed. In the preceding sketch I have drawn only the greater and more important outlines ; those which have political connexion and historical consequences. More antiquarian research would, I am aware, reveal equally interesting, though less significant, series of details in

These things written by contemporaries, rich in documentary evidences.

[1] In the history of the seventeenth century as in that of the thirteenth, the dynastic policy of the king may have differed, sometimes widely, from the political wishes of the people so far as they had any. The Spanish match was an idea of the king; the people would have gone to war for the Palatine : the French under Henry IV. were probably more popular in England than ever before or afterwards. But the older feeling was revived and more than justified by the events that followed the restoration ; and the end of the century saw the old combinations stronger than ever.

The chronicles rich in documents

other relations besides those to France, Italy, Germany, and Spain. Palestine, Constantinople, Norway, the Moors of Spain and Africa, all contribute their quota of incidents to the annals, and their documents to the illustration of the politics of the period. The extreme value of the contemporary histories of this reign is shown by this among other proofs, that in one or other of them is contained every important document, on every important transaction, national, dynastic, political, or diplomatic, that has been preserved at all. There are few such records in existence older than the date of the manuscripts of the historians, and of those few hardly one that is not enrolled by them in their most precious storehouses, attesting by its faithfulness to the original the conscientious honesty as well as the unwearied industry of their way of working.

APPENDIX TO PREFACE.

I.—Laws of William the Conqueror.

(MS. Rawlinson C. 641, f. 44.)

(*Without rubric.*)

In primis quod super omnia unum vellet Deum per totum regnum suum venerari, unam fidem Christi semper inviolatam custodiri, pacem et securitatem inter Anglos et Normannos servari. Art. I.

Statuimus etiam ut omnis liber homo fœdere et sacramento affirmet quod infra et extra Angliam Willelmo regi fideles esse volunt, terras et honorem illius omni fidelitate cum eo servare, et ante eum contra inimicos defendere. Volo autem ut omnes homines quos mecum adduxi aut post me venerunt sint in pace mea et quiete. Et si quis de illis occisus fuerit, dominus ejus habeat infra quinque dies homicidam ejus si potuerit; sin autem, incipiat persolvere mihi xlvi. marcas argenti quam diu substantia illius domini perduraverit. Ubi vero substantia defecerit, totus hundredus in quo occisio facta est communiter persolvat quod remanet. Et omnis Francigena qui tempore regis Eduuardi propinqui mei fuit in Anglia particeps consuetudinum Anglorum, quod ipsi dicunt onhlote et anscote, persolvatur secundum legem Anglorum. Hoc decretum sancitum est in civitate Claudia. Art. II. Art. III. Art. IV.

Interdicimus etiam ut nulla viva pecunia vendatur aut ematur nisi infra civitates, et hoc ante tres fideles testes; nec aliquam rem vetustam sine fidejussore et waranto. Quod si aliter fecerit, solvat et persolvat, et postea forisfacturam. Art. V.

Decretum est etiam ibi, ut si Francigena appellaverit Anglum de perjurio aut mordro, furto, homicidio, ran quod Angli dicunt apertam rapinam, quæ negari non potest, Anglus se defendat per quod melius voluerit, aut judicio ferri, aut duello. Si autem Anglus infirmus fuerit, inveniat alium qui pro eo Art. VI.

Laws of the Conqueror.

faciat. Si quis eorum victus fuerit, emendet xl. solidos regi. Si Anglus Francigenam appellaverit, et probare noluerit judicio aut duello, volo tamen Francigenam purgare se sacramento non fracto.

Art. VII. Hoc quoque præcipio et volo ut omnes habeant et teneant legem Eduuardi regis in terris et in omnibus rebus adauctis iis quæ constitui ad utilitatem populi Anglorum.

Art. VIII. Omnis homo qui voluerit se teneri pro libero sit in plegio, ut plegius teneat et habeat illum ad justitiam, si quid offenderit. Et si quisquam talium evaserit, videant plegii ut simpliciter solvant quod calumniatum est, et purgent se quia in evaso nullam fraudem noverint.

Requiratur hundredus et comitatus sicut antecessores nostri statuerunt. Et qui juste venire deberent et venire noluerint, semel summoneantur; et si secundo venire noluerint, accipiatur unus bos, et summoneatur tertio. Et si non tertio venerint, accipiatur alius bos: quarta autem vice si non venerint, reddatur de rebus hominis illius qui venire noluerit quod calumniatum est, quod dicitur ceapgeld; et insuper forisfactura regis.

Art. IX. Ego prohibeo ut nullus vendat hominem extra patriam super plenam forisfacturam meam.

Art. X. Interdico etiam ne quis occidatur aut suspendatur pro aliqua culpa, sed eruantur oculi, et testiculi abscidantur. Et hoc præceptum non sit violatum super forisfacturam meam plenam.

II.—Assize of Clarendon, A.D. 1166.

(MS. Rawlinson, C. 641, fol. 19.)

Assize of Clarendon.

Incipit Assisa de Clarenduna facta a rege Henrico, scilicet secundo, de assensu archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, abbatum, comitum, baronum totius Angliæ.

Art. I. In primis statuit prædictus rex Henricus de consilio omnium baronum suorum pro pace servanda et justitia tenenda, quod per singulos comitatus inquiratur, et per singulos hundredos per xii. legaliores homines de hundredo et per iiii. legaliores homines de qualibet villata per sacramentum quod illi verum dicent, si in hundredo suo vel villata sua sit aliquis homo qui sit rettatus vel publicatus quod ipse sit robator, vel murdrator, vel latro, vel aliquis qui sit receptor robatorum vel murdratorum vel latronum postquam dominus rex fuit rex. Et

hoc inquirant justitiæ coram se, et vicecomites coram se. Et qui invenietur per sacramentum prædictorum rettatus vel publicatus quod fuerit robator vel murdrator, vel latro, vel receptor eorum, postquam dominus rex fuit rex, capiatur et eat ad juisam aquæ, et juret quod ipse non fuit robator vel murdrator vel latro vel receptor eorum postquam dominus rex fuit rex, de valentia v. solidorum, quod sciat. Et si dominus ejus qui captus fuerit, vel dapifer ejus, vel homines ejus requisierint eum per plegium infra tertium diem postquam captus fuerit, replegiatur ipse et catalla ejus donec ipse faciat legem suam. Et quando robator vel murdrator vel latro vel receptores eorum capti fuerint per prædictum sacramentum, si justitiæ non fuerint tam cito venturæ in illum comitatum ubi capti fuerint, vicecomites mandent propinquiori justitiæ per aliquem intelligentem hominem quod tales homines ceperint, et justitiæ remandabunt vicecomitibus ubi voluerint quod illi ducantur ante illos; et vicecomites illos ducant ante justitias; et cum illis ducant de hundredo et de villata ubi capti fuerint duos legales homines ad portandum recordationem comitatus et hundredi quare capti fuerint, et ibi ante justitiam facient legem suam. Et de illis qui capti fuerint per prædictum sacramentum hujus Assisæ, nullus habeat curiam vel justitiam nec catalla nisi dominus rex in curia sua coram justitiis ejus: et dominus rex habebit omnia catalla eorum. De illis vero qui capti fuerint aliter quam per hoc sacramentum, sit sicut esse solet et debet. Et vicecomites qui eos ceperint ducant eos ante justitiam sine alia summonitione quam inde habeant. Et cum robatores, vel murdratores, vel latrones, et receptores eorum, qui capti fuerint per sacramentum vel aliter, tradantur vicecomitibus, et ipsi recipiant eos statim sine dilatione. Et in singulis comitatibus ubi non sunt gaiolæ, fiant in burgo vel aliquo castello regis de denariis regis et bosco ejus si prope fuerit, vel de alio bosco propinquo per visum servientium regis, ad hoc ut vicecomites in illis possint illos qui capti fuerint per ministros qui hoc facere solent et per servientes suos custodire.

Assize of Clarendon. Art. II. — Art. III. — Art. IV. — Art. V. — Art. VI. — Art. VII.

Vult etiam dominus rex quod omnes veniant ad comitatus ad hoc sacramentum faciendum, ita quod nullus remaneat pro libertate aliqua quam habeat, vel curia vel soca quam habuerit, quin veniant ad hoc sacramentum faciendum. Et non sit aliquis infra castellum vel extra castellum, nec etiam in honore de Walingeford, qui vetet vicecomites intrare in curiam vel terram suam ad videndos francos plegios et quod omnes sint sub plegiis; et ante vicecomites mittantur sub libero plegio; et in

Art. VIII. — Art. IX. — Art. X.

Assize of Clarendon.

civitatibus vel burgis nullus habeat homines vel recipiat in domo sua vel terra sua vel soca sua, quos non in manu capiat, quod eos habebit coram justitia si requisiti fuerint, vel sint sub franco plegio. Et nulli sint in civitate vel burgo vel castello vel extra, nec in honore etiam de Walingeford, qui vetent vicecomites intrare in terram suam vel socam suam ad capiendum illos qui rettati fuerint vel publicati quod sint robatores vel murdratores vel latrones vel receptores eorum, vel utlagati, vel rettati de foresta; sed præcipit quod juvent illos ad capiendum eos. Et si aliquis fuerit captus qui fuerit saisiatus de roberia vel latrocinio, si ipse fuerit diffamatus et habeat malum testimonium de publicamento, et non habeat warantum, non habeat legem. Et si non fuerit publicatus pro saisina quam habet, eat ad aquam. Et si aliquis fuerit recognoscens coram legalibus hominibus vel hundredis de roberia vel murdro, vel latrocinio vel de receptione eorum, et postea negare voluerit, non habeat legem.

Art. XI. Art. XII. Art. XIII. Art. XIV.

Vult etiam dominus rex quod ipsi qui facient legem suam et mundi erunt per legem, si ipsi fuerint de pessimo testimonio et publice et turpiter diffamati testimonio multorum et legalium hominum, foras jurent terras regis, ita quod infra viii. dies mare transibunt, nisi aura eos detinuerit; et cum prima aura quam habebunt postea mare transibunt, et ultra in Angliam non revertentur nisi per misericordiam domini regis; et ibi sint utlagati et si redierint: et si redierint capiantur sicut utlagati.

Art. XV.

Et prohibet dominus rex ne aliquis vaivus, id est, vagus vel ignotus, hospitetur alicubi nisi in burgo, et ibi non hospitetur nisi una nocte; nisi ibi infirmetur vel equus ejus, ita quod monstrare possit monstrabile essonium. Et si ibi fuerit plus quam una nocte, capiatur ille et teneatur donec dominus ejus venerit ad eum plegiandum, vel donec ipse habeat salvos plegios; et ille similiter capiatur qui hospitatus fuerit.

Art. XVI. Art. XVII.

Et si aliquis vicecomes mandaverit alii vicecomiti, quod homines fugerint de comitatu suo in alium comitatum pro roberia vel pro murdro vel latrocinio vel receptione eorum, vel pro utlagia vel pro retta forestæ regis, ille capiat eos; et etiam si per se vel per alios sciat quod tales homines fugerint in comitatum suum, capiat eos et custodiat donec de eis habeat salvos plegios. Et omnes vicecomites faciant inbreviari omnes fugitivos, qui fugerint de suis comitatibus; et hoc faciant coram comitatibus, et illorum nomina scripta portabunt ante justitias cum primo ad illos venerint, ut illi quærantur per totam Angliam, et eorum catalla capiantur ad opus regis.

Art. XVIII.

Et vult dominus rex quod ex quo vicecomites susceperint summonitiones justitiarum errantium, ut ipsi cum comitatibus suis sint ante illos, ipsi congregabunt comitatus suos, et inquirent omnes qui de novo venerint in suos comitatus post hanc assisam; et illos mittent per plegios quod erunt coram justitias, vel illos custodient, donec justitiæ ad eos venerint, et tunc habebunt coram justitias. Assize of Clarendon. Art. XIX.

Prohibet etiam dominus rex ne monachi vel canonici vel aliqua domus religionum recipiant aliquem de populo minuto in monachum vel canonicum vel fratrem, donec sciatur de quali testimonio ipse fuerit, nisi ipse fuerit infirmus ad mortem. Art. XX.

Prohibet etiam dominus rex quod nullus in tota Anglia receptet in terra sua vel soca sua vel domo sub se, aliquem de secta illorum renegatorum qui excommunicati et signati fuerunt apud Oxeneforde. Et si quis eos receperit, ipse erit in misericordia domini regis, et domus in qua illi fuerint portetur extra villam et comburatur. Et hoc jurabit unusquisque vicecomes quod hoc tenebit, et hoc jurare faciet omnes ministros suos et dapiferos baronum, et omnes milites et francotenentes de comitatibus. Art. XXI.

Et vult dominus rex quod hæc assisa teneatur in regno suo quamdiu ei placuerit. Art. XXII.

III.—Assisa de Essoniatoribus.

(MS. Rawlinson C. 641, fol. 21.)

Essoniatores qui venerint in curiam domini regis ante ipsum vel justitiam suam, vel in comitatibus ante vicecomites, dent vadium et plegium quod ad diem habebunt warantum suum, et qui non invenerint vadium et plegium capiantur et custodiantur donec invenerint plegium, et nisi habuerint warantum suum ad diem, capiantur et incarcerentur. Assize of Essoiners.

In curiis autem baronum si essoniatores voluerint invenire vadium et plegium quod ad diem habebunt warantum suum, et si non habuerint, deinde capiantur ut perjuri.

Si quis conqueritur de aliqua querela quæ sit finita in curia domini regis ante ipsum vel justitiam suam, ut illam renovet, ex quo inde convictus fuerit vel confessus, capiatur et in carcere teneatur donec dominus rex præceperit ipsum liberari.

Inquest of demesne.

Inquiratur qui sint qui debent domino regi homagium et non fecerunt neque illi neque filio suo, et inbrevientur.

De dominiis domini regis inquiratur si curiæ sint clausæ, de fossatis et hais, et si sint ibi grangiæ et bovariæ, et bercheriæ, et aliæ domus et instauramenta, sicut dominus rex præcepit antequam transfretaret.

Et postquam inquisiti fuerint vicecomites mei et ministri, adhibeantur ad cætera negotia mea, et jurent quod legaliter intendent inquisitioni faciendæ per terras baronum.[1]

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[1] The two last paragraphs follow the Assize of Essoiners immediately in the MS., but seem to belong to another act of Henry, some instructions for an inquest, such as that of sheriffs in 1170; but they are not a part of the commission for that inquest, which see; Ben. Pet. ii., pp. clv.–clviii.

CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

PARS POSTERIOR.

XVI[tus]*. annus regis Henrici secundi.*

Benedict, i. 3.

A.D. 1170.

Henry keeps Christmas at Nantes, and subdues Brittany.

Anno [1] gratiæ millesimo centesimo septuagesimo, qui erat annus decimus sextus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem Henricus tenuit solemne festum apud Namnetim in Britannia die Natalis Domini, quæ quinta feria evenit. Deinde idem rex profectus est hostiliter in terram comitis Eudonis,[2] et eam fere totam destruxit, et ipsum comitem Eudonem ad deditionem coegit. Deinde in prima hebdomada mensis Martii transfretavit de Normannia in Angliam, inter Barbefluctum et Portesmue. In qua transfretatione sævissima tempestate quassatus a media noctis hora usque ad crastinæ diei horam nonam, vix applicuit in Anglia apud Portesmue.[3] Cæteræ autem naves fere omnes, quæ cum eo erant, fractæ sunt et comminutæ, et applicuerunt in diversis portubus Angliæ prout vis venti eas tulit. Una tamen illarum, quæ melior et recentior cæteris omnibus erat, sed infelicior, submersa est, cum Henrico

Benedict, i. 3, 4.

He goes to England in March, and narrowly escapes shipwreck.

[1] *Anno*] From this point the compiler begins to copy, abstract, or paraphrase the Chronicle known under the name of Benedictus Abbas; the marginal references are to the edition issued under the direction of the Master of the Rolls in 1867.

[2] Eudes, viscount of Porhoet, a claimant of the duchy of Brittany; he had married Bertha, the widow of Alan earl of Richmond, heiress of Conan III. and mother of Conan IV. He is called count as claimant of his wife's inheritance.

[3] "Quinto nonas Martii, feria tertia." Bened.

A.D. 1170. March 3. de Agnellis, et cum duobus filiis suis, et cum Gileberto de Sulleinni, et cum magistro Radulfo de Bealmunt medico et familiari regis, et cum aliis numero quadringentis viris et fœminabus. Deinde Henricus rex fecit David fratrem Willelmi regis Scottorum militem.[1] Benedict, i. 4.

The king keeps Easter, April 5, at Windsor. Inquest of Sheriffs. Eodem anno fuit rex Henricus in solemnitate Paschali apud Windeshores. Deinde[2] venit rex Lundonias, et ibi deposuit fere omnes vicecomites Angliæ; et facta inquisitione de prisis illorum per sacramenta hominum regni, redemit eos. Benedict, i. 4, 5.

Prima coronatio regis Henrici tertii.

Council of London, June 11. Deinde in festo Sancti Barnabæ apostoli idem rex magnum celebravit concilium Lundoniis, cum principibus et magnatibus terræ suæ, de coronatione Henrici filii sui. Et Dominica sequenti, quæ evenit decimo septimo[3] kalendas Julii, clero et populo consentientibus

Coronation of the

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[1] "In Octavis Pentecostes." Chron. Mailr. May 31.

[2] *Deinde*] The sheriffs were summoned in consequence of this inquest to meet the king at London on the 14th of June, on which day the coronation was performed. Gerv. 1411.

[3] *decimo septimo*] The day was June 14. *Septimo* is corrected in B.P. to *octavo*. The following verses are found in the margin of A., in a hand of the same age as the text, and have been thence copied into D.

De rege patre qui servivit ad mensam die coronationis regis filii.

O gravis eventus, casus miser, unica pestis,
Jam servit qui liber erat, mendicat abundans
Qui fuit: exilium patitur qui primus in aula
Regnabat:
Inque supercilio mundi stetit, anxia mente
Fluctuat, in varios motus deducitur, hæret,
Mens animusque fluunt, dubitat in mente voluntas
Ipsa, nec in certo defigitur anchora mentis.

In laude regis filii.

Sollers naturæ studium quæ singula sparsim
Munera contulerat aliis concludit in istum.
Sidereum vultus castigavere ruborem
Lilia nupta rosis; et ne palloris obumbrent
Nubila candorem defendit flamma ruboris.
Non male colla sedent humeris, non insidet alta

Benedict, i. 5, 6. et assentientibus, fecit ipse prædictum Henricum filium suum coronari et in regem consecrari apud Westmonasterium, ab Rogero archiepiscopo Eboracensi, ministrantibus ei in illo officio Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo, et Waltero Rofensi episcopo, et Gileberto Lundoniensi episcopo, et Gocelino Salesberiensi episcopo, nulla mentione facta de beato Thoma Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, ad quem coronatio illa et consecratio de jure ecclesiæ suæ spectabat. Et in crastino coronationis illius fecit rex pater Willelmum regem Scottorum, et David fratrem suum, et comites et barones regni devenire homines novi regis, et jurare ei fidelitates contra omnes homines salva fidelitate sua.

A.D. 1170. Coronation of the younger Henry, June 14.

Homage of the king of Scots.

Cum autem constaret Lodowico regi Francorum quod Margareta filia sua non erat cum viro suo rege Angliæ coronata, magnum congregavit exercitum, et hostiliter intravit Normanniam. Quo audito rex Angliæ pater, dimisso rege filio suo in Anglia, transfretavit[1] in Normanniam, et pacem fecit cum Lodowico rege Franciæ, in colloquio apud Wendomiam in festo Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, promittens quod in proximo iterum faceret filium suum coronari, et uxorem suam cum eo.

Lewis VII. invades Normandy.

Henry meets him, and makes peace, July 22.

Benedict, i. 6, 7. Deinde a colloquio illo venit rex pater in Normanniam, et apud Motam Gerni[2] incidit in gravem ægritudinem, et divisit terras suas filiis suis in hunc modum. Dedit itaque Ricardo filio suo ducatum Aquitanniæ, et omnes terras quas cepit cum matre illius regina Alienor, et Gaufrido

Illness of Henry at Mote de Ger.

Cervix, sed spatio surgit distincta modesto.
Aurea cæsaries fulvo conspectior auro,
Lucidior glacie, crystallo gratior omni;
Menti planities roseo non derogat ori,
Imaque conciliat summis extremaque primis,
Convallis laterum modulo submissa decenti
Forma, figura, modus, nu[merus, mensura, decenti]
* * * spondent concordi pace ligata
Membra quod in nullo discors junctura videtur.
Omnes divitias fortunæ fundit in illo
Naturæ præsaga manus : post munera pauper
Pene fuit natura parens, quæ dona decoris
Formæ, thesauros vultu [*cut off in binding*].

[1] *transfretavit*] June 24, Bened.
[2] *Motam Gerni*] Mote de Ger, near Bayeux.

A.D. 1170. He divides his estates (August).

filio suo dedit Britanniam cum Alais[1] filia comitis Conani, quas ad opus illius adquisierat a Lodowico rege Francorum. Et Henrico regi filio suo dedit Normanniam, et omnes terras quæ fuerunt patris sui Gaufridi comitis Andegavensis. Et fecit illos tres filios suos devenire homines Lodowici regis Franciæ. Et Johanni filio suo adhuc minimo dedit comitatum Moretunii.[2] Deinde post multum temporis rex Henricus pater de infirmitate sua convalescens, peregre profectus est ad Sanctam Mariam de Rupe Adamatoris. Benedict, i. 7.

He recovers and goes on pilgrimage to Roquemadour.

The pope, at the instance of the archbishop of Canterbury, excommunicates the prelates who crowned the younger Henry.

Interim beatus Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus sextum annum exilii sui peragens, conquestus est Alexandro summo pontifici de Rogero Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et de supradictis quatuor episcopis, qui ei astiterunt in coronatione novi regis in Cantuariensi diocesi. Ad cujus instantiam summus pontifex excommunicavit Lundoniensem, et Rofensem, et Salesberiensem episcopos ; et Eboracensem archiepiscopum et[3] Dunelmensem episcopum suspendit ab omni episcopali officio. Unde in hac forma[4] scripsit illis : Benedict, i. 9. (Joh. Sarisb. S.T.C., i. 332.)

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[1] *Alais*] Commonly called Constantia. Conan was still alive. He died Feb. 20, 1171.

[2] It hardly seems probable that Henry at this time gave the county of Mortain to John, as he is not called count in any of the documents that follow, relating to him ; nor indeed does he bear the title commonly if at all during his father's life. Count Matthew of Boulogne, who did not die until 1173, had claims on Mortain in right of his wife the daughter of Stephen. It was in the king's hands in 1180, and was perhaps promised rather than given by Henry to John. Cf. B. P., ii. 73. Stapleton, *Rolls of Norman Exchequer*, I., lxiii. If this be correct, it is a proof of the late composition of the text compared with that of the Chronicle of Benedict.

[3] *et*] Hugonem, ins. C.

[4] *hac forma*] hanc formam, C.

Epistola Alexandri papæ ad Rogerum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, et Hugonem Dunelmensen episcopum.[1]

A.D. 1170. Sept. 16.

The pope, after professing his regard,

" Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus
" fratribus Rogero Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et Hugoni Dunel-
" mensi episcopo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Licet
" nobis commendabiles et grati in pluribus existatis, et sin-
" cere vos complectamur[2] brachiis caritatis, propter hoc tamen
" non debemus omittere, quin ea, quæ perpetrata sunt, et in-
" correcta generant mortem, et requiramus in vobis, et zelo
Ezek. iii. 18. " rectitudinis corrigamus: dicente Domino per prophetam, 'Si
" 'loquente Me ad impium, Morte morieris, nisi annunciaveris
" 'ei, neque locutus fueris, ipse quidem in peccato suo morietur,
" 'sanguinem autem ejus de manu tua requiram.' Depressio
" siquidem Anglicanæ ecclesiæ, et diminutio libertatis ipsius,
" quæ per regem vestrum, sive proprio motu, sive potius aliis
" suggerentibus, facta dinoscitur, plurimum jampridem ani-
" mum nostrum afflixit, et non modicum nobis sollicitudinis
" et doloris ingessit. Cum enim oportuerit eum de corrigendis
" iis, quæ ab antecessoribus suis male commissa fuerant,
" cogitare: ipse potius prevaricationibus prevaricationes ad-
" jiciens, tam iniqua constituta[3] sub regiæ dignitatis obtentu
" et posuit et firmavit. Sub quibus et libertas perit eccle-
" siæ, et apostolicorum virorum statuta, quantum in eo est,
" suo robore vacuantur. Nec credidit debere sufficere, si
" sub eo divinæ leges in regno Angliæ silentium et va-
" cationem acciperent, nisi peccatum transmitteret ad hære-
" des, et longo tempore faceret suum regnum sine ephod,
Hosea, iii. 4. " et sine superhumerali sedere. Inde fuit quod iniquas illas
" usurpationes, absque ulla exceptione, vestro, et aliorum
" fratrum, et coepiscoporum nostrorum juramento, fecerit fir-
" mare, et plectendo judicavit ut hostem, quicunque vellet
" ab iniquis illis constitutionibus[4] dissentire. Indicat hoc
" venerabilis fratris nostri Thomæ Cantuariensis archiepiscopi
" exilium: demonstrat et hoc clericorum et consanguineorum
" ejus, illorum etiam qui adhuc pendentes ab uberibus ma-
" tris vagiebant in cunis, miseranda proscriptio. Et metus
" mortis incutitur, si ad hoc cujusque animus erigatur, ut

laments the state of the English church and the behaviour of the king.

He grieves over the persecution of the archbishop of Canterbury.

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[1] Giles, *S.T.C.*, iv. 48., (collated as G.) This letter is not in Benedict.

[2] *complectamur*] amplectamur, G.

[3] *constituta*] statuta, G.

[4] *constitutionibus*] consuetudinibus, G.

A.D. 1170. Sept. 16.

He has often interceded with the king.

" contra statuta illa divinis velit legibus obedire. Nos ipsi " quorum judicio prævaricationes illæ corrigendæ fuerant aut " plectendæ, ad confirmationem illarum sub occasione temporis " impacati multa fuimus instantia provocati. Et laboratum " est apud nos exactione[1] non modica, ut usurpationibus illis, " cum nondum nobis expressæ fuissent, auctoritatis conferre- " mus apostolicæ confirmationem. Et hoc quidem a principio. " Processu vero temporis exulante pro debito pastoralis officii " jam dicto archiepiscopo, et consuetum Romanæ ecclesiæ " subsidium ab officio nostro sæpius requirente, misimus ad " jam dictum regem de melioribus et majoribus fratribus nos- " tris; misimus et alias ecclesiasticas personas, et putavimus " quod duritia ejus in nostra humilitate et mansuetudine fran- " geretur, et fieret, quod Salomon dicit, 'Patientia lenietur " 'princeps,' et 'lingua mollis frangit iram.' Ipse vero suffe- " rentiam nostram multiplici legatorum arte deludens, usque " adeo contra monita nostra videtur animum obdurasse, ut " nec contra prænominatum archiepiscopum deferveat, nec de " perversis statutis illis quicquam minui patiatur; immo et " ipsam Cantuariensem ecclesiam plurimo detrimento posses- " sionum suarum afficiat, et in ipso eam ecclesiastico mini- " nisterio antiqua spoliaverat[2] dignitate. Nuper enim cum " filium suum coronari voluerit, contempto eodem archiepi- " scopo, ad cujus hoc officium de antiquo jure dicitur perti- " nere, per manum tuam, frater archiepiscope, ei in aliena " provincia diadema regni fecit imponi. In coronatione autem " illius, nulla ex more de conservanda ecclesiæ libertate " cautio est præstita, vel sicut aiunt exacta: sed juramento " potius asseritur[3] confirmatum, ut regni consuetudines, quas " avitas dicunt, sub quibus dignitas periclitatur ecclesiæ, " illibatas debeat omni tempore conservare. In quo etsi " multum prænominati regis vehementia nos conturbat; am- " plius tamen de vestra et aliorum coepiscoporum nostrorum " possumus infirmitate moveri, qui, quod dolentes dicimus, " facti sicut arietes non habentes cornua, abiistis absque " fortitudine ante faciem subsequentis. Etsi enim hoc tibi " licere forte, frater archiepiscope, in propria provincia po- " tuisset, quomodo tamen hoc in provincia aliena, et illius " præcipue, qui exulare pro justitia, et fere solus exire [vo- " luit][4] et dare gloriam Deo, tibi licuerit, nec de ratione pos- " sumus, nec de sanctorum patrum constitutionibus invenire.

Prov. xxv. 15 and xv. 1.

But the king has been obdurate.

He complains of the act of the archbishop of York in taking part in the coronation, and in confirming the constitutions of Clarendon.

Lam. i. 6.

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[1] *exactione*] actione, G.
[2] *spoliaverat*] spoliet, G.
[3] *dicitur*] asseritur, G.
[4] *voluit*] om. A.

A.D. 1170. Sept. 16.

"Quod si ad excusationem tantæ prævaricationis quisquam "objiciat, in aliis quoque regnis gravia plurima et enormia "perpetrari, in veritate possumus respondere, quod nullum "adhuc regnum in tantum divinæ legis contemptum inveni"mus corruisse, ut scriptis et juramentis episcoporum tam "manifestas enormitates fecerit communiri, nisi quisquam "illud impudenter alleget, quod schismatici postmodum et a "fidelium communione præcisi inaudita et damnabili super"bia commiserunt. Unde quia, juxta verbum prophetæ, in "vobis factum est perversum quid ultra omnes alias pro"vincias in usurpationibus suis, et post tam iniquas consue"tudines juramento firmatas, non adjecistis resumere scutum "fidei, ut staretis pro domo Domini in die prælii; sed posu"istis corpus vestrum in terram, ut per vos fieret via trans"eunti; ne, si diutius tacuerimus, una vobiscum in die ju"dicii damnationis sententia involvamur, auctoritate sacro"sanctæ Romanæ, cui auctore Domino [1] ministramus, ecclesiæ, "ab omni officio episcopalis vos suspendimus dignitatis; spe"rantes quod sub disciplina saltem et paterno verbere consti"tuti, redire tandem ad cor, et de tuenda debeatis ecclesiæ "libertate satagere. Si vero nec sic zelum episcopalis officii "resumpseritis, nos adhuc, auctore Domino, quod vobis "imminet, faciemus. Vos videte, ne illud vobis dicatur, "quod cuidam dictum per prophetam dicitur, 'Quia tu sci"'entiam repulisti, repellam te, ne sacerdotio fungaris Mihi.' "Nos enim quia locum [2] illius tenere,[3] Deo prout Ipsi pla"cuit disponente, conspicimur, qui a prædicatione verbi Dei "nec verberibus poterat nec vinculis coerceri, non debemus "sub ambigua expectatione pacis creditam nobis divini Verbi "pecuniam in sudario reponere, et alligatam eam tam diu "conservare,[4] donec paulatim lucrandi hora occurrat,[5] et cre"ditor veniens de reddenda [6] nos conveniat ratione." [7]

Such a proceeding is quite unheard of.

Eph. vi. 16. Ezek. xiii. 5. Isa. li. 23.

He suspends the archbishop and bishop.

Is. xlvi. 8.

Hosea iv. 6.

S. Luke xix. 20.

Interim [8] Lodowicus rex Francorum, et archiepiscopi et episcopi et magnates de regno Franciæ, pro eodem

The king and bishops of France

[1] *Domino*] Deo, G.

[2] *locum*] Petri, ins. G.

[3] *tenere*] obtinere, G.

[4] *conservare*] servare, G.

[5] *occurrat*] decurrat, G.

[6] *reddenda*] acerbe, add. C.

[7] "Datum Ferentini, xvi. kalendas "Octobris," add. Giles.

[8] The account of the latter days and martyrdom of S. Thomas, given in the text, is taken (1) from the Chronicle ascribed to Benedict of Peterborough, through which only the compiler seems to have known the work of John of Salisbury on the same subject. (2) From the Passio Anonyma, of Giles, *S.T.C.*, ii. No. 12, which was used also, but less freely, by the author of the first-mentioned chronicle, and must as

A.D. 1170. beg for Henry's excommunication.

Cantuariensi archiepiscopo sollicitaverunt Romanum pontificem in virtute amoris, et sub impensi protestatione obsequii, ne ulterius dilationes frustratorias, quas rex Angliæ protendebat, prorogaret, sicut regnum Francorum diligebat, et honorem apostolicæ sedis. Miratus[1] etiam Anglicanæ ecclesiæ desolationem Willelmus Senonensium antistes[2] sedem apostolicam petiit, et a Romana ecclesia impetravit, ut rex Anglorum omni appellatione cessante subjiceretur anathemati, et regnum interdicto, nisi pax Cantuariensi ecclesiæ redderetur. Benedict, i. 8. (Joh. Sarisb. S.T.C. i. 331.

Henry becomes more friendly towards Thomas.

Sic denique placuit omnium dispensatori Deo, Sui Thomæ recompensare merita, et labores longos[3] consummare victoriosa martyrii palma. Regis ergo sententiam mutavit in melius, et mediantibus tam domini papæ paterna exhortatione, regisque Francorum et plurium episcoporum consilio, quam etiam principum supplici interventu, archiepiscopum recepit in gratia, et ad suam redire concessit ecclesiam. Passio Anon. S.T.C., ii. 142. (Not in Benedict,)

Pax facta est inter regem et beatum Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum.

October 12. Peace between Henry and Thomas at Mont Louis.

Facta est autem pax ista inter archiepiscopum et regem Angliæ,[4] quarto idus Octobris, feria secunda, in Monte Laudato, qui est inter Turonim et Ambasium. Cf. Bened. i. 8, 9.

Thomas returns to. Sens.

Sicque omnibus completis, unusquisque reversus est in locum suum. Thomas vero Cantuariensis archiepiscopus reversus est ad abbatiam Sanctæ Columbæ, ubi jam fere per quatuor annos degebat. Quadam vero die, dum idem archiepiscopus ibidem in ecclesia ante quoddam altare in oratione prostratus jaceret, audivit vocem de cœlo dicentem sibi, "Surge velociter et abi in sedem

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well as that chronicle have been in the hands of Hoveden. (3) From a source not yet identified, but which probably will be when the Becket remains come to be properly manipulated. The parts of the text derived from this third source are for the present necessarily printed as original.

[1] *Miratus*] Miseratus, Ben.

[2] William of Champagne, successively bishop of Chartres, archbishop of Sens, and archbishop of Rheims and cardinal.

[3] *longos*] diutinos, C.

[4] These are the words found in the text of the later MS. of the Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough, which prove that MS. to have been written after the compilation of Hoveden was published, or else that the writer had before him the lost work from which Hoveden himself copied. See B. P., p. 9, note 2.

A.D. 1173.

"tuam, et glorificabis ecclesiam meam sanguine tuo, et "tu gloriaberis in me."

He has a heavenly warning.

Pass. Anon. p. 142, 143. (Not in Benedict.)

He prepares to return.

Inchoante autem anno septimo exilii sui, cum jam esset vir Deo amabilis, spiritualibus exercitiis sanctificatus, et septiformi Spiritus Sancti gratia perfectior, ad sedem suam quantocius repedare festinabat. Noluit enim pater pius Cantuariensem ecclesiam diutius desolatam relinquere: vel quam ut creditur in spiritu viderat certaminis sui gloriam protelare, aut alibi moriendo sedem propriam martyrii sui honore privare.

De Vita Beati Thomæ.

His character and habits.

Hujus autem vita irreprehensibilis erat coram Deo et hominibus. Non erat enim illi vanum surgere ante lucem, sciens quod Dominus promisit coronam vigilantibus. Quotidie namque ante lucem surrexit, cæteris omnibus dormientibus, et intrans in oratorium suum prolixius oravit; sic demum rediens suscitavit capellanos et clericos suos a somno, et cantatis matutinis et horis diurnis, missam devote celebravit, et singulis diebus et noctibus ternas vel quinquenas accepit de manu sacerdotis disciplinas. Post vero celebrationem missæ, quotidie reintravit oratorium suum, et clauso ostio post se vacabat orationi cum lacrymis uberrimis; et nemo nisi solus Deus sciebat afflictionem quam faciebat carni suæ. Et sic faciebat quotidie usque ad horam prandii, nisi major solemnitas et causa evidentior impediret. Exiens vero ab oratorio prandere inter suos venit, non ut corpus suum pretiosis saturiret cibis, sed ut familiam suam exhilararet et ut pauperes Domini satiaret bonis: quos quotidie secundum facultatem suam numero augebat. Et quamvis pretiosi et exquisiti cibi et potus ei apponerentur, tamen erant ei in cibo et potu panis et aqua. Quadam autem die cum idem archiepiscopus in mensa Alexandri summi pontificis sederet, quidam secreti sui conscius posuit coram eo ciffum aqua plenum. Quem cum summus pontifex apprehendisset, et inde gustasset, invenit vinum merissimum et suave ad potandum. Et dixit, "Putabam

A.D. 1170. Character and habits of archbishop Thomas.

"hoc fuisse aquam," et reposuit ciffum coram archiepiscopo, et mox vinum rediit in pristinum saporem aquæ. O mira mutatio dexteræ Excelsi! Singulis autem diebus cum archipræsul a prandio surrexisset, nisi majora negotia impedirent, semper vacabat lectioni divinæ usque ad horam vespertinam, et auditis vesperis cum sol ad occasum tenderet, paratus erat lectus ejus superpositis mollibus stramentis et pannis sericis, per totum desuper auro contextis. Et cum cæteri dormirent, ille solus jacebat in nuda area ante lectum suum, in hymnis et psalmis, et nunquam ab oratione cessabat, donec labore victus paullulum reclinaret caput suum supposito lapide loco pulvinaris. Et sic oculi somnum capiebant, sed cor ejus semper vigilabat ad Dominum. Vestis autem ejus interior erat cilicina ex pilis caprarum aspera, qua totum corpus ejus tegebatur, a cubitis usque ad poplites. Exteriores autem vestes ejus erant nitidæ, et satis pretiosæ, ut sic decipiens humanos visus, divinis placeret aspectibus. Nullus quidem hominum erat hujus secretæ vitæ suæ conscius præter duos tantum: quorum unus erat Robertus canonicus de Meretun capellanus ejus, et alter dicebatur Brun, qui custodiebat cilicia sua, et lavabat quando fuit necesse; et isti erant illi fide et sacramentis astricti, quod hæc nemini dicerent in tota vita sua.

Ps. lxxvii. 10.

Thomas lands at Sandwich, (Dec. 1).

Venit ergo archipræsul Thomas ad Withsand, et cum audisset quod Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et Lundoniensis et Salesberiensis episcopi essent apud Dovere in occursum ejus, noluit illo ire, sed applicuit in Anglia apud Sandwich.

(Cf. W. Fitz-Stephen, S.T.C. i. 281.)

His reception at Canterbury.

Transito itaque mari, archiepiscopus et futurus martyr in magna gratia, gloria et honore, præcipue a monachis cum solemni processione quasi angelus Dei susceptus est in ecclesia sua, omnibus præ gaudio illacrymantibus, et cum gratiarum actione clamantibus, "Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini."

Passio Anon. 143.

Ipse autem tanquam bonus pastor, omnibus in osculo pacis exceptis, illos paterna exhortatione monuit, et docuit fraternitatem diligere, Deo obedire, in bonis perseverare, ad certare pro lege Dei usque ad mortem.

Benedict, i. 9.

(Cf. Fitz-Stephen, S.T.C. i. 286.) Ea vero tempestate erat Henricus rex Angliæ regis Henrici filius in Anglia, et Nativitas Domini instabat, quam rex ille cum primatibus terræ suæ solemniter celebraturus erat. Ad quam beatus Thomas, licet non esset invitatus, ire proposuit. Et cum Lundonias veniret, venit ad eum Gocelinus frater reginæ,[1] et prohibuit ei ex parte regis ne ulterius procederet. Et sic beatus Thomas Cantuariam reversus est. A.D. 1170. December. He is forbidden to visit the Court.

Benedict, i. 10. (Joh. Sarisb. 332, 333. Passio Anon. 143.) Ergo damnis iterum, et atrocioribus injuriis supra modum et numerum athleta Christi affectus est, et edicto publico præceptus ecclesiæ suæ septa non exire. Quisquis ei, vel alicui suorum faciem hilarem prætendebat, hostis publicus censebatur. Sed hæc omnia vir Dei cum multa patientia sufferebat, et familiariter inter suos commorans, conversatione sua et exhortationis verbo omnes ædificabat. His behaviour at Canterbury.

Passio Anon. 143. (Not in Benedict.) Reseditque in sua pontifex ecclesia intrepidus, expectans horam qua a Deo perciperet martyrii coronam. Præmunitus siquidem a multis sciebat, quod brevis foret vita ejus, et mors in januis. Ibi quasi tunc vivere cœpisset, exactum vitæ tempus spiritualibus exercitiis redimere satagebat. Sciensque quod vita præsens via est et militia, ut esset sanctus corpore et spiritu, vitiis expeditus succinxit se ad cursum, virtutibus armatus accinxit se ad pugnæ conflictum: Cor. ix. 26. cursum ergo consummando cucurrit non quasi in incertum, bene certando pugnavit non quasi aerem verberans. Prodibat tunc fere omnis ejus cogitatio et sermo de fine hujus vitæ et viæ miseria.

Aliquando etiam in sermone suo, quem faciebat ad fratres suos Cantuariensis ecclesiæ monachos, et ad clerum civitatis et populum, dicebat, "Veni ad vos "mori inter vos." Aliquando autem dicebat, "In eccle-"sia ista sunt martyres, et in proximo augebit Deus S. John xxi. 19. "numerum illorum:" hæc dicebat, significans qua morte ille clarificaturus esset Dominum. His prophecy of his own death.

Benedict, i. 10. Interim Henricus rex Angliæ pater calumniatus est archiepiscopatum Bituricensem debere adjacere ducatui Aquitanniæ, sed Lodowicus rex Franciæ modis omnibus contradicebat. Et sic orta inter illos gravi discordia uterque magnum congregavit exercitum. Venitque rex Angliæ cum suo exercitu Henry's claim on the archbishopric of Bourges.

[1] *Gocelinus frater reginæ*] Jocelin of Louvain, brother of Adeliza the second wife of Henry I.

A.D. 1170. Henry enters Berry, and makes a truce with Lewis.

Benedict, i. 10, 11.

in Berria usque Munluthum, volens ulterius procedere. Ex confessione enim Bituricensis archiepiscopi in extremis laborantis, et in confessione profitentis, quod de jure archiepiscopatus Bituricensis spectabat ad ducatum Aquitanniæ, sperabat se suscepturum. Sed Lodowicus rex Franciæ prævenit, et sic rex Angliæ a desiderio suo fraudatus, dedit et accepit treugas usque ad festum Sancti Hilarii.

Septimus decimus annus regni regis Henrici secundi.

Henry keeps Christmas at Bur.

Benedict, i. 11.

Anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo septuagesimo primo, qui erat annus xvii. regni regis Henrici, filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex Angliæ fuit in Normannia apud Burum die Nativitatis Domini; qui sexta feria evenit, et Alienor regina, et Ricardus, et Gaufridus et Johannes filii ejus cum eo. Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ filius erat in Anglia. Beatus vero Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus eo die Cantuariæ residens, post sermonem ad populum factum excommunicavit Robertum de Broc,[1] qui die præcedenti amputaverat caudam sumarii sui.

Thomas excommunicates Robert de Broc.

Dec. 29. The four knights come to Canterbury.

Pass. Anon. S.T.C., ii. 143.

(Not in Benedict.)

1 Mac. ii. 6.

Vix ergo pater in ecclesia sua per mensem moram fecerat, et ecce quinta die Natalis Domini venerunt Cantuariam quatuor milites, immo Sathanæ condicti satellit quorum nomina hæc sunt, Willelmus de Traci, Hugo de Morevile, Ricardus Brito, Reginaldus filius Ursi: viri quidem generis præminentia conspicui; sed enormis sceleris ausu militiæ gloriam et stemmatis titulum perpetua ignominia mox damnaturi. Hi ergo introeuntes ad archiepiscopum: quia non directa in manu eorum salus, ex concepta malitia salutationis eloquium prætermittentes, cum fastu et superbia alloquuntur. Accipiunt redduntque minas, minis adjicientes responsum. Denique probra et contumelias post se relinquentes exierunt. Continuoque revertentes, claustrum monachorum irrumpunt cum multa armatorum sequela, et ipsi armati. Jam præcesserat eos præsul cum modestia et gravitate in oratorium, suadentibus, immo et compellentibus monachis, propter diem solemnem, ad peragendam vespertinam synaxim; cum eos a

Conduct of the archbishop.

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[1] "Robertus de Broc, thalami "regii ostiarius." Ben. Petr. De Mir. S. Thomæ, p. 141. Compare Fitz-Stephen, S.T.C. i. 288, from whom this seems to be taken.

Pass. Anon. 144. (Not in Benedict.)

A.D. 1170. Dec. 29. They search for the archbishop.

tergo respiceret in medio claustri armatos. Arcere eos templo debuit propria malignitas; sed nec facinus dissuasit solemnitatis reverentia, nec a sanguine cohibuit patriarchæ innocentia. Usque adeo occupavit et excæcavit eos impudorata patrandi facinoris voluntas, ut nec militiæ jacturam recogitarent, nec ullius discriminis haberent æstimationem. Præcipites ergo et stupidi insequentes archiepiscopum, extractis gladiis intrant ecclesiam furiose clamantes, "Ubi est proditor ille?" Nemine vero respondente, ingeminant illi, "Ubi est archiepiscopus?" Sciens itaque Christi confessor, et mox futurus martyr, priori nomine se falso impeti, alterum vero sibi pro officio competere, a gradibus obviam illis progrediens, "Ecce," inquit, "assum." In tanta autem se exhibebat constantia, ut nec animus ejus pavore nec corpus horrore concuti videretur.

He presents himself to them.

Benedict, i. 12. (Joh. Sarisb. 336 and ep. cccvi.)

Their threats.

Cui unus funestorum militum in spiritu furoris intulit, "Tu "modo morieris, impossibile enim est, ut ulterius vivas." Respondit autem archiepiscopus, non minori constantia verbi quam animi, "Ego pro Deo meo mori paratus sum, et pro assertione "justitiæ et ecclesiæ libertate: sed si caput meum quæritis, "prohibeo ex parte Omnipotens Dei, et sub anathemate, ne "cuiquam alii, sive monacho, sive clerico, sive laico, majori "vel minori, in aliquo noceatis. Sed sint a pœna immunes, "sicut exstiterunt a causa." Verba ejus nonne Christum exprimere videntur in passione dicentem, "Si Me quæritis "sinite hos abire?"

The archbishop's justification.

S. John xviii. 8.

Pass. Anon. 144. (Not in Benedict.)

Cui statim injicientes manus milites tenuerunt, ut extra ecclesiam ad peragendum propositum traherent, sed non potuerunt.

Benedict, i. 12. Pass. Anon. 144.

His last words.

Videns ergo archiepiscopus carnifices eductis gladiis, in modum orantis inclinavit caput, hæc novissima proferens verba: "Deo, et Sanctæ Mariæ, et sanctis hujus ecclesiæ patronis, et "beato Dionysio commendo meipsum et ecclesiæ causam." Tunc in omnibus his cruciatibus invicti animi et admirandæ constantiæ martyr non verbum vel clamorem emisit, non edidit gemitum, nec brachium aut vestem opposuit ferienti: sed caput inclinatum, quod gladiis exposuerat, donec consummaretur, tenebat immobile.

The murder is perpetrated.

Prædicti igitur milites, timentes concurrentium undique utriusque sexus multitudinem, ne forte voto infecto eriperetur, facinus acceleraverunt. Cumque unus ex eis extendens vibraret gladium in caput archiepiscopi, brachium cujusdam clerici, qui dicebatur Eadwardus Grim, fere abscidit, et ipsum pariter in capite vulneravit christum Domini. Extenderat enim idem clericus brachium super caput patris, ut ferientis exciperet, vel potius elideret ictum. Stabat adhuc justus pro justitia patiens, velut agnus innocens, sine murmure, sine querimonia: et se-

A.D. 1170. Dec. 29. Unnecessary cruelty of the murderers.

ipsum holocaustum offerens Domino, sanctorum patrocinia implorabat. Et, ne quis funestorum satellitum intacto præsule inscelestus argui posset, secundus et tertius gladios suos vertici constantis athletæ atrociter illiserunt, confregerunt, et Spiritus Sancti victimam solo tenus præcipitaverunt; quartus plusquam ferali, immo furiali crudelitate debacchatus, jam prostrato, jam exspiranti coronam rasilem abscidit, testam capitis dissipavit, et mucrone vertici intruso, cerebrum cum sanguine super pavimentum lapideum effudit.

Benedict, i. 12. (Pass. Anon. 145.)

Lesson from the sight of the martyr's brain.

Discolor in mixtura utriusque substantia bifarie discreta martyris merita pie intuentem docere videbatur. Candebat namque in cerebro byssus innocentiæ, rubebat in sanguine purpura martyrii: utroque martyr Thomas quasi veste nuptiali decenter adornatus, cœlestis mensæ conviva dignus efficitur. Sic, sic martyr Thomas virtute constantiæ adamantinus cœlestis ædificii lapis pretiosus, gladiorum conquadratus ictibus angulari lapidi Christo in cœlis est conjunctus. Consummatus ergo noster Abel in martyrii gloria in brevi explevit tempora multa.

Pass. Anon. 145. (Not in Benedict.) Rev. xviii. 16. (Hymn, *Urbs beata.*) Wisd. iv. 13.

Date of the martyrdom.

Itaque inchoante septimo anno exilii sui præfatus martyr Thomas pro lege Dei, et ecclesiæ libertate, quæ tota fere deperierat in Anglicana ecclesia, certavit usque ad mortem; et a verbis impiorum non timuit. Fundatus enim supra firmam petram, id est, Christum, pro nomine Christi, in ecclesia Christi gladiis profanorum, quinta die Natalis Domini, id est crastino Innocentum, ipse innocens occubuit.

Benedict, i. 13. Is. xxxvii. 6. S. Matt. xvi. 18. 1 Cor. x. 4.

Cujus vitam innocentem, et mortem causæ merito in conspectu Dei pretiosam, innumera prædicant miracula, quæ non solum loco requietionis ejus, sed et in diversis nationibus et regnis mirifice exhibentur.

Pass. Anon. 145. (Not in Benedict.)

Eodem die passio beati Thomæ revelata est beato Godrico anachoritæ[1] per Spiritum Sanctum apud Fink-

[1] This is a curious mis-statement for a north countryman to make. Godric died, May 21st, 1170, seven months before the martyrdom of Thomas. Curiously enough we learn from the biographer of S. Godric that the archbishop on the very day before his own death had conversed about Godric, saying, "Novi quia nostri obsequii minis- "terio non egebat, quia jam in "cœlis cum Christo feliciter reg- "nando triumphat." According to one story then the archbishop had had a revelation of Godric's blessedness in heaven; according to the other the hermit had a revelation of the martyrdom of the archbishop. The former is, doubtless, the older story, and possibly the latter arose from some misapprehension or confused recollection of it.—*See* Reginaldus, de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, ed. Stevenson, p. 239.

A.D. 1170. Dec. 29.

hale, qui distat a Cantuaria plus quam per centum sexaginta milliaria. Monachi autem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ clauserunt ostia ecclesiæ, et ita permansit ecclesia suspensa a celebratione missæ fere per unum annum, quousque receperunt reconciliationem ecclesiæ per dominum papam Alexandrum. Monachi vero detulerunt martyrem suum, et posuerunt nocte prima in choro, agentes circa illum exequias defunctorum. Et veraciter dicitur, quod expletis circa corpus humanitatis obsequiis, cum jam in choro jaceret super feretrum, circa auroram, levata manu dextera dedit benedictionem. Deinde sepelierunt eum in crypta.

The monks close the church. — *Miracle.* — *Letter of William of Sens, p. 24, below.* — *Burial of Thomas.*

Benedict, i. 13. — *The murderers fly to Knaresborough.*

Milites autem, qui illud profanum opus perpetraverunt, statim profani operis sui conscii, et de venia desperantes, ad curiam regis Angliæ, unde venerant, redire non ausi fuerunt, sed in Occidentales partes Angliæ secesserunt, usque ad Cnaresburc, villam Hugonis de Morevile, et ibi tamdiu remanserunt, donec viles habiti fuerant a compatriotis illius provinciæ. Omnes enim illorum vitabant alloquia, nec aliquis cum eis manducare vel bibere voluit. Soli ergo manducabant et soli bibebant, et fragmenta cibariorum suorum projiciebantur canibus, et cum inde gustassent, nolebant inde quicquam comedere. Ecce manifesta et digna Dei vindicta! ut illi qui contempserunt christum Domini, a canibus etiam contemnebantur.

They go on crusade, and die.

Post multum vero temporis, prædicti quatuor milites, quos propria actionis conscientia accusabat, Alexandrum Romanum pontificem adierunt, et accepta ab eo pœnitentia Jerosolimam profecti sunt. Et ex præcepto papæ in Monte Nigro pœnitentiam agentes obierunt, et sunt Jerosolimis sepulti ante ostium Templi. Quorum superscriptio hæc est, "Hic jacent miseri, qui martyrizaverunt "beatum Thomam archiepiscopum Cantuariensem."

Date.

"Annus millenus, centenus, septuagenus,
"Primus erat, primas quo ruit ense Thomas."[1]

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[1] *Annus . . . Thomas*] See Robert de Monte ad ann. He gives two more lines on the date,
"Quinta dies Natalis erat, flos
"orbis ab orbe
"Pellitur, et fructus incipit esse
"poli."
Also Brompton, 1064.

Epistola Lodowici regis Francorum ad Alexandrum papam, de morte beati Thomæ martyris, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi.[1]

A.D. 1171. Lewis VII. exhorts the pope to avenge the martyr.

" Domino et patri suo sanctissimo Alexandro, Dei gratia summo pontifici, Lodowicus, rex Francorum, salutem et debitam reverentiam. Ab humanæ pietatis lege recedit filius, qui matrem deturpat, neque Creatoris beneficii reminiscitur qui de sanctæ sedi illata turpitudine non tristatur. Verum specialius est condolendum, et novitatem doloris excitat inauditæ novitas crudelitatis, quoniam in Sanctum Dei insurgens malignitas in pupillam Christi gladium infixit, et lucernam Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, non tam crudeliter quam turpiter jugulavit. Excitetur exquisitæ genus justitiæ. Denudetur gladius Petri in ultionem Cantuariensis martyris: quia sanguis ejus pro universali clamat ecclesia, et non tam sibi quam universæ ecclesiæ conquerens de vindicta. Ecce ad tumulum agonistæ, ut relatum est nobis, divina in miraculis revelatur gloria, et divinitus demonstratur ubi humanitus requiescit, pro Cujus nomine certavit.[2] Valeat pietas vestra."

Benedict, i. 14.

Epistola Willelmi Senonensis archiepiscopi ad dominum papam, de morte beati Thomæ martyris, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi.[3]

The archbishop of Sens reminds the pope of his duty.

" Sanctissimo patri ac domino Alexandro, Dei gratia summo pontifici, Willelmus, Senonensis ecclesiæ humilis minister, salutem et debitam cum omni devotione obedientiam. Vestro apostolatui, pater sancte, data est omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra. Gladius anceps in manibus vestris. Super gentes et regna constitutus estis, ad alligandos reges eorum in compedibus, et nobiles eorum in manicis ferreis. Vide

Benedict. i. 17. S. Matt. xxviii. 18. Ps. cxlix. 6, 8. Jerem. i. 10.

[1] Giles, *S.T.C.*, vi. 306.

[2] *certavit*] decertavit, B.P., who adds, " Latores vero præsentium, " patre orbati, vestræ pietati seriem " indicabunt, et testimonio veritatis " aurem adhibete mitissimam, et " tam de isto negotio, quam " de aliis, ipsis tanquam nobis " credite." C. gives the ending, " Valeat pietas et paternitas vestra " in Domino."

[3] This letter occurs in *S.T.C.*, iv. 163, (collated as G.), and part of it in Ralph de Diceto, 557. It is in Brompton, c. 1066.

Benedict, i. 17. Lam. ii. 20. Ps. lxxx. 13. " ergo, domine, et considera quem vindemiaverunt ita. Vineam " namque Domini Sabaoth exterminavit aper de sylva, et singularis ferus depastus est eam. Ecclesia siquidem Cantuariensis, immo universalis ecclesia, sanguine rorantes lacrymas, et amaritudine aspersas, a finibus terræ in conspectu " vestro effundit: quia posita est quasi signum ad sagittam, " facta est opprobrium vicinis suis, et qui vident eam movent " capita sua super eam dicentes, 'Ubi est Deus eorum?' " Ipsa autem gemens, et conversa retrorsum, clamat in auribus Domini exercituum: 'Vindica, Domine, sanguinem servi 'Tui et martyris, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, qui occisus 'est, immo pro libertate ecclesiæ crucifixus.' Pater sancte, " verbum horrendum, facinus flagitiosum et enorme flagitium " factum est in diebus vestris; quod quicunque audierit tinnient ambæ aures ejus: non est auditum in Theman; non est " visum in Canaan. Alter siquidem Herodes, semen Chanaan " et non Juda, progenies viperarum, missis a latere suo " lictoribus, signum Dominicæ passionis, quod desuper in " vertice gerebat, nequaquam exhorruit profundis exarare " vulneribus, et notis turpibus cœlestem deformare imaginem. Proh![1] sicut omnis ecclesia asserit, ipsum facit " martyrem causa pariter et pœna. Pœna, dolor passionis " illatæ. Causa, rigor ecclesiasticæ censuræ, quia pro lege " Dei sui certavit usque ad mortem. Vestra ergo interest, " pater clementissime, custos murorum Jerusalem, remedium " adhibere præteritis, et providentiam futuris. Quis enim " locus poterit esse tutus, si rabies tyrannica sancta sanctorum " cruentat, et vicarios Christi, alumnos ecclesiæ, impune dilacerat? Insurgant ergo ecclesiasticæ leges, armentur jura " ecclesiastica. Introeat in conspectu vestro ultio sanguinis " gloriosi martyris, qui de Anglia clamat. Clamabit siquidem, " et commovebit non solum terram sed cœlum. Et sic nostro consulite dolori, ut honestati vestræ pariter consulatis, et saluti[2] ecclesiæ. De cætero, sanctæ paternitati " vestræ insinuare dignum duximus, quod cum domino " Rothomagensi et nobis in mandatum dederitis, ut terram " regis Angliæ cismarinam, si pacem, quam gloriosæ memoriæ " domino Cantuariensi promiserat, non observaret, sub interdicto poneremus; adjicientes etiam quod si uterque nostrum " rei executioni non posset aut nollet interesse, alter nihilominus mandatum vestrum exsequeretur. Prædictus vero " Rothomagensis, postquam litteras vestras ei præsentari feci-

[Margin notes: A.D. 1171. The desolation of the church. — Lam. iii. 12. Ps. xxxi. 13. — Benedict, i. 18. Ps. cix. 25. Ps. xlii. 3. Lam. i. 8. — Jerem. xix. 3. Baruch, iii. 22. Susanna, 56. S. Matt. iii. 7. — Cruelty and sacrilege joined in the murder. — Ecclus. iv. 33. Is. lxii. 6. — Avenge the expecting church. — Haggai, ii. 7. — The mandate for the interdict was received.]

[1] *Proh!*] Proh dolor, G.; Propter hoc, C.

[2] *saluti*] libertati, C.

A.D. 1171.

The archbishop of Rouen refused to obey it.

" mus, nobis significavit, quod ad Senonensem civitatem ve- " niret, et juxta formam mandati apostolici [1] procederet. Cum " autem illuc venisset, una cum Lexoviensi et Ebroicensi et " Wigornensi episcopis, et aliis quampluribus, tam clericis " quam laicis de familia prædicti regis, post verborum tergi- " versationes et excusationes inde diductas, respondit, se ad " præsentiam vestram iter arripuisse, et prædicto regi exacer- " bationem se nolle infundere acerbiorem. Nos vero scientes " quod vitium paganitatis incurrit, quisquis mandatis aposto- " licis obedire contemnit, juxta seriem mandati vestri, de

Benedict, i. 18.

Benedict i. 19.

It was, however, promulgated.

" communi consilio fratrum nostrorum omnium episcoporum, " et Sancti Dionysii, et Sancti Germani de Pratis, et Ponti- " magni,[2] Wallaciensis,[3] Cenomannensis abbatum, et aliorum " quamplurium religiosorum virorum et sapientum, in terram " ejus cismarinam sententiam tulimus, et memorato archiepi- scopo et episcopis, ut eam observari facerent, ex parte vestra " injunximus. Scimus enim, quod nec possessiones sicut pro- " miserat restituit, nec securitatem, sicut mors ejus indicat, " instituit. Per Cartusiensem quoque, quem ad eum mise- " ramus, nobis significavit, quod causam mortis ejus dederat, " et quod eum occiderat. Inde est quod clementiæ vestræ

Pray confirm the sentence.

" supplicamus, quatenus prædictam sententiam ratam habeatis, " et sicut majestatem vestram decet, et incolumitati expedit " ecclesiæ, eam taliter faciatis observari, ut honor Dei et " vester conservetur, et nos, qui vestram sanctitatem ea qua " scitis devotione amplectimur, minime propter hæc possimus " illudi. Valete, et sicut decet majestatem et sanctitatem " vestram facite."

Epistola Theobaldi comitis Blesensis, ad Alexandrum papam, de morte beati Thomæ martyris.[4]

The count of Blois to the pope.

Benedict, i. 15.

" Reverentissimo domino et patri suo Alexandro, Dei gratia " summo pontifici, Theobaldus comes Blesensis, et regni Fran- " corum procurator, salutem, et debitam cum filiali subjectione " reverentiam. Vestræ placuit majestati, quod[5] inter dominum " Cantuariensem et regem Angliæ pax reformaretur, et integra

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[1] *apostolici*] vestri, C.

[2] *Pontimagni*] Pontiniacensis, G.

[3] *Wallaciensis*] Walcellensis, C. Richard de Blosseville, abbot of la Valasse, seems to be the person intended.

[4] *S.T.C.*, iv. 211, (collated as G.) Theobald, count of Blois, 1152–1191.

[5] *quod*] ut, C.

Benedict, i. 15. "firmaretur concordia. Itaque juxta vestri tenorem mandati, "illum rex Angliæ vultu hilari et fronte læta, et pacem spon-"dente, et gratiam sibi referente, recepit. Huic paci et "concordiæ affui, et me præsente dominus Cantuariensis "apud regem de coronatione filii sui conquestus est, quem "voto festinante et ardenti desiderio in culmen regiæ dig-"nitatis fecerat promoveri. Hujus autem injuriæ reus, et "sibi male conscius, rex Angliæ juris et satisfactionis ipsi "Cantuariensi pignus dedit. Conquestus est etiam de epi-"scopis, qui, contra jus et decus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, novum "regem in sedem regiam præsumpserunt intrudere: non zelo "justitiæ, non ut Deo placerent, sed ut tyrannum placarent. "De illis vero liberam et licentem rex ei concessit potestatem, "ut ad vestræ et suæ potestatis arbitrium in eos sententiam "promulgaret. Hæc siquidem vobis, vel juramento vel quo-"libet alio libuerit modo, attestari paratus sum et sancire.

A.D. 1171. He was present at the reconciliation between Henry and Thomas.

Benedict, i. 16. "Sic itaque pace facta, vir Dei[1] nil metuens recessit, ut "gladio jugulum subderet, et cervicem exponeret ferienti. "Passus est ergo martyrium agnus innocens crastina Sancto-"rum Innocentium die: effusus est sanguis justus ubi nostræ "viaticum salutis, sanguis Christi, solebat immolari. Canes "aulici, familiares et domestici regis, se ministros regis præ-"buerunt, et nocentes sanguinem innocentem hauserunt.[2] "Hujus prodigii modum detestabilem vobis verbo significa-"rem, sed vereor ne mihi in odio[3] ascribatur, et latores præ-"sentium patenter et plenius evolvent: ex eorum relatione "discetis quantus mœroris cumulus, quanta sit universæ "ecclesiæ et martyris[4] Cantuariæ[5] calamitas. Hanc salvo "pudore non[6] potest dissimulare Romana mater ecclesia. "Quicquid enim in filiam præsumitur inimicum,[7] redundat in "parentem, nec sine matris injuria filia captivatur. Ad vos "itaque clamat sanguis justi, et flagitat ultionem. Vobis "ergo, pater sancte, adsit et consulat[8] Pater Omnipotens, "Qui Filii Sui cruorem mundo impendit, ut mundi noxas de-"tergeret, et deleret maculas peccatorum, Ille vobis[9] vin-

The martyrdom of the archbishop.

S. Matt. xxiii. 35.

Ps. xciv. 21.

The blood cries out for vengeance.

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[1] *vir Dei*] et Spiritu Sancto plenus, add. G.; om. B.P.

[2] *hauserunt*] effuderunt, G.

[3] *odio*] a serpente cujus nec odium timeo nec amorem volo, add. G.

[4] *martyris*] maxime, G.

[5] *Cantuariæ*] quanta etiam totius regni Franciæ, immo omnium partium mundi, ad quas ista pervenit nequitia et seditio et querela, et,—add. G.

[6] *non*] debet nec potest, ins. G.

[7] *inimicum*] unicam, C.

[8] *consulat*] super vindicta facienda omnipotens et misericors Dominus, ins. G.

[9] *vobis*] sufficientis, ins. G.

A.D. 1171. "dictæ voluntatem insinuet et suggeret facultatem, ut ecclesia, "inauditi[1] sceleris confusa magnitudine, districta[2] hilarescat "ultione."[3] Benedict, i. 16.

Alia epistola Willelmi Senonensis archiepiscopi ad dominum papam, contra regem Angliæ, de morte beati Thomæ martyris.[4]

The archbishop of Sens writes to the pope about the martyrdom of Thomas.

(Not in Benedict.)

"Amantissimo patri ac domino, Alexandro Dei gratia summo "pontifici, Willelmus Senonensis ecclesiæ humilis minister, "spiritum consilii et fortitudinis, cum omni obedientiæ famu- (Is. xi. 2.) "latu. Inter scribendum hæc, immo priusquam scriberem, "mox steti et hæsi dubius admodum, quo dictationis[5] genere "nuper patrati sceleris atrocitatem, et supplicii[6] recenter "illati immanitatem, clementiæ vestræ oculis præsentarem. "Et profecto arbitror clamorem mundi jam vestræ sanctitatis "aures implevisse, utpote qui in mundi specula residetis, "qualiter[7] ille non rex Anglorum, sed angelorum potius et "totius corporis Christi inimicus, proxime sit malignatus in "sancto, in filio dextræ tuæ, quem confirmasti tibi. (Ps. lxxx. 18.) Cujus ex "hoc mundo excessum, et excessus modum, et si forte ex ali- "quorum diverso sive et adverso relatu acceperitis, quod mihi "innotuit ab his qui interfuerant, conscius fidelis[8] intimo, et "patrati sceleris ordinem paucis explico, cujus tamen imma- "nitas excogitari non potest.

The story of the murder.

In Natali Domini, proxima post "festum Innocentium die, occidente jam sole, circa horam "vesperarum, intromissi spiculatores, tres[9] duntaxat qui primi "fuerant, ad fortem illum athletam Christi terribiliter admo- "dum et fastuose accesserunt; quorum memoria ut perpetuo "in maledictione sit, intersero nomina, Hugo de Morevilla, "Willelmus de Traci, Reginaldus filius Ursi,[10] qui in primo "accessu a viro Dei salutati non resalutaverunt, utpote qui "jam vias perditionis ingressi manifeste respuebant salutem.

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[1] *inauditi*] et nefandi, ins. G.

[2] *districta*] inaudita et toti mundo jucunda, ins. G.

[3] *ultione*] Valete, et sicut decet sanctitatem vestram et dignitatem totius curiæ Romanæ, studete,—add. G.

[4] *S.T.C.*, iv. 160, (collated as G.)

[5] *dictationis*] dictionis, G.; dictaminis, C.

[6] *supplicii*] in christum Domini, ins. G.

[7] *qualiter*] famosissimus, ins. G.

[8] *conscius fidelis*] certius fidelius, G.

[9] *tres*] quatuor, G.

[10] *Ursi*] Ricardus Brito, ins. G.

A.D. 1171.

The threats of the murderers.

" Quin potius contumeliose[1] nimis, et aspere intonuerunt,[2] si " episcopos suspensos, sive excommunicatos, ad regis[3] abso- " luturus mandatum. Quo manifeste[4] respondente, id ad sin- " gularis primatus vestri spectare censuram, nec aliquid sibi " vendicaret, ubi tanta intervenisset auctoritas, mox ipsum ex " parte regis diffiduciaverunt, et continuo exierunt ad cohortem ; " militibus, qui de familia hominis Dei erant, super periculo " vitæ, et bonorum omnium proscriptione, in exitu suo præ- " cipientes ex parte regis, ut ipsi pariter exirent, et rei eventum " taciti et patientes expectarent. Publice autem per civitatem " simile regis exivit edictum. Singularis vero ille Christi athleta " in nostris diebus, minas principum sprevit, et de loco ipso " ubi jam velut mortis acceperat initium,[5] ad militum[6] instan- " tiam vix egredi compulsus est. Et hoc quidem, ne videretur " consummari invitus. Deo itaque[7] dispensante metropolitanam " ecclesiam, in ipsius Christi honore dedicatam, ingressus, idem " christus Domini pro nomine Christi meruit immolari, ubi " quotidie immolatur et Christus. Et sacerdos ille Altissimi " stans ante altare, et crucem, quam ante se gestare consue- " rat, brachiis suis amplectens,[8] et orans, voluntarie seipsum " inter crucis et altaris cornua pacificam Deo hostiam obtulit. " Nam appropinquante jam hora passionis, ipse flexis genibus,[9] " extento collo et curvata cervice, calicem salutaris accepit, " et a tribus[10] prænominatis spiculatoribus decalvatus est, prius " tamen contumeliis et probris multis affectus, ut nec ipse[11] " passionis Domini sui titulo fraudaretur. Cujus ut ipso adhuc " magis forma claresceret, eadem hora pro occisoribus suis " exoravit : adjiciens et devote supplicans,[12] ut a malis præsen- " tibus ejus familia servaretur illæsa. Solus itaque pontifex " non sine sanguine intravit in sancta. Et quia post viri " sancti transitum, operante Domino, memoranda quædam ex " multorum crebra relatione accidisse audivimus, omnino præ- " teriri non debent. Dicitur namque, et constanter asseritur, " post passionem suam, in visu apparuisse multis, quibus per- " hibet se non mortuum esse sed vivere : et non vulnera sed " vulnerum tantum cicatrices ostentat. Inter quos veterano

The archbishop offered himself as a victim.

He prayed for his murderers.

Heb ix. 7.

He has appeared in visions.

[1] *contumeliose*] cervicose, G.

[2] *intonuerunt*] in introitu sciscitantes, G.

[3] *regis*] esset illico, ins. G.

[4] *manifeste*] modeste, G.

[5] *initium*] nuncium, G.

[6] *militum*] multam, G.

[7] *itaque*] melius, ins. G.

[8] *et Christus...amplectens*] om. G.

[9] *flexis genibus*] om. G.

[10] *tribus*] quatuor, G.

[11] *ipse*] ullo, G.

[12] *Cujus...supplicans*] Denunciavit etiam, G.

A.D. 1171.

He has been seen by a monk named Neel.

" cuidam monacho nomine Neel manifeste apparuisse dicitur: " sed qualiter hoc, non edissero, ut evitetur longitudo sermo- " nis; sed horum bajuli fideliter et patenter exponent. De " cæco vero quodam, qui mox passione consummata crudo " adhuc sanguine oculos perlinivit, oculos et visum recepit, " omnino auditum est. De cereis etiam circa corpus positis " et extinctis, sed postea per se reaccensis, non infida mul- " torum relatio est. Et quod majus est adhuc gaudium, et " miraculum habet: expletis omnibus circa corpus humani-

Another miracle.

" tatis obsequiis, cum jam in choro jaceret super feretrum, " circa auroram, levata manu dextera, benedictionem dedit.[1] " Age ergo homo Dei, quorum tenes sedem, induere forti- " tudinem; excutere,[2] fili excussorum, hinc miseratio, inde Ps. cxxvii. 5. " vero indignatio moveat. Unam filio debes, tyranno alte- " ram; et hujus in terris auge gloriam, quem de cœlis tam

The pope is exhorted to avenge him.

" mirabiliter glorificat Deus. Illi vero præsta ignominiam, qui " in terris tam horribiliter persecutus est Deum,[3] qui proprii " ventris tui percussit[4] latera, excussit viscera, et concul- " cavit in terra: qui etiam filium tuum, quem sicut mater " unicum diligebas, nescio per quos incircumcisos et immun- " dos, tam perfide, tam inhumane mactavit, patris non " veritus offensam, nec miseratus ætatem. Quorum ergo " sortitus es ministerium, sortiaris et zelum. Et quia cernis " Achab scelus, Heliæ te apprehendat æmulatio. Occidit 1 Kings xxi. 19. " Achab et possedit; sed Achab quidem, totius quippe patrati " sceleris facie operose perpensa, Achab ab ipso justificatus est.

The wickedness of the king is unparalleled.

" Illud siquidem est, quod inter omnia quæ leguntur seu " referuntur sceleratorum scelera longe primum obtinet lo- " cum. Quod omnem Neronis nequitiam, Juliani perfidiam, " sacrilegam etiam Judæ proditionem excedit. Vide siqui- " dem et attende, qualis persona in quali ecclesia, quale etiam " tempus patrandi sceleris elegerit: Natale scilicet Do- " mini, proximam post Sanctorum Innocentium diem, ut novus " ex veteri nostris diebus suscitaretur Herodes. Pax etiam " publice data proditorem nihilominus revocavit a scelere; " qui tanquam per se satis non insaniret, instigatores habuit,

His aiders and abettors.

" dantes cornua peccatori, falsos videlicet illos, et ab omni " ecclesiarum orbe perpetuo detestandos fratres: Roge- " rum videlicet archiepiscopum Eboracensem diabolum, et " Lundoniensem episcopum Gilebertum, et Gocelinum Sales-

[1] *Inter quos . . . dedit*] om. G.

[2] *excutere*] om. G.

[3] *Deum*] qui in visceribus propriæ matris proprium peremit patrem, ins. G.

[4] *percussit*] contorsit, G.

A.D. 1171.

Wickedness of the bishops.

" beriensem episcopum; non episcopos sed apostaticos. Qui " filium tuum fratrem suum[1] non mystice vendiderunt sed " in veritate occiderunt, patris jam senis nec maledictionem " metuentes, nec dolori vel ætati parcentes. Quorum vita " præsens, ut in perpetua amaritudine sit, et memoria in " maledictione æterna, vestra, pater sancte, auctoritas pari- " ter et austeritas efficiat. Valeat sanctitas vestra, pater " sancte."[2]

De nunciis regis Romam missis.

Benedict, i. 19.

The archbishop of Rouen and bishops of Evreux and Worcester go to Rome.

Interim Rotrodus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et Ægidius Ebroicensis episcopus, et Rogerus Wigornensis episcopus, et Ricardus Barre, et quidam alii de clericis et familiaribus regis Angliæ, iter arripuerunt ad Romanum pontificem pro ipso rege, et pro regno ejus. Sed dominus Rothomagensis senio et infirmitate laborans, cum jam fere mediam peregisset viam, ulterius procedere non potuit; sed

Benedict, i. 20.

reversus est in Normanniam ad sedem suam, et prædicti episcopi cum clericis regis processerunt. Et a summo pontifice cum magna difficultate impetraverunt, quod duo cardinales, scilicet Theodinus[3] et Albertus,[4] ex parte domini papæ in Normanniam venirent, ad cognoscendam causam quæ vertebatur inter regem et ecclesiam Cantuariensem, et de morte Cantuariensis martyris, et de aliis ecclesiasticis dignitatibus, et prout Deus eis administraret judicandam. Ipsi vero, qui Romam profecti fuerant, in hac forma scripserunt domino regi.

The pope promises a legation.

Epistola clericorum regis ad ipsum.[5]

Mar. 28.

Report of the envoys to Henry.

" Carissimo domino suo Henrico illustri Anglorum regi, " duci Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comiti Andegaviæ, R.

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[1] *suum*] Joseph, ins. G.

[2] *auctoritas .... sancte*] sancta consolatio. Præsentium portitores, magistrum Alexandrum et magistrum Gunterium, viros probos et industrios, qui sancto Dei martyri in vita sociati sunt et in morte separari non possunt, vestræ commendatos esse caritati officiose imploro, quibus quæ litterarum garrulis apicibus committere nolui, instillavi secretius in aure revelanda,—G.

[3] *Theodinus*] cardinal priest of S. Vitalis.

[4] *Albertus*] cardinal priest of S. Laurence in Lucina, afterwards chancellor, and finally pope Gregory VIII.

[5] *S.T.C.*, vi. 198, (collated as G.)

A.D. 1171. Mar. 28. The difficulties of the journey.

Benedict, i. 20.

"abbas Wallaciæ,[1] R. Saresberiensis archidiaconus, R. Lexoviensis archidiaconus, R. Barre, et magister Henricus, salutem et fidele in omnibus et ubique obsequium. Noverit vestra majestas, quod cum Ricardus Barre nos præcessisset, et cum multo periculo et gravamine nos ad curiam domini papæ prævenisset, nos quatuor cum duobus episcopis, et decano Ebroicensi, et magistro Henrico cum multa difficultate venimus usque Senas. Ibi diebus aliquot detenti sumus. Comes enim Macharius sic ex omni parte vias obsederat, quod nulli patebat egressus. Cum vero nos quatuor, cum episcopis, qui plurimum exire desiderabant, non potuissemus, in maxima animi angustia positi, ex communi consilio, media nocte[2] et latenter exivimus, et sic per abrupta montium, et per loca fere invia, sub magno timore et periculo tandem venimus Tusculanum. Ibi Ricardum Barre, de vestro honore, sicut decebat, sollicitum, et ad vestram utilitatem prudenter et utiliter atque instanter laborantem invenimus; multum tamen contristatum et confusum, quia nec dominus papa eum receperat, nec alii benignos et humanos se illi exhibuerant. Nos autem venientes dominus papa nec videre, nec ad osculum nec ad pedem voluit recipere.[3] Vix enim plerique cardinalium dignati sunt nos recipere vel in verbo. Diu ergo in amaritudine spirituum nostrorum anxie conturbati, iis qui vos fidelius diligebant omnimode supplicavimus, ut eorum interventu dominus papa nobis quocunque modo audientiam indulgeret. Ad eorum tandem[4] instantiam recepti sunt dominus abbas Wallaciæ, et R. Lexoviensis archidiaconus, qui minus habebantur suspecti. Ipsi autem cum nomen vestrum, tanquam devotissimi filii Romanæ ecclesiæ in salutationem ex parte vestra proponerent, acclamavit tota curia: 'Sustinete, sustinete,' tanquam domino papæ abominabile esset audire nomen vestrum. Sic a curia venientes, sero redierunt ad dominum papam, eique de nostro communi consilio exponentes, quod nobis fuerat a vestra majestate injunctum; referentes etiam seriatim singula beneficia quæ contuleratis Cantuariensi, et singulos excessus et inopportunitates quas contra vestram commiserat dignitatem. Totumque hoc primo secreto, postea coram domino papa et omnibus cardinalibus, contendentibus etiam contra eos

They were detained at Sienna.

Arrival at Tusculum.

Benedict, i. 21.

The pope refused to see them.

The abbot of la Valasse and archdeacon of Lisieux get an audience.

Interviews with the pope.

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[1] Richard de Blosseville, abbot of la Valasse; Reginald Fitz Jocelin, archdeacon of Salisbury; Richard archdeacon of Lisieux, Richard Barre and Henry Pinchun.

[2] *nocte*] occulte, ins. G.

[3] *recipere*] admittere, G.

[4] *tandem*] So C. om. A.

Benedict, i. 21. A.D. 1171. Mar. 28. The pope threatens an excommunication on Maundy Thursday.

"Alexandro et Guntero[1] Flandrensi, clericis Cantuariensibus. "Instante vero quinta feria ante Pascha, in qua de consuetu- "dine Romanæ ecclesiæ solet dominus papa publice absolvere "vel publice excommunicare, cum certi essemus quod de "vestro et regni vestri gravamine, tanquam ad hoc proni "diutissime tractassent, consuluimus eos quos vestræ majes- "tati fideliores cognovimus, scilicet dominum Portuensem,[2] "dominum Jacinctum,[3] dominum Papiensem,[4] dominum Tus- "culanensem,[5] dominum Petrum de Mizio,[6] (dominus Johannes[7] "Neapolis aberat,) cum omni studio et instantia exorantes, ut "nobis animum domini papæ, et quid circa nos statuere

Benedict, i. 22.

"proponeret, aperirent. Ipsis vero nihil nisi sinistrum et "vestræ celsitudini ignominiosum reportantibus, ex singul- "tuosa eorum et fratris Franci[8] fidelis vestri relatione præsen- "simus, quod ea die immutabiliter disposuerat dominus papa, "in vos nominatim, et in totam terram vestram cismarinam "et transmarinam, de communi fratrum consilio interdicti ferre "sententiam, et eam quæ in episcopos lata fuerat confir- "mare. Positi ergo in arctissimo, omni studio attentavimus "per cardinales, et per illos de sociis nostris qui ad illum "habebant accessum, et per familiares suos, ut cessaret ab "hoc proposito, vel saltem differret usque ad adventum epi- "scoporum vestrorum. Quod cum nullo modo fieri posset, "nos sicut decet, et sicut debitores vobis sumus, personæ "vestræ dedecus et totius terræ vestræ gravamen sustinere "non valentes nec debentes, tandem convocatis sociis nostris "coram quibusdam cardinalibus, et viam invenimus saluti "vestræ et honori, bonam et securam, et universæ terræ "vestræ utilem, et episcopis necessariam. Pro qua a vo- "bis, et a terra vestra, et ab episcopis vestris, dedecus et "periculum, quod imminebat, avertimus, et nos ipsos pro "hac libertate toti periculo exposuimus, credentes, et certam "spem habentes, quod totum negotium procedet, secundum "quod credimus vos velle, et secundum quod scimus vos velle

They try their last resource, and at last find a way of escape.

[1] Alexander Llewelyn, Becket's cross bearer, and Gunther the Fleming, the bearers of the last letter. See note 2, p. 25, above.

[2] *Portuensem*] Bernard of Pisa.

[3] *Jacinctum*] Hyacinth Bobo, afterwards pope Celestine III.

[4] *Papiensem*] William of Pavia, cardinal priest of S. Peter ad Vincula, the legate of 1167.

[5] *Tusculanensem*] Odo.

[6] *Petrum de Mizio*] cardinal of S. Laurence in Damaso.

[7] *Johannes*] John of Naples, cardinal priest of S. Mark.

[8] *Franci*] the king of France's almoner.

A.D. 1171. Mar. 28. They are contemplating return.

"debere.[1] Dominus Wigornensis, et dominus Ebroicensis episcopi, et Robertus decanus Ebroicensis, et[2] magister Henricus in proximo venturi erant, et eos quidem dimisimus ultra modum anxios et turbatos, quia pro explendo negotio vestro, pro velle suo, venire non poterant. Fuitque de consilio eorum et nostro, quod nos quocunque modo præcederemus eos, ut dedecus et malum, quod parabant nobis adversarii vestri, impedire possemus. Certi enim eramus quod vestrum gravamen in curia præparabatur, et timuimus illius diei consuetudinem.[3] Valeat et diu vigeat sublimitas vestra, confortamini in Domino, et exultet cor vestrum, quoniam præsens nubilum ad gloriam vestram sequetur serenum. Die Sabbati ante Ramos Palmarum ad curiam venimus, et lator præsentium die Paschæ recessit a nobis."

Benedict, i. 22.

They arrived on the 20th and write on the 28th of March.

De adventu Gratiani et Viviani, legatorum domini papæ, in Normanniam.

Arrival of Gratian and Vivian.

Interim venerunt in Normannia duo legati cardinales, a latere Alexandri summi pontificis missi, Gratianus[4] scilicet

Benedict, i. 24.

[1] The following passage, which appears in *S.T.C.*, vi. 201, explains the plan of the ambassadors, and accounts for its own omission both here and in Benedict. "Timore namque perterriti, iisdem cardinalibus intercedentibus, significavimus domino papæ nos accepisse in mandatis a vobis quod juraremus in præsentia ejus quod vos stabitis mandato suo, et hoc jurabitis in propria persona. Eadem ergo die Jovis fere circa horam nonam, vocati sunt nuncii, tam vestri quam episcoporum, et in generali consistorio juravimus, abbas scilicet de Wallacia et Saresberiensis et Lexoviensis archidiaconi, et magister Henricus et Ricardus Barre, quod vos stabitis mandato papæ et ad præceptum ejus hoc jurabitis. Nuncii vero archiepiscopi Eboracensis, Lundoniensis et Saresberiensis episcoporum juraverunt similiter quod domini sui stabunt præcepto ejus et hoc jurabunt. Ipsa die tamen generaliter excommunicavit interfectores Cantuariensis, et omnes qui consilium vel auxilium vel assensum præbuerunt, et omnes qui in terram suam eos scienter receperint aut foverint."

[2] *et*] Robertus de Novo Burgo, Ebroicensis, add. G.

[3] *consuetudinem*] De nunciis quos ad dominum imperatorem misistis nihil postea audivimus. De vestro quod mihi per Reginaldum misistis secreto, coram Willelmo filio Hamonis et postmodum abbate de Walace, spem bonam concepimus quod fiet,—ins. G.

[4] *Gratianus*] subdeacon of the Apostolic Sèe. Neither of the legates was yet a cardinal.

Benedict, i. 24.

A.D. 1171.

Henry appeals against their jurisdiction.

et Vivianus,[1] qui magnis et diversis vexationibus regem Angliæ angariaverunt, volentes eum et terram suam sub interdicto ponere. Sed rex Angliæ inde præmunitus, ante illorum ingressum ad præsentiam summi pontificis appellavit, et sic se et terram a gravamine illorum custodivit illæsos. At tamen apostolicam timens severitatem, ad mare properavit, et de Normannia in Angliam transfretavit, præcipiens quod nullus brevis lator, cujuscunque fuerit conditionis vel ordinis, permitteretur transfretare, neque de Normannia in Angliam neque de Anglia in Normanniam, nisi prius data securitate quod nullum malum vel gravamen quæreret regi nec regno suo. Deinde idem rex magna classe navium congregata, fecit eas onerari victu et armis, et congregari præcepit in portu de Mileforde, qui prope est de Penbroc. Ipse autem interim magnum congregavit exercitum equestrem et pedestrem, et venit usque ad Penbroc obviam navibus suis. Quibus congregatis, et omnibus rite peractis, ipse cum exercitu suo naves ascendit in portu de Mileford Sabbato, xvii°. kalendas Novembris, et in crastino feliciter et cum gaudio applicuit in Hybernia, in loco qui dicitur Croch, qui distat a civitate de Waterford per octo milliaria, hora diei nona, cum cccc. magnis navibus onustis viris bellicosis, et equis, et armis, et victu. Cumque ipse descendisset de navi in terram, quidam lepus albus prosilivit de vepribus, et statim captus, et ei oblatus, in signum victoriæ.[2]

He leaves Normandy and prepares to invade Ireland.

Benedict, i. 25.

Oct. 16. He embarks at Milford Haven, and lands at Croch on the 17th.

De adventu Henrici regis Angliæ in Hyberniam, et ejus adquisitis.

Oct. 18. He goes on to Waterford.

In crastino adventus regis Angliæ in Hyberniam, scilicet xv°. kalendas Novembris, feria secunda, festo Sancti Lucæ evangelistæ, ipse et omnis exercitus ejus profecti sunt usque Waterford, civitatem episcopalem. Et invenit ibi Willelmum filium Aldelini dapiferum suum, et Ro-

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[1] *Vivianus*] afterwards cardinal deacon of S. Nicolas in carcere Tulliano; and from 1175 cardinal priest of S. Stephen in Cœlio Monte.

[2] *Cumque . . . victoriæ*] om. C.

A.D. 1171. Henry receives the fealty of the kings and bishops of Ireland.

bertum filium Bernardi, et alios quosdam de familia sua, quos ipse ab Anglia præmiserat. Et ibi moram fecit per xv. dies, et ibi venerunt ad eum per mandatum ipsius rex Corcensis,[1] et rex de Limerich,[2] et rex de Oxerie,[3] et rex de Mida,[4] et Ragenaldus de Waterford[5] et fere omnes potentes Hyberniæ, præter regem de Conacta,[6] qui dicebat se de jure esse dominum totius Hyberniæ. Præterea venerunt ibidem ad regem Angliæ omnes archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates totius Hyberniæ, et receperunt eum in regem et dominum Hyberniæ, jurantes ei et hæredibus suis fidelitatem, et regnandi super eos potestatem in perpetuum, et inde dederunt ei cartas suas. Exemplo autem clericorum, prædicti reges et principes Hyberniæ receperunt simili modo Henricum regem Angliæ in dominum et regem Hyberniæ, et homines sui devenerunt, et ei et hæredibus suis fidelitatem juraverunt contra omnes homines.

Benedict, i. 25. Benedict, i. 26.

De archiepiscopis et episcopis Hiberniæ.

Archbishop of Armagh and his suffragans.

Est sciendum, quod in Hybernia sunt quatuor archiepiscopi, et viginti et novem episcopi, quorum nomina hæc sunt; Gelasius[7] Arcmacensis archiepiscopus, totius Hyberniæ primas, habet sub se octo suffraganeos, quorum nomina hæc sunt; Edanus Lugdunensis episcopus, Mauritius Tharensis episcopus, Malachias Thuenensis episcopus, Neemias Chonderensis episcopus, Gilebertus Rathpothensis episcopus, Thaddeus Cenenersis episcopus, Christianus Ardahachdensis episcopus, Eleutherius Cluenerardensis episcopus.

Donatus[8] Casselensis archiepiscopus habet sub se x. suf-

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[1] Dermot Mac Carthy, king of Cork.

[2] Donald O'Brien, king of Limerick.

[3] Donald, king of Ossory.

[4] Tiernan O'Rourke, king of Meath.

[5] Raghnall Mac Ivor; descendant of the Danish kings of Waterford.

[6] Roderick O'Connor, king of Connaught.

[7] Gelasius; archbishop of Armagh, 1137–1174: his suffragans were Edan or Odo of Louth (Clogher); Maurice of Derry; Malachi of Down; Nehemiah of Connor; Gilbert of Raphoe; Thaddeus of Kells; Christian of Ardagh; Eleutherius of Clonard.

[8] Donagh O'Hulucan, archbishop of Cashel, 1158–1182: his suffragans were Christian of Lismore; and the bishops of Emly, Cloyne, Ardmore, Limerick, Killaloe, Waterford, Ardfert, Ross, Kilfenora; to whom Benedict adds the bishop of Cork.

Benedict, i. 27. fraganeos, quorum nomina hæc sunt: Christianus Lismorensis episcopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus; Inmeleccensis episcopus, Cluanumensis episcopus, Arcmorensis episcopus, Lumpniacensis episcopus, Kildareuensis episcopus, Waterfordensis episcopus, Arthferdensis episcopus, Rosensis episcopus, Finnabrensis episcopus. A.D. 1171. Suffragans of Cashel.

Laurentius[1] Dublinensis archiepiscopus habet sub se quinque suffraganeos, quorum nomina hæc sunt; Bistaghnensis episcopus, Fernensis episcopus, Leghglensis episcopus, Kildarensis episcopus, Eripolensis episcopus. Suffragans of Dublin.

Catholicus[2] Tuaimensis archiepiscopus habet sub se quinque suffraganeos, quorum nomina sunt hæc; Kyenfernensis episcopus, Kynlathensis episcopus, Maigonensis episcopus, Aelfinensis episcopus, Achathkonrensis episcopus. Suffragans of Tuam.

Et hi omnes, tam archiepiscopi quam episcopi, receperunt sibi Henricum regem Angliæ, et hæredes suos, in reges et dominos in perpetuum, et cartis suis confirmaverunt.

Benedict, i. 28. Quo facto, rex Angliæ misit Nicholaum capellanum, et Radulfum archidiaconum de Landaf, clericos suos, una cum archiepiscopis et episcopis Hyberniæ, usque ad Cassellensem civitatem, ad celebrandum concilium[3] de statutis ecclesiæ. In concilio autem illo statutum est, ut pueri deferantur ad ecclesiam, et ibi baptizentur in aqua munda sub trina mersione, In nomine Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Et hoc a sacerdotibus fiat, nisi, metu mortis impediente, ab alio et alias oportuerit fieri, et tunc a quolibet fiat sine exceptione sexus et ordinis. Et ut decimæ dentur ecclesiis de omnibus quæ possidentur. Et ut omnes laici, qui uxores habere velint, eas secundum jus ecclesiasticum habeant. Rex vero Angliæ misit transcriptum cartarum universorum archiepiscoporum et episcoporum Hyberniæ ad Alexandrum papam, et ipse auctoritate apostolica confirmavit illi et hæredibus suis Council of Cashel (about Nov. 6). The pope confirms Henry in possession of Ireland.

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[1] Laurence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin, 1161–1181: his suffragans were the bishops of Glendalough, Ferns, Leighlin, Kildare and Ossory (perhaps Jerpont).

[2] Catholicus or Cadla O'Dubhai; archbishop of Tuam, 1161–1201: his suffragans were the bishops of Clonfert, Killala, Mayo, Elphin, Achonry.

[3] See the Acts of the Council in Giraldus Cambrensis, *Hibernia Expugnata*, lib. i., cap. 35.

A.D. 1171. regnum Hyberniæ, secundum formam cartarum archiepiscoporum et episcoporum Hyberniæ. Benedict, i. 28.

Henry stays at Dublin from Martinmas to Ash Wednesday.

His itaque[1] apud Waterford factis, rex Angliæ perrexit inde usque Diveline, et ibi moram fecit a festo Sancti Martini usque ad caput jejunii; ibique fecit sibi construi juxta ecclesiam Sancti Andreæ apostoli, extra civitatem Diveliniæ, palatium regium, miro artificio de virgis levigatis ad modum patriæ illius constructum. In quo ipse cum regibus et principibus Hyberniæ solemne festum tenuit die Natalis Domini. Benedict, i. 29.

Interim Gilebertus Lundoniensis et Gocelinus Salesberiensis episcopi Romam miserunt, et litteras absolutionis in hac forma receperunt.

Epistola Alexandri papæ.[2]

The pope orders the absolution of the bishops of London and Salisbury.

"Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus "fratribus Bituricensi[3] archiepiscopo, et Nivernensi[4] episcopo, "salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Fraternitati vestræ "non credimus esse incognitum, qualiter sanctæ recorda-"tionis Thomas, quondam Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, de "mandato nostro in Lundoniensem et Salesberiensem episcopos "excommunicationis sententiam promulgavit; quam utique "nos ratam habentes et firmam, eam auctoritate apostolica "curavimus confirmare. Quia vero prædicti episcopi, senio et "debilitate corporis confecti, et alter morbo laborans, ad præ-"sentiam nostram venire non possunt; vobis, de quorum pru-"dentia et honestate confidimus, absolutionem eorum, pro qua "nuncii regis Henrici Angliæ et eorundem episcoporum apud "nos vehementius institerunt, duximus committendam. Ideo-"que fraternitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, "quatenus si infra mensem, postquam iidem nuncii ad propria "redierint, de adventu legatorum nostrorum,[5] quos ad partes "illas pro cognoscenda atrocitate illius facinoris et sceleris, "quod perpetratum est, et reconciliatione regis disposuimus "transmittere, quod transalpinaverint vobis non innotuerit: eos, "publice recepto juramento secundum morem ecclesiæ, quod "nostro debeant astare mandato, ab excommunicationis vin- Benedict, i. 23.

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[1] *itaque*] ita, C.

[2] *S.T.C.*, vi. 59. This is one of the letters not found in the older MS. of Benedict.

[3] *Bituricensi*] Stephen, 1170–1173.

[4] *Nivernensi*] Bernard.

[5] Theodin and Albert.

Benedict i. 23. "culo absolvatis, sententia suspensionis ob eam causam, qua "fuerant ultimo in excommunicationem deducti, in suo robore "permanente. Si autem vobis constiterit, quod Saresberiensis "episcopus, morbo laborans, ad vos venire non possit, illuc "in propria persona, quod nobis placeret, accedatis; aut si "accedere non poteritis, personas idoneas, de quibus nos et "vos confidere valeamus, transmittatis; quæ illum, recepto "juramento publice, in conspectu ecclesiæ, quod nostro debeat "parere mandato, absolvant. Si autem huic rei, frater archi-"episcope, interesse non poteris, tu, frater episcope, ipse cum "Pontiniacensi abbate, quæ dicta sunt diligentius exequaris. "Datum Tusculani, viii^vo^. kalendas Maii."

A.D. 1171. Apr. 24. The bishop of Salisbury is to be visited, if unable to present himself.

De adventu imperatoris de Marroc in Hispania.

Eodem anno, Avigoth[1] Armiramimoli, imperator Affricanorum, transivit mare Affricum, et applicuit in Hispania in manu forti, et brachio extento. Et defuncto rege Lupo[2] qui paganus erat, occupavit terram illius, scilicet Murciam et Walentiam, et alias civitates multas, et inde per consilium regis Ferandi[3] de Sancto Jacobo, intravit terram Aldefonsi[4] regis Castellæ, et cepit per vim Concam civitatem, et Occam civitatem, et omnes Christianos quos in eis cepit occidit, præter paucos, quos in perpetuam redegit servitutem.

The emperor of Morocco occupies Murcia and Valencia, and invades Castile.

Benedict, i. 29.

XVIII^vus^. annus regni regis Henrici secundi.

Anno gratiæ M^o^C^o^LXX^o^II^o^., qui erat annus decimus octavus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex fuit in Hybernia apud Diveline die Natalis Domini, quæ Sabbato evenit: et festum regale ibi tenuit et facta ibi mora usque ad caput jejunii, perrexit inde ad civitatem de Wesseford, et ibi moram fecit usque ad Pascha. Dum autem ibi moram faceret, Theodinus et Albertus cardinales,

A.D. 1172. Henry, after keeping Christmas 1171, at Dublin, goes to Wexford, March 1.

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[1] *Avigouth*] Avigoz, Bened. The reigning kalif was Abou Yacoub Yousouf, 1163–1184.

[2] *Lupo*] Lupus is the name commonly given to the kings of Valencia by Christian writers: the one spoken of here is Mohammed-ben-Mardenisch, who reigned from 1148–1172.

[3] *Ferandi*] Ferdinand II., king of Leon, 1157-1188.

[4] *Aldefonsi*] Alfonso III., king of Castille, 1158–1214.

A.D. 1172. He commits Meath to Hugh de Lacy and Waterford to Robert Fitz-Bernard.

missi a latere summi pontificis, venerunt in Normanniam. Quorum adventu cognito, rex ad eos ire properavit: sed antequam ab Hybernia recederet, dedit et carta sua confirmavit Hugoni de Laci, totam terram de Mida cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, tenendam in feodo et hæreditate, de ipso et hæredibus suis, per servitium centum militum: et tradidit ei in custodia civitatem Divelinia, et constituit eum justitiarium Hyberniæ. Et tradidit Roberto filio Bernardi in custodia civitatem Waterfordiæ, et civitatem Wessefordiæ, cum pertinentiis earum; et præcepit castella in eis firmari.

Benedict. i. 29. Benedict, i. 30.

The royal household crosses to Milford April 16; the king to S. David's, April 17.

Adveniente solemnitate Paschali, familia regis transfretavit de Hybernia in Angliam, ipso die Paschæ, et applicuit in portu de Mileforde juxta Penbroc. Rex vero propter diem solemnem illo die mare intrare noluit: sed in crastino mare intravit et applicuit in Wallia prope Sanctum David.

Secunda coronatio Henrici IIIii., et prima coronatio uxoris suæ.

Henry meets the cardinals at Caen and makes peace with Lewis.

Deinde venit rex cum festinatione ad Portesmue, et ducens secum Henricum regem filium suum transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam, et invenit apud Cadomum prædictos cardinales, et consilio illorum pacem fecit cum Lodowico rege Francorum de coronatione filiæ suæ, ita quod ex consensu et consilio prædictorum cardinalium remisit regem filium suum in Angliam, et cum eo Rotrodum Rothomagensem archiepiscopum, et Ægidium Ebroicensem episcopum, et Rogerum Wigornensem episcopum, ad coronandum illum et Margaretam uxorem suam, filiam Lodowici regis Franciæ. Et coronaverunt eos Wintoniæ, in ecclesia Sancti Swithuni, sexto kalendas Septembris, die Dominica. Et statim post coronationem[1] rex filius et regina uxor ejus et archiepisco-

Benedict, i. 31.

Coronation of the younger Henry and his wife at Winchester, Aug. 27.

[1] *statim post coronationem*] This sentence is found in rubric in MS. A. Here the compiler deserts his authority for a moment and makes a mistake; the bishops returned to Normandy about Sept. 8. The young king and queen remained in England until Nov. 1. B.P., i. 31, 34. This was done doubtless with the intention of reconciling the following account of Henry's absolution with the chronology. But the ceremony at which the young king was present took place at Avranches on the 21st of May; and the second ceremony, which was a repetition of the first, but without the young king's presence, took place on the 27th of September. Compare B.P., I. 31, 32.

Benedict, i, 31. pus Rothomagensis et Ebroicensis et Wigornenis episcopi, transfretaverunt de Anglia in Normanniam.[1] A.D. 1172. September.

De purgatione et satisfactione quas rex pater fecit pro morte beati Thomæ.[2]

Sept. 27. Purgation of Henry II. at Avranches.

Henricus rex Angliæ pater, et Henricus rex filius ejus, et Rotrodus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et omnes episcopi et abbates Normanniæ convenerunt apud Abrincam civitatem, in præsentia Theodini et Alberti cardinalium. [Benedict, i. 32.] In quorum audientia rex Angliæ pater, quinto kalendas Octobris, feria quarta, festo Sanctorum Cosmæ et Damiani martyrum, in ecclesia Sancti Andreæ apostoli purgavit innocentiam suam, coram prædictis cardinalibus et omni clero et populo, præstito sacramento, super sanctorum relliquias, et super sacrosancta evangelia, quod ipse nec præcepit nec voluit, quod archiepiscopus Cantuariensis occideretur, et quando audivit vehementer inde doluit. Sed quia malefactores illos, qui sanctæ memoriæ Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum occiderunt, habere non poterat, et quia timebat ipsos illud profanum opus impetrasse causa animi motus et turbationis quam in eo viderant, de satisfactione tale præstitit sacramentum. [His oath.] Juravit itaque inprimis quod ab Alexandro summo pontifice, et ab catholicis successoribus ejus non recederet, quamdiu ipsum sicut regem catholicum habuerint. Juravit etiam, quod neque appellationes impediret, neque impedire permitteret, quin libere fierent in regno suo ad Romanum pontificem, in ecclesiasticis causis, ita tamen, ut si ei suspecti fuerint aliqui, securitatem faciant, quod malum suum vel regni sui non quærant. Juravit etiam quod ab instante Nativitate Domini usque in triennium crucem accipiet, in proxima sequenti

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[1] Here A. and D. have the following verses, "*De rege filio et uxore sua.*

"Hos castus conjunxit amor, concordia simplex,
"Pura fides, veræ [donum pietatis], et unum
"Esse duos fecit purgati fœdus amoris,
"Hos igitur facies, genus, ætas, forma, potestas
"Una tenet, tenet una fides, tenet una voluntas."

[2] Compare *S.T.C.*, vi. ; Epp. Gilb. Fol., ccclxxxv., ccclxxxvi., ccclxxxvii.; R. de Diceto, 560.

A.D. 1172. Sept. 27. His oath on reconciliation.

æstate in propria persona Jerosolimam iturus, nisi remanserit per Alexandrum summum pontificem, vel per catholicos successores ejus. Sed si interim pro urgente necessitate in Hispaniam super Sarracenos profectus fuisset, quantum temporis in illo itinere consummaret, tantundem Jerosolimitanæ spatium profectionis posset prolongare. Præterea juravit, quod interim tantum pecuniæ dabit Templariis, quantum ad arbitrium fratrum Templi possit sufficere ad retinendum ducentos milites ad defensionem Jerosolimitanæ terræ per spatium unius anni. Præterea perdonavit iram et malevolentiam suam omnibus, tam clericis quam laicis, qui pro Sancto Thoma erant in exilio; et concessit eis libere et in pace ad propria redire. Juravit etiam quod possessiones Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, si quæ ablatæ sunt, in integrum restituet, sicut habuit uno anno antequam ab Anglia egrederetur beatus Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus. Juravit etiam quod consuetudines, quæ inductæ sunt contra ecclesias terræ suæ in tempore suo, penitus dimittet. Et hæc omnia juravit se fore observaturum bona fide et sine malo ingenio.

Benedict, i. 33.

Benedict, i. 34.

The same oath taken by the younger Henry (May 21.)

Fecit etiam Henricum regem filium suum hæc omnia capitula jurare tenenda, præter illa quæ propriam ejus personam contingebant. Et ut hoc in memoria Romanæ ecclesiæ haberetur, rex pater fecit poni sigillum suum scripto illi, in quo supradicta capitula continebantur, una cum sigillis prædictorum cardinalium.

Carta absolutionis regis.

Charter granted by the legates.

(Not in Benedict.) S.T.C. ii. 119.

" Henrico Dei gratia illustri regi Anglorum, Albertus tituli " Sancti Laurentii in Lucina, et Theodinus tituli Sancti " Vitalis, presbyteri cardinales, apostolicæ sedis legati, salu- " tem in Eo, Qui dat salutem regibus. Ne in dubium veni- " ant quæ geruntur, et usus habet et communis conside- " ratio utilitatis exposcit, ut scripturæ serie debeant annotari. " Inde quidem est quod nos mandatum illud in scriptum dux- " imus redigendum, quod vobis pro eo facimus, quia male- " factores illos, qui sanctæ memoriæ Thomam, quondam Can- " tuariensem archiepiscopum, occiderunt, occasione motus et " turbationis, quam viderant in vobis, ad illud facinus pro- " cessisse timetis. Super quo tamen facto purgationem in " præsentia nostra de voluntate propria præstitistis, quod " videlicet nec præcepistis nec voluistis ut occideretur; et " quando pervenit ad vos, plurimum doluistis. Ab instanti " festo Pentecosten usque ad annum, tantam dabitis [pecuniam],

(Not in Benedict.) " unde ad arbitrium fratrum Templi ducenti milites valeant, " ad defensionem Jerosolimitanæ terræ, per spatium unius " anni teneri. Vos autem a sequenti Nativitate Domini usque " ad triennium accipietis crucem, proxima tunc æstate illuc " in propria persona, ducente Domino, profecturi, nisi reman- " seritis per dominum papam vel catholicos successores ejus. " Sane si contra Sarracenos pro urgente necessitate in His- " paniam profecti fueritis, quantum temporis fuerit, ex quo " arripueritis iter, tantundem supradictum spatium Jeroso- " limitanæ profectionis poteritis prolongare. Appellationes " nec impedietis, nec permittetis impediri, quin libere fiant " in ecclesiasticis causis ad Romanum pontificem, bona fide, " absque fraude et malo ingenio, ut per Romanum pontificem " causæ tractentur, et suum consequantur effectum : sic tamen, " ut si vobis suspecti fuerint aliqui, securitatem faciant, quod " malum vestrum vel regni vestri non quærunt. Consue- " tudines quæ inductæ sunt contra ecclesias terræ vestræ in " tempore vestro penitus dimittetis. Possessiones Cantuarien- " sis ecclesiæ, si quæ ablatæ sunt, in plenum restituetis, sicut " habuit uno anno antequam archiepiscopus de Anglia egre- " deretur. Clericis præterea et laicis utriusque sexus pacem " vestram in gratiam et possessiones suas restituetis, qui " occasione prænominati archiepiscopi destituti fuerunt. Hæc " autem vobis, auctoritate domini papæ, in remissionem pec- " catorum vestrorum injungimus et præcipimus observare, bona " fide, absque fraude et malo ingenio. Hoc sane coram multi- " tudine personarum juravistis vos pro divinæ reverentia " majestatis. Juravit et filius vester, excepto eo quod per- " sonam vestram specialiter contingebat. Et jurastis ambo, " quod a domino papa Alexandro et catholicis successoribus " ejus, quamdiu vos sicut antecessores vestros et catholicos " reges habuerint, minime recedetis. Atque, ut in memoria " Romanæ ecclesiæ firmiter habeatur, sigillum vestrum præ- " cepistis apponi."

A.D. 1172. Charter of the legates rehearsing Henry's oath.

Epistola eorundem cardinalium ad archiepiscopum Ravennæ.[1]

" Venerabili et dilecto fratri in Christo, G.,[2] Dei gratia " Ravennensi archiepiscopo, Albertus dignatione Divina tituli " Sancti Laurentii in Lucina et Theodinus tituli Sancti

The legates inform the archbishop of Ravenna,

[1] *S.T.C.*, vi. 121, given in a mutilated form in C.

[2] *G.*] Gerard, archbishop 1171–1182.

A.D. 1172. (Not in Benedict.)

"Vitalis, presbyteri cardinales, apostolicæ sedis legati, quod "promisit Deus diligentibus Se. Quoniam desiderare vos cre-"dimus, ut de statu nostro et de injuncti nobis promotione "negotii aliquid audiatis, idcirco qualiter nobiscum et per "ministerium mediocritatis nostræ Deus egerit his diebus, "fraternitati vestræ præsenti scripto duximus indicandum. "Noveritis itaque quod postquam illustris Angliæ rex venisse "nos in regnum suum in veritate cognovit, totius amoto "tarditatis obstaculo, de Hybernia in Angliam, incumben-"tibus sibi negotiis prætermissis, de Anglia vero ad Norman-"niæ partes accessit, atque incontinenti plures ad nos nun-"cios et honorabiles destinavit, inquirens a nobis in quo loco "potius convenire cum eo et loqui vellemus. Placuit tandem "ad Savinum monasterium pro colloquio habendo concurrere, "ubi religiosorum virorum possemus orationibus adjuvari. "Convenimus illuc, convenerunt et multæ personæ utri-"usque ordinis de regno suo, et tractavimus, diligentia qua "potuimus, quod ad salutem ipsius et injunctam nobis obe-"dientiam pertinebat. Cum autem non possemus in omnibus "convenire, recessit a nobis velut in Angliam profecturus, et "nos expectavimus sequenti die ad Abrincam civitatem ituri. "Postera autem die venerunt ad nos Lexoviensis episcopus "et duo archidiaconi, et concesso quod petebamus, ad prædic-"tam processimus civitatem. Ad quam, Dominica qua canta-"tur 'Vocem jocunditatis,' convenimus cum personis plurimis, "et ipsi nobiscum. Et cum tanta humilitate quod fuerat "condictum explevit, ut Illius extitisse opus sine dubitatione "credatur, Qui respicit terram, et facit eam tremere. Sane "quam timoratum Deo, quam obedientem ecclesiæ se curaverit "exhibere, non est opus præsenti abbreviatione referre. Satis "enim opera illius manifestant, et manifestabunt adhuc ple-"nius, sicut et nobis spes data est, in futurum. Primum itaque "super morte sanctæ memoriæ Thomæ, quondam Cantuariensis "archiepiscopi, non de nostra exactione, sed et de propria vo-"luntate, tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis, suam conscientiam "expurgavit, jurans scilicet quod nec præcepit nec voluit "quod idem archiepiscopus occideretur, et quando audivit "doluit vehementer. Quia vero quod factum fuerat, ex sua "occasione factum esse timebat, de satisfactione præstanda, tale "præstitit juramentum. Primo quippe juravit quod a domino "papa nostro Alexandro et ejus catholicis successoribus non "recedet, quamdiu sicut catholicum regem et Christianum "eum habuerint. Et hoc ipsum jurare fecit filium suum majo-"rem. Juravit etiam quod usque ad annum tantam pecuniam "dabit Templariis unde ad defensionem terræ Jerosolimitanæ

Margin notes: that hearing of their arrival in Normandy, Henry had come to meet them, — at Savigny; and after some delay — he had met them at Avranches on May 21. — (Introit for Rogation Sunday.) — Ps. civ. 32. — They rehearse the terms of his oath.

(Not in Benedict.) A.D. 1172.

" CC. milites valeant retineri. Ab instante vero Nativitate " Domini usque ad triennium crucem accipiet sequenti æstate " Jerosolimam profecturus nisi per dominum papam steterit " aut ejus Catholicos successores. Si vero interim pro ur- " gente necessitate in Hispaniam contra Sarracenos iverit, " quantum temporis in itinere illo consumpserit, tantundem " poterit prædictum spatium prolongare. Abjuravit etiam " omnes consuetudines quæ contra ecclesias regni sui tempore " suo introductæ viderentur. Appellationes ecclesiasticarum " causarum ad dominum papam libere sinet fieri; et Cantua- " riensi ecclesiæ si quæ ablatæ sunt, restituet, sicut habuerit " uno anno antequam archiepiscopus terram exiret. Id ipsum " faciet de personis qui occasione ipsius exisse viderentur; " quibus et gratiam suam et bonam voluntatem reddidit. Et " hæc siquidem sub juramento promisit. Promisit etiam et alia " de libera voluntate gerenda, quæ non oportet scripturæ " serie denotare. Hæc autem scripsimus ut cognoscatis ip- " sum obedientem Deo atque ad divinum obsequium multo " amplius quam adhuc fuerit animatum. Noveritis ad hoc " filium suum de prædictis consuetudinibus pariter cum eo " jurasse. Sane, quod ibi factum est, iterato adhuc, ne dubi- " tationis locus alicui remaneret, apud Cadomum in majori " frequentia personarum publice statuit se acturum. Relax- " avit præterea episcopos de promissione quam ei fecerant " de consuetudinibus conservandis, et promisit quod non exi- " get in futurum."

His son also took the oath.

The ceremony is to be repeated at Caen.

Concilium per Theodinum et Albertum apud Abrincas celebratum.

Benedict, i. 33.

Sept. 28. Council of Avranches.

In crastino autem prædicti cardinales ibidem celebraverunt magnum concilium cum archiepiscopo, et episcopis, et clero Normanniæ; et ibi hæc decreta subscripta statuerunt, et universis firmiter et inviolabiliter observanda injunxerunt.

Decreta per Theodinum et Albertum cardinales apud Abrincas promulgata.

Decrees of the council.

" (I.) Pueri ad regimen illarum ecclesiarum, et ad illa " administranda in quibus cura est animarum, minime admit- " tantur.

" (II.) Item filii sacerdotum non ponantur in ecclesiis " patrum suorum.

" (III.) Item laici partem oblationum in ecclesia non perci- " piant.

A.D. 1172. Sept. 28. Decrees of the council of Avranches.

"(IV.) Item ecclesiæ vicariis annuis non committantur. Benedict, i. 33.

"(V.) Item sacerdotes majorum ecclesiarum, quibus ad hoc "suppetunt facultates, alium sub se presbyterum cogantur "habere.

"(VI.) Item sacerdotes non ordinentur sine certo titulo.

"(VII.) Item ecclesiæ ad firmam annuam non tradantur.

"(VIII.) Item de tertia parte decimarum nihil presbytero "qui servit ecclesiæ auferatur.

"(IX.) Item iis qui decimas hæreditario jure tenent licen"tia sit cui voluerint idoneo clerico dare, eo quidem tenore, "ut post eum ad ecclesiam cui de jure competunt revertantur.

"(X.) Vir ad religionem non transeat uxore in sæculo "remanente, vel e converso, nisi ambo vacandi operibus "carnis tempus excesserint.

"(XI.) Item in Adventu Domini, omnibus qui poterunt, Benedict, i. 34. "maxime autem clericis et militibus, jejunium et abstinentia "carnium indicatur.

"(XII.) Item clerici et Judæi non ponantur ad jurisdic"tiones sæcularium potestatum administrandas: qui autem "hoc præsumpserint, a beneficiis ecclesiasticis arceantur.

"(XIII.) Item de novis[1] libris excommunicatorum, et rebus "morientium quas auferunt sacerdotes, et benedictionibus "sponsarum, et baptismo, et de quadraginta et octo libris "quæ pro absolutione excommunicatorum exiguntur, nihil "perfectum est, quia episcopi Normanniæ illud decretum "recipere noluerunt."[3]

Claim of the archbishop of Tours over Dol.

In eodem vero concilio archiepiscopus Turonensis[2] calumniatus est archiepiscopatum Doli debere adjacere archiepiscopatui suo, affirmans sedem archiepiscopalem ibi esse non debere: sed clerici de Dolo constanter contradicebant.

Nov. 1. The young king returns to Normandy and thence goes to visit king Lewis.

[3]Circa festum vero Omnium Sanctorum, novus rex Angliæ cum regina sua transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam, per mandatum regis patris sui, multum tamen invitus. [4]Et statim misit eos ad loquendum cum rege Franciæ. Rex enim Franciæ desiderio magno desiderabat videre filiam suam et cum ea loqui. Qui cum ad eum in Francia venissent, cum magno honore et gaudio ab eo sunt recepti, et per aliquot dies cum eo moram fecerunt. Unde magnum damnum provenit regno Angliæ, et etiam regno Franciæ. Nam Lodowicus rex Franciæ, qui semper

[1] *novis*] novem, Bened. C. omits the decrees.

[2] *Turonensis*] Josse, 1156–1174.

[3] His ita transactis, ins. C. This is of course irreconcileable with the statement that the younger Henry was at Avranches in September. See above p. 34, note.

[4] Cumque pervenissent ad eum, ins. C.

Benedict, i. 34. regem Angliæ odio habebat, consuluit novo regi Angliæ, quod statim cum veniret in Normannia, exigeret a rege patre suo sibi donari vel totam Angliam vel totam Normanniam, ubi ipse cum filia sua morari posset. Et consuluit quod si pater suus neutram illarum terrarum ei concedere vellet, ipse cum regina sua rediret in Franciam ad eum. A.D. 1172. November. Treacherous advice of Lewis.

Benedict, i. 35. Interim rex timens fraudem et malitiam regis Franciæ, quas sæpe expertus fuerat, misit in Francia pro rege filio suo et pro uxore ejus. Ipsi vero accepta a rege Franciæ licentia, ad mandatum regis in Normanniam redierunt. Appropinquante igitur solemnitate Nativitatis Dominicæ, rex accessit versus Andegaviam, et ibi curiam suam die Natalis Domini tenuit, et dimisit regem filium suum cum uxore sua in Normanniam. Eodem anno Adam de Port calumniatus fuit de proditione regis; et quia ipse ad summonitionem regis stare judicio noluit, exlegatus est ab Anglia. Henry summons his son home. Treason of Adam du Port.

XIX^nus. annus regni regis Henrici secundi.

Anno gratiæ M°C°LXX°III°, qui est annus decimus nonus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex fuit die Natalis Domini apud Chinonem in Andegavia, et uxor ejus regina Alienor fuit ibi cum illo, et rex filius et uxor ejus fuerunt in Normannia. Et post Natale misit rex pater pro rege filio, et profecti sunt in Alverniam usque ad montem Ferrath; et illuc venit ad eos Hubertus[1] comes de Mauriana, et adduxit secum Aalays filiam suam primogenitam. Quam rex pater comparavit pro quinque millibus marcis argenti ad opus Johannis filii sui, cum toto comitatu de Moriana, si prædictus comes filium ex uxore sua non habuerit. Si vero legitimum susceperit filium, prædictus comes concessit eis in perpetuum,[2] et hæredibus eorum, Russillun cum toto mandato suo sive pertinentiis suis omnibus; et Perecastel cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; et totum comitatum Belicensem, sicut eum habet, illis concedit; et totam vallem Novalesiæ; et Camberiacum cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; et Aiz, et Asperum Montem, et Rochetam,

A.D. 1173. After keeping Christmas 1172, at Chinon; Henry II. and his son meet the count of Maurienne at Montferrand in Auvergne.

Benedict, i. 36.

Benedict, i. 37.

Humbert, count of Maurienne, proposes to marry his

[1] Humbert III., count of Maurienne, 1148–1188. He married Gertrude of Flanders, by whom he had a son Thomas, born 1177, who continued the line of Maurienne.

[2] *in perpetuum*] Here Hoveden begins to quote the original document.

A.D. 1173. daughter to John; settlement on the lady.

et Montem Majorem, et Cameram cum burgo et toto mandato. Benedict, i. 37.

" Ista omnia cum omnibus pertinentiis suis eis incontinenti citra montes concedit in perpetuum. Ultra montes " quoque illis et hæredibus eorum donat et concedit in perpetuum, Taurinum totum cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; " Cavoreth, Colegium cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et " omnia feoda quæ tenent de ipso comites de Canaveis, et " eorum servitia et fidelitates. In comitatu quoque de " Castro Amunt similiter feuda, fidelitates et servitia. In " valle Augustensi concedit eis Castellionium, in perpetuum " contra omnes homines, quod de illo tenet vicecomes Augustæ. Hæc omnia præfatus comes concedit prædicto filio " regis Angliæ in perpetuum, cum filia sua prænominata, " ita libere, integre et quiete, in hominibus, et civitatibus, " castris et aliis munitionibus, in pratis, pascuis et molendinis, in bosco et plano, in aquis, et vallibus, et montanis, " et paagiis, et in omnibus aliis rebus, sicut unquam pater " ejus aut ipse melius ea omnia, quæ subscripta sunt, aut " liberius tenuit. Vult etiam prædictus comes, quod incontinenti aut quandocunque placuerit domino regi Angliæ, " quod filio ejus fiant et præstentur hominia et fidelitates ab " omnibus hominibus suis per totam terram suam, salva fidelitate sua, quamdiu terram tenebit. Præterea concedit eis, " et hæredibus eorum in perpetuum, quicquid juris habet in " toto comitatu Gratianopolitano, et quicquid in eo adquirit " vel adquirere poterit. Si autem filia sua primogenita supradicta in fata concesserit, quæcunque cum primogenita concessit, illustris regis Angliæ filio, cum secunda filia sua, " eadem sicut scriptum est cuncta concedit. Hanc præscriptam conventionem tenendam inter dominum regem Angliæ " et comitem Maurianæ, juraverunt ipse comes Maurianæ, " et comes Gebennæ, Rodolfus Alemannus, Nantelmus de Meolano, Sefredus de Alavardo, Rodolfus et Aimo et Eimericus " de Brienzun, Willelmus frater comitis, Jocelinus de Morestello, Amedeus de Nangeu, Odo de Voiron, Berlio et Pontius de Fabricis, Lodoicus de Balma, Theobaldus de Vileta, " Pontius et Wifredus de Cunflens, Guido de Teis, Amedeus " de Torvun, Ysmido de Sancto Michaele, Odomarus Labra, " Joscelinus et Ricardus de Cordun, Giroudus de Margenzai, " Berlio de Montefaucun, Engwitio de Aviano, Berlio et Torericus de Chambol, Sofredus Garnerii, Hugo de Alviler, " Uboldus de Rumillie, Lodoicus de Asma, Anselmus de Belentro, Willelmus Desiderius, Sofredus de Sancto Genesio, Ungrinus de Fabricis, Willelmus de Bocozel, Anselmus de " Castellano, Umbertus Reinerii, Willelmus de Porta, Will-

Benedict, i. 38.

Benedict, i. 38. A.D. 1173.

"elmus Ervus, Gido de Candiaco, Petrus de Arvesio, Ar-"bertus Cornuz, Hugo de Chinis, Willelmus de Albusin, "Henricus de Fulciniaco, Willelmus de Nangeu, Eimericus "Vicecomes de Briencion; omnes isti prænominati juraverunt "quod comes Maurianensis hanc conventionem firmiter ser-"vabit: et si ab ea aliquo modo resiliret, juraverunt quod "ad vocationem domini regis Angliæ, vel nuncii ipsius, et "etiam sine omni vocatione, si comes resiliret, ex quo hoc "scient, reddent se obsides domino regi in terra sua ubi-"cunque voluerit, et tamdiu in sua captione morabuntur, "donec comitem ad regis beneplacitum revocaverint, vel cum "ipso rege pro voluntate ipsius composuerint. Petrus[1] "quoque Tarentasiensis archiepiscopus, et Arduno[2] Gebe-"nensis, et Willelmus Maurianensis episcopi, et abbas "Sancti Michaelis, coram positis sanctis evangeliis, de man-"dato comitis firmiter promiserunt, quod ad beneplacitum "regis, et quando voluerit, personam comitis excommuni-"cabunt, et terram ejus sub interdicto ponent, si comes "hanc pactionem inter eos factam non servaverit. Idem "facient de personis hominum comitis, et terris eorum, per "quos stabit quod non servetur pactio inter regem et co-"mitem facta, et tamdiu comitem, et eos qui pacem servare "noluerint, et terras eorum sub interdicto tenebunt, donec "domino regi satisfactum fuerit. Dominus rex hanc fecit "conventionem et concessionem præscriptam cum comite "Maurianensi, et eam de mandato ipsius tenendam jura-"verunt comes Willelmus de Mandevilla,[3] Willelmus comes "de Arundel,[4] Radulfus de Faia, Willelmus de Curci,[5] Wil-"lelmus de Humez, Fulco Painel, Robertus de Briuecurt, "Willelmus Maingot, Theobaldus Chabot, Willelmus de Mun-"luszun, Petrus de Muncassun, Gaufridus Forestarius. De "cætero sciendum est, quod comes suam secundam filiam "nuptui tradere poterit cui voluerit; sine nimio comitatus "detrimento, postquam primogenita filia ejus filio regis fuerit "desponsata, vel per legitimam ætatem, vel per Romanæ "ecclesiæ dispensationem. Parentibus autem suis vel aliis, et "pro salute animæ suæ, poterit de terra sua dare sine multa "comitatus diminutione. Incontinenti vero mittit rex comiti "mille marcas argenti. Et quam cito filiam comitis recipiet, "ad minus habebit alias mille marcas argenti; et quicquid

Guarantie of the sureties of the count of Maurienne.

Benedict, i. 39.

Guarantie on Henry's part.

[1] "Venerabilis," ins. C. Peter, archbishop of Tarentaise, 1171-1174.

[2] Arduno de Faucigny, bishop of Geneva, 1134-1185.

[3] Earl of Essex, 1167-1189.

[4] Of Albini, earl of Arundel.

[5] William de Curci, justiciar of Normandy.

A.D. 1173. " fuerit de quinque millibus marcis residuum recipiet comes " quando matrimonium inter filium regis et filiam comitis " fuerit contractum, per legitimam ætatem, vel Romanæ ec- " clesiæ dispensationem. Si autem dominus rex (quod Deus " avertat) ante in fata concesserit, vel extra terras suas pro- " fectus fuerit, neque ipse, neque ipsi, qui de mandato suo " juraverunt, vel aliquam comiti securitatem fecerunt, tene- " buntur de præscripta conventione, nisi dominus rex, filius " regis et sui." Benedict, i. 38.

De adventu nunciorum comitis Mauriensis in Angliam.

Renewal of the guarantie of the count.

" [1] In terram regis Angliæ venerunt, ex parte comitis Mau- " rianensis, Marchio Montis Ferrati,[2] et Gaufridus de Plozac, " et Merlo filius ejus, et Ricardus comitis cancellarius, et Berlo " de Camboe, et Petrus de Bouet, castellani; et Petrus de " Sancto Genesio et Petrus de Taurino, milites; et Gaufridus " de Aqua Bella et Radulfus de Varci, burgenses. Qui jura- " verunt tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis, quod conventionem " factam inter regem et comitem, de filio regis et filia " comitis, sicut legitime facta, scripta et intellecta est, facient " firmiter comitem observare. Et nisi eam observaverit, jura- " verunt, quod ad vocationem domini regis vel nuncii ipsius " vel etiam sine omni vocatione, si comes resiliret a con- " ventione, ex quo hoc pro certo scirent, se reddent obsides " regi in terra sua, et tamdiu in captione sua morabuntur, " donec comitem ad beneplacitum regis revocent, vel cum " domino rege pro voluntate sua componant. Juraverunt " etiam prædicti nuncii quod comes filiam suam secundam " non traderet nuptui, donec ejus filia primogenita filio regis " matrimonio sit copulata, vel per legitimam ætatem, vel " per Romanæ ecclesiæ dispensationem; nisi de consilio et " voluntate domini regis eam interim alii donaverit. Jura- " verunt etiam quod pecuniam quam recepit vel recipiet " comes a domino rege, si filia comitis, vel filius regis, " quod absit, forte in fata concesserit, antequam matri- " monium inter eos fuerit contractum, totam reddet regi " vel beneplacitum regis inde faciet, vel cui rex assigna- " verit. Et prædicti juratores, donec fuerit soluta, si vo- " luerit rex, et quando voluerit, se reddent ei obsides in " terra et in potestate sua. Juraverunt similiter, quod con- Benedict i. 40.

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[1] " Paucis igitur evolutis diebus," ins. C.

[2] *Marchio Montis Ferrati*] William the Old.

A.D. 1173.

Benedict, i. 41.

"cessione Umberti Junioris[1] facient pro posse suo habere "filio regis Russilun, et Perecastel, et quicquid ei a comite "concessum est in comitatu Belicensi. Si forte Umbertus "hæc concedere noluerit, juraverunt quod comes dabit ei "legitimum excambium ad arbitrium abbatis de Clusa, et "Reginaldi Saresberiensis archidiaconi, vel aliorum legiti- "morum per regem assignatorum, si illi præsentes esse non "possent."

De pace facta inter regem Anglorum et comitem de Sancto Ægidio super Tolosa.

Benedict, i. 36.

Feb. 25. The count of Toulouse does homage to the two Henries.

Deinde[2] venit rex Angliæ pater, et rex filius ejus cum eo, usque ad Limoges, et Reimundus[3] comes de Sancto Ægidio venit illuc ad eos, et devenit ibi homo utriusque regis Angliæ, et Ricardi comitis Pictaviæ, de Tolosa tenenda de eis jure hæreditario, per servitium veniendi ad eos ad summonitionem eorum, et moram faciendi cum eis in servitio eorum per quadraginta dies sine aliquo custamento illorum: sed si illi voluerint eum habere diutius in servitio suo, illi invenient ei expensas suas rationabiles. Præterea idem comes de Sancto Egidio dabit eis de Tolosa et pertinentiis suis singulis annis centum marcas argenti, vel decem dextrarios, unumquemque de pretio decem marcarum.

Principium discordiæ inter regem et filium suum.

Benedict, i. 41.

The younger Henry refuses to make provision for John.

Venit etiam ad Limoges comes Maurianæ, et scire voluit quid et quantum rex Angliæ pater daret Johanni filio suo de terra sua. Et cum rex vellet ei dare castellum de Chinum, et castellum de Loudun, et castellum de Mirabel, rex filius nullo modo concedere voluit, nec fieri permisit. Ipse enim jam moleste ferebat, quod pater suus aliquam ter-

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[1] *Umberti Junioris*] Humbert III., called the Young, lord of Beaujolais, and nephew of the count of Maurienne.

[2] *Deinde*] The meeting at Limoges took place on the 25th of February. Geoffrey of Vigeois, ap. Labbé, *Bibl. MSS.*, ii. 319.

[3] *Reimundus*] Raymond V., 1148 –1194.

A.D. 1173. February.

rarum suarum ei assignare noluit, ubi ipse cum uxore sua morari posset. Ipse quidem a patre suo petierat donari sibi Normanniam, vel Andegaviam, sive Angliam: et hanc petitionem fecerat per consilium regis Franciæ, et comitum et baronum Angliæ et Normanniæ, qui patrem suum odio habebant. Et ex illo tempore rex filius causas quærebat et opportunitatem, ut a patre suo recederet. Et jam animum suum a voluntate ipsius ita declinaverat, quod nihil cum eo pacifice loqui potuit.

Benedict, i. 41.

Discontent of the young king.

He flies to his father in law.

Et nacta opportunitate loci et temporis rex filius a patre suo recessit,[1] et ad regem Francorum perrexit. Cancellarius autem ejus Ricardus Barre, et Walterus capellanus suus, et Ailwardus camerarius suus, et Willelmus Blundus hostiarius suus, relicto eo redierunt ad patrem.

Benedict, i. 42, 43.

Perdidit itaque rex ille regis filius mentem, perdidit et sensum: fugat innocentem, persequitur genitorem: usurpat imperium, invadit regnum: et ipse unus est reus, et universus contra patrem conspirat exercitus, "Unius dementia dementes efficit "multos," Ipse enim sanguinem patris, cruorem appetit genitoris.[2]

Benedict, i. 43.

Conspiracy of Lewis with Henry against his father.

Interim Lodowicus rex Francorum magnum celebravit concilium Parisius, in quo ipse et omnes principes Franciæ juraverunt regi Angliæ filio, quod ipsi auxiliarentur ei modis omnibus ad regem patrem suum ejiciendum de regno, nisi ad voluntatem illius composuerit. Et ipse juravit eis, quod ipse cum patre suo pacem non faceret, nisi de consensu et voluntate eorum. Deinde juravit se daturum Philippo comiti Flandriæ[3] pro homagio suo mille libratas reddituum in Anglia, et totam Cantiam cum castello de Dovere et castello Rofense: et Mathæo[4] comiti Boloniæ pro homagio suo socam de Kirketona in Lindisia, et comitatum Moretonii cum honore de Heya:[5] et comiti

Benedict, i. 44.

Promises of the young king to the counts of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois.

[1] The date is given in Bened., March 8.

[2] *Perdidit .... genitoris*] Found only in the later MS. of Bened., and perhaps copied there from Hoveden.

[3] Philip, count 1168—1190.

[4] Matthew, count 1160—1173, husband of the surviving daughter of king Stephen, through whom he acquired Boulogne, her mother's inheritance, and claimed Mortain, the fief held by Stephen and his son.

[5] The honour of Eye is said in Benedict to have been promised to Hugh Bigot. It was ordinarily part of the provision for the chancellor.

Benedict, i. 45. Theobaldo Blesensi pro homagio suo quingentas[1] libratas A.D. 1173. reddituum in Andegavia, et castellum de Ambasio cum toto jure quod ille calumniatus fuit in Turonica, et clamavit ei quietum totum jus quod rex pater suus et ipse calumniati sunt in Castello Reginaldi. Et omnes istas donationes, et alias multas, quas cæteris fecit, confirmavit sigillo suo novo, quod rex Franciæ ei fieri fecit. Præterea alias fecit donationes, quas ipse eodem sigillo confirmavit; scilicet Willelmo regi Scotiæ pro auxilio suo totam Northimbriam usque fluvium Tine. Et David fratri Scotiæ regis pro servitio suo comitatum de Huntendona et de Cantebrigesire; et comiti Hugoni Bigot castellum de Norewiz pro servitio suo.

Promises of the young king to the king of Scots, David of Scotland, and Hugh Bigot.

Et statim post Pascha totum regnum Franciæ, et rex Angliæ filius, et Ricardus frater ejus comes Pictaviæ, et Gaufridus comes Britanniæ, et fere omnes comites et barones Angliæ et Normanniæ, et Aquitanniæ et Andegaviæ et Britanniæ, insurrexerunt in regem Angliæ patrem, et terras ejus undique devastaverunt igne et gladio et rapinis ; et castella sua obsederunt, fregerunt et ceperunt, et non erat qui adjuvaret. Sed ipse in quantum potuit resistebat illis. Habuit enim secum viginti millia Brabancenorum, qui fideliter servierunt illi, et non sine magna mercede, quam eis dedit. Tunc impletum fuisse videtur illud Merlini vaticinium, quo dicitur: "Evigilabunt rugientis catuli, et post-"positis nemoribus infra mœnia civitatum venabuntur: stragem "non minimam ex obstantibus facient, et linguas taurorum "abscident, colla rugientium onerabunt catenis, et avita tem-"pora renovabunt." Rex ergo pater omnibus imperatoribus et regibus, quos sibi putabat amicos, de infortunio, quod ei acciderat per promotionem quam ipse filiis suis fecerat, conquestus est, commonens ne ipsi exaltent filios suos supra id quod debent. Unde Willelmus rex Siciliæ ei in hac forma scripsit;

Rise of the nobles against Henry II.

His army of merce-naries.

Benedict, i. 42.

Geoff. Mon. vii. 3.

Prophecy of Merlin.

[1] *quingentas*] ducentas, Savile.

Epistola Willelmi regis Siciliæ ad Henricum regem patrem de consolatione. [1]

A.D. 1173. Letter of consolation from William, king of Sicily, to Henry, king of England, on the rebellion of his sons.

" Henrico Dei gratia illustri Anglorum regi, et duci Nor-" manniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comiti Andegaviæ, Willelmus " eadem gratia rex Siciliæ, ducatus Apuliæ, principatus " Capuæ, salutis felicitatem, et de hostibus desideratum " victoriæ triumphum. In receptione litterarum vestrarum " cognovimus, quod quidem sine admiratione maxima proferre " non valemus, videlicet quod ordine humanitatis oblito, et " naturæ lege soluta, insurrexit filius in parentem, in geni-" torem genitus, commota sunt viscera ad bellum intestinum, " irruerunt ad arma præcordia, et quod novum prodigium " est, et nostris temporibus inauditum, caro desævit in san-" guinem, et seipsum quærit sanguis effundere. Et quoniam " ad tanti furoris impetum compescendum, potentiæ nostræ " auxilium loci incommoditas non admittit, eo quo possumus " caritatis affectu, quem locorum spatia non concludunt, per-" sonam et honorem vestrum devotius amplectentes, dolori " vestro compatimur, persecutionem vestram moleste ducimus, " et quasi propriam reputamus. Confidimus autem et speramus " in Domino, Cujus judicio regum judicia terminantur, quod " diutius non permittet filios vestros tentari supra id quod " debent. Et Qui factus est obediens Patri usque ad mortem, " Ipse in eis filialis lumen obedientiæ inspirabit, per quod " memorabuntur quod caro et sanguis vester sunt, et relictis " hostilitatis erroribus, agnoscent se filios, redibunt ad patrem, " naturæ solidabunt incommoda, et debitæ dilectionis fœdera " ordo pristinus continebit."

Benedict, i. 55.

1 Cor. x. 13. Phil. ii. 8.

Outbreak of war.

Itaque statim post Pascha, ut supra dictum est, exarsit nefanda proditorum rabies. Ipsi enim furore diabolico debacchati, circumquaque devastabant igne et gladio terras regis Angliæ cismarinas et transmarinas. Philippus autem comes Flandriæ cum magno exercitu intravit Normanniam, et obsedit Albemarle et cepit eam.

Benedict, i. 47.

Philip of Flanders takes Aumâle.

[1] This letter occurs in Benedict, in the later MS. only; but was clearly known to the writer of the earlier one, who places in the mouth of the earl of Arundel the very language of king William (B. P. i. 53); and by an unfortunate oversight I have stated in my edition of Benedict that it was not to be found in Hoveden. B.P. i., 55.

[2] William II., the Good: king of Sicily, 1167—1189.

Benedict, i. 49.

Et procedens inde obsedit castellum de Drincurt, et redditum est ei, sed Matheus frater ejus, comes Boloniæ, ex inopinato ictu sagittæ percussus obiit. Quo defuncto, Petrus frater ejus, electus Cambriensis ecclesiæ, successit ei in comitatu Boloniæ: et renuncians electioni suæ factus est miles, et paulo post obiit sine prole.

A.D. 1173. July. Castle of Driencourt taken; death of the Count of Boulogne.

De obsidione Vernolii.

Interim[1] Lodowicus rex Francorum et rex Angliæ filius obsederunt Vernolium: sed Hugo de Laci, et Hugo de Bello Campo, qui inde constabularii erant, villam Vernolii viriliter et constanti animo defenderunt. Attamen cum rex Franciæ ibi per mensem moram fecisset, vix expugnavit partiunculam villæ illius, ex parte illa ubi machinæ suæ bellicæ positæ erant. Erant quidem infra Vernolium tres burgi præter castellum: et unusquisque illorum separatus erat ab altero, et interclusus forti muro, et fosso aqua pleno, et unus illorum dicebatur Magnus Burgus, ubi extra murum fixa erant tentoria regis Franciæ, et machinæ illius bellicæ. In fine autem illius mensis, cum burgenses de Burgo Magno viderent quod victus et necessaria eis defecissent, nec haberent quid manducarent, compulsi fame et inopia inducias triduanas ceperunt a rege Franciæ eundi ad dominum suum regem Angliæ propter succursum ab eo habendum; et nisi infra sequens triduum succursum haberent, redderent ei burgum illum. Et statutus est eis dies peremptorius in vigilia Sancti Laurentii: et dederunt regi Franciæ obsides inde; et rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ filius, et comes Robertus[2] frater regis Franciæ, et comes Henricus[3] de Troies, et comes Theobaldus de Blais, et Willelmus Senonensis archiepiscopus juraverunt eis, quod si ipsi reddidissent burgum illum regi Franciæ ad terminum statutum, rex Franciæ redderet eis obsides suos liberos et quietos, et quod eis nullum damnum faceret, nec ab aliis fieri permitteret.

Lewis VII. besieges Verneuil for a month.

Benedict, i. 50.

The citizens promise to surrender if not relieved before Aug. 9.

His ergo ita concessis, supra dicti burgenses venerunt ad dominum suum regem Angliæ, et indicaverunt ei con-

The townsmen seek king Henry II.

[1] *Interim*] About the Octave of S. Peter and S. Paul, July 6, Bened.

[2] Of Dreux, 1137—1184.

[3] Henry the Bountiful, 1152—1180.

A.D. 1173. August. King Henry burns Breteuil and advances to Verneuil, (Aug. 9).

ventionem quam fecerant cum rege Franciæ et rege filio suo. Quo audito rex Angliæ pater congregavit totum exercitum quod habere poterat de Normannia et aliis terris suis, et venit usque Bretuil, castellum Roberti[1] Comitis Leicestriæ, quod ipse comes in adventu regis fugiens sine custode reliquit. Quod ipse rex totum redegit in cineres, et in crastino præliaturus cum rege Franciæ processit usque in montem altum prope Vernolium cum exercitu suo, et disposuit acies suas ad bellum. Et dies illa erat dies peremptorius in quo portio illa de Vernolio reddenda erat, nisi haberent succursum. Et Lodowicus rex Francorum misit Willemum Senonensem archiepiscopum, et comitem Henricum, et comitem Theobaldum ad regem Angliæ patrem, et ceperunt colloquium inter eos in crastino. Et credidit illis rex Angliæ malo suo quia deceptus est. Rex namque Franciæ in crastino, nec ad colloquium venit, nec nuncium misit. Rex autem Angliæ miserat exploratores suos ad explorandum statum regis Franciæ et exercitus ejus. Et dum exploratores illi moram facerent, reddita est regi Franciæ portio illa de Vernolio, quam obsederat. Sed ipse non ausus eam retinere, transgressus est sacramenta quæ ipse burgensibus fecerat. Ipse namque obsides eorum non reddidit, nec pacem, quam promiserat, servavit; sed villam intravit, burgenses captivavit, catalla eorum asportavit, burgum incendit, et fugiens duxit secum in Franciam prædictos burgenses.

Benedict i. 51. Benedict, i. 54. Benedict, i. 53. Benedict, i. 54.

Lewis VII. proposes a conference, but does not attend.

He seizes the town and carries off his hostages into France.

Henry pursues: orders the walls of Verneuil to be rebuilt.

Quod cum regi Angliæ nunciatum esset, secutus est eos in ore gladii, et multos ex illis interfecit, et quamplures cepit, et in crepusculo Vernolium venit. Et ibi una nocte quievit, et muros qui ceciderant reædificari præcepit. Ut autem hæc in memoria habeantur, sciendum est quod hæc fuga regis Franciæ facta est quinto idus Augusti, feria quinta, in vigilia Sancti Laurentii, ad laudem et gloriam Domini

Benedict, i. 55.

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[1] Robert de Beaumont, earl of Leicester, 1167—1190: lord of Breteuil in right of his mother Amicia, daughter of Ralph II. de Guader-the grandson of William Fitz-Osbern.

Benedict, i. 55. nostri Jesu Christi, Qui puniendo scelus perjurii, injuriam martyri Suo illatam tam celeriter vindicavit. In crastino autem, cum rex Angliæ pater a Vernolio recederet, cepit Damville, castellum Gileberti de Tileres, et multos milites et servientes in eo cepit. Et inde venit rex Rothomagum, misitque inde Braibancenos suos, de quibus plus cæteris confidebat, in Britannia contra Hugonem comitem Cestriæ, et Radulfum de Fulgeriis,[2] qui eam jam fere totam occupaverant. Appropinquantibus autem illis, comes Cestriæ et Radulfus de Fulgeriis venerunt obviam illis. Disponitur itaque prope bellum, acies dirigitur, pugna paratur. Igitur conserto bello prosternuntur hostes regis Angliæ; Britones cadunt et vincuntur.[3] Comes autem et Radulfus de Fulgeriis, cum multis potentioribus Britanniæ, incluserunt se infra turrim Doli, quam dolo ceperant; et Braibanceni obsederunt eos per circuitum decimo tertio kalendas Septembris, feria secunda.

(Margin: Benedict, i. 56.)

(Margin: A.D. 1173. August. Henry takes Damville, and goes to Rouen. — Battle in Brittany. — The earl of Chester retires to Dol, which is besieged by Henry's forces, Aug. 20.)

Prima captio apud Dolum.

Capti sunt autem in prælio illo a Braibancenis septendecim milites,[4] quorum nomina hæc sunt: Hascuil de Sancto Hilario, Willelmus Patric, Patric de la Landa, Haimeri de Falcilia, Gaufridus Farsi, Willelmus de Rulent, Radulfus de Sens, Johannes Pincerna, vicarius de Dolo, Willelmus des Loges, Willelmus de la Mote, Robertus de Treham, Paganus Cornutus, Reginaldus Pincun, Reginaldus de Campo Lamberti, Eudo Bastardus. Præterea multi capti sunt tam equites quam pedites, et plusquam mille et quingenti de Britonibus interfecti sunt. In crastino autem hujus captionis et interfectionis,

(Margin: Names of the prisoners taken in the battle. — Benedict, i. 57.)

(Margin: Virg. Æn. iv. 174.)

"Fama malum, quo non aliud velocius ullum,
"Mobilitate viget,"

pervenit ad aures regis Angliæ; qui statim iter versus Dolum arripiens, illuc feria quinta venit, statimque fecit parari perarias suas et alias machinas bellicas. Comes vero Cestriæ,

(Margin: Henry arrives at Dol, Aug. 23.)

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[1] Hugh, earl of Chester, and hereditary viscount of Bayeux and Avranches, 1153—1181.

[2] Ralph of Fougeres, the old enemy of Henry II., 1154—1196.

[3] *Disponitur . . . vincuntur*] From the later MS. only of Benedict.

[4] *septendecim milites*] strenuissimi milites numero xvii. C.; omitting the names.

A.D 1173. Aug. 26. Dol taken.

et qui infra turrim cum eo erant, non valentes eam defendere, reddiderunt eam regi septimo kalendas Septembris, die Dominica. Similiter et tota Britannia reddita est ei cum munitionibus ejus; et principes ejus ducti sunt in captivitatem.

Benedict, i. 57.

Secunda captio infra turrim Doli.

Names of the prisoners taken in the castle of Dol.

Infra turrim Doli capti sunt milites et servientes multi, quorum nomina hæc sunt: Hugo comes Cestriæ, Radulfus de Fulgeriis, Willelmus de Fulgeriis, Hamo Spine, Leones,[1] Robertus Patricius, Ingeram Patricius, Ricardus de Luvetot, Gwugain Guiun, Oliverus de Rupe, Alanus de Tintiniac, Juellus filius Radulfi de Fulgeriis, Gilo de Castello Girun, Philippus de Landewi, Willelmus de Gorram, Juellus de Meduana,[2] Gaufridus de Buisserio, Reginaldus de Marchia, Le Marchis, Herveus de Vitri, Hamelinus de Eni, Willelmus de Sancto Bricio, Willelmus del Chasteller, Willelmus de Orenge, Radulfus Vaintras, Robertus Pincerna, Henricus de Grai, Grumbaldus filius Haket, Gaufridus abbas, Johannes Caurcin, Johannes de Breerrec, Hugo Avenel, Hamelinus de Pratellis, Gwalo de la Basoche, Secardus Burdin, Walterus Buio, Johemp Ramazt, Hugo de Bussai, Jordanus de Maszua, Henricus de Sancto Hilario, Philippus de Sancto Hilario, fratres Hascuil, Bartholomæus de Busseria, Herbertus de Buillo, Bauzan de Tanet, Rollandus filius Radulfi, Roellinus filius Radulfi, Gaufridus de Minihac, Guido Butefact, Jeldewinus Gwiun, Juellus de Ponte, Hamelinus abbas, Robertus de Baiochis, Elias de Aubenni, Reginaldus Cattus, Johannes de Curtizt, Philippus de Luvenni, Henricus de Wastinis, Henricus de Sancto Stephano, Willelmus de Capella, Rogerus des Logis, Bencellardus de Serlando, Willelmus de Bosco Berengerii, Johannes de Ruella, Oliver de Munsorel, Hamundus de Rocheford, Robertus del Espinei, Johannes des Loges, Gaufridus Carloel, Radulfus de Tomai, Gillebertus de Croe, Ra-

Benedict, i. 58.

[1] *Lones*] A Breton noble (Morice, *Mémoires, &c. pour l'Histoire de Bretagne*, i. 623, 629, 632, 655), who has caused the French editors (Bouquet, xiii.) some trouble: they read comes, from *Ceones* as Savile printed it, and supposed him to be Eudes of Porhoet.

[2] *Juellus de Meduana*] Juel de Mayenne: he with Guy du Val and Ralph of Fougeres, by their desertion of Henry II. in 1189, caused his last discomfiture, and were disseized by Richard in consequence. Ben. Pet. ii. 72. Cf. R. de Diceto, 644.

Benedict, i. 58. dulfus li Poters, Radulfus Pucin, Matheus de Praels, Ricardus de Cumbrai, Willelmus li Franceis, Oliver Ruande, Radulfus Ruffin, Springad, Rogerus de Chevereville, Willelmus des Loges;[1] et alii multi, quorum nomina non scribuntur in libro hoc. Post has igitur victorias, quas Deus contulit regi Angliæ filio Matildis imperatricis, rex Franciæ et fautores sui deciderunt in desperationem, et modis omnibus nitebantur ut pax fieret inter regem Angliæ et filios suos. A.D. 1173. Aug. 26. Prisoners at Dol.

Primum Colloquium de pace.

Convenerunt ergo ad ultimum inter Gisortium et Trie, Lodowicus rex Francorum cum archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus et baronibus regni sui; adducens secum Henricum et Ricardum et Gaufridum, filios Henrici regis Angliæ: et Henricus rex Angliæ pater cum archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus et baronibus terræ suæ. Sept. 25. Conference of the kings between Gisors and Trie.

Benedict, i. 59. Et habitum est ibi colloquium de pace facienda inter ipsum et filios suos, vii. kalendas Octobris, feria tertia. In quo colloquio rex Angliæ pater obtulit regi filio suo medietatem reddituum dominicorum suorum Angliæ, et quatuor castra idonea in eadem terra, aut si filius suus mallet morari in Normannia, rex pater obtulit ei medietatem reddituum Normanniæ, et omnes redditus terræ patris sui comitis Andegaviæ, et tria castra idonea in Normannia, et unum castrum in Andegavia idoneum, et unum castrum in Cenomannia idoneum, et unum castrum in Turonica idoneum. Ricardo etiam filio suo obtulit medietatem reddituum Aquitanniæ, et quatuor castella in eadem terra idonea; et Gaufrido filio suo obtulit terram illam quæ contingebat jure hæreditario filiam comitis Conani, si ipse præfatam mulierem assensu domini papæ posset sibi in matrimonium copulare. Supposuit etiam rex pater se omnino arbitrio archiepiscopi Tharentensis et legatorum domini papæ, ut tantum de redditibus superadderet et daret filiis suis quantum illi dicerent æquum, retenta sibi justitia et regia potestate. Sed non fuit de consilio regis Franciæ quod filii regis hanc pacem cum patre suo facerent. Proposals of Henry to his sons. The king of France prevents their acceptance.

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[1] These names are given in a single column in A. — They are found only in the earlier MS. of Benedict. MS. C. omits the list, summing it up as "milites lxxx. et "servientes."

A.D. 1173. Sept. 25. Conduct of the earl of Leicester.

In eodem[1] autem colloquio Robertus comes Leicestriæ multa convitia et opprobria dixit regi Angliæ patri, et apposuit manum gladio ut regem percuteret; sed prohibitum est ei a circumstantibus, et in his finitum est colloquium.

Battle between the knights of the two parties.

In crastino autem colloquii, milites regis Franciæ inierunt congressum cum militibus regis Angliæ, inter Curceles et Gisorz; in quo conflictu Ingerannus, castellanus de Trie, captus est a comite Willelmo de Mandevile, et traditus est regi patri. Benedict, i. 60.

De adventu Roberti comitis Leicestriæ in Angliam, et ejus captione.

The earl of Leicester goes to England and is received by Hugh Bigot at Fremingham.

Interim[2] Robertus comes Leicestriæ magno congregato exercitu transfretavit in Angliam, et comes Hugo Bigot suscepit eum in castello de Fremingham, et ministravit ei necessaria. Deinde idem comes Leicestriæ obsedit Hakenet, castellum Rannulfi del Broc, et cepit illud.

The king's officers invade Lothian, but make a truce with Scotland and march into Suffolk against the earls.

In tempore autem illo Ricardus de Luci, justitiarius Angliæ, et Humfredus de Boun, regis constabularius, profecti fuerant cum exercitu magno in Lonais, terram regis Scotiæ, ad devastandam eam. Qui cum audissent adventum comitis Leicestriæ in Angliam, timuerunt valde. Et omnibus aliis negotiis postpositis, dederunt et ceperunt inducias a rege Scotiæ, datisque hinc et inde obsidibus de pace servanda, usque ad festum Sancti Hilarii, festinato cursu pervenerunt ad Sanctum Eadmundum. Veneruntque illuc ad eos Reginaldus comes Cornubiæ, avunculus regis, et Robertus comes Gloucestriæ, et Willelmus comes de Arundel. Appropinquante igitur festo Omnium Benedict, i. 61.

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[1] *In eodem, &c.*] This circumstance is an addition to Benedict; and the account of the conference is a little more detailed. It is possible then that Hoveden himself was present at it. On the other hand, the fact that the earl of Leicester landed at Walton on Sept. 29th, only four days, that is, after he was at Gisors (R. de Dic., 573), may seem to throw doubt on the probability of these additional circumstances.

[2] *Interim*] The dates are given by R. de Diceto. The earl landed Sept. 29th; took Haghenet, Oct. 13th; fought the battle of Forneham, Oct. 16th or 17th. (Benedict, i. 62.) There is here a lacuna of several folios in C.

Benedict, i. 61. Sanctorum, prædictus comes Leicestriæ recessit de Fremingham ad Leicestriam iturus, venitque cum exercitu suo prope Sanctum Eadmundum, in loco qui dicitur Forneham, in quodam marisco, non longe ab ecclesia Sanctæ Genovefæ. Cujus adventu cognito, præfati comites cum exercitu magno, et Humfridus de Boun cum trecentis militibus solidariis regis, exierunt armati obviam comiti Leicestriæ, præferentes sibi vexillum Beati Eadmundi regis et martyris pro signo. Et ordinatis aciebus suis in virtute Dei et gloriosissimi martyris Sui Eadmundi, percusserunt aciem in qua comes Leicestriæ erat, et in momento, in ictu oculi, victus est comes Leicestriæ et captus, et uxor ejus, et Hugo de Castellis, vir nobilis de regno Francorum, et omnis eorum virtus demolita est. Et ceciderunt in prælio illo plusquam decem millia Flandrensium; cæteri autem omnes capti et vinculis et carceribus mancipati fame et inopia perierunt. Comes vero Leicestriæ et uxor ejus, et Hugo de Castellis, et cæteri ditiores qui cum eis capti fuerant missi sunt in Normanniam ad regem patrem; et rex incarceravit eos apud Faleysiam, et Hugonem comitem Cestriæ cum eis.

A.D. 1173. (Oct. 16.) The earl of Leicester defeated at Fornham.

Benedict, i. 62.

He and his wife taken prisoners.

In festo autem Sancti Martini venit rex pater in Andegaviam cum exercitu suo. Et paulo post Gaufridus dominus de Haya reddidit ei castellum de Haya. Deinde redditum est ei castellum de Pruilli, et castellum de Champenni, quod Robertus de Ble contra eum tenuit. In quo castello multi milites et servientes capti sunt, quorum nomina hæc sunt: Haimericus de Ble, Baldewinus de Brisehaia, Hugo de Laloc, Hugo li Danais, Hugo De la Mote, Willelmus de Rivau, Simon de Bernezai, Johannes Maumoine, Hubertus Ruscevals, Willelmus Maingot, Saerus Terreis, Johannes de Champenni, Walterus de Poinz, Bricius de Ceaus, Haimericus Ripaut, Robertus Anglicus, Grossinus Champemain, Isembert Wellun, Gaufridus Carre, Paganus Judex, Willelmus Bugun; Masteius, homo Saeri de Terreis; Gwiardus, homo Johannis Maumoine; Rogerus, homo Willelmi Rivau; Petrus, homo Johannis de Champennie; Philippus, homo Hugonis le Danis; Russellus, homo Huberti Ruscevaus; Vulgerius, Heimeiricus, homines Petri de Posci; Hosmundus, Everardus, Gaufridus, homines Heimeirici de Ble; Gilbertus, Albinus, homines Hugonis de Laloc; Brito, Gaufridus, homines Walteri Poinz; Haimericus, Petrus, homines Hugonis de Mota; Brito et Sweinnum, homines Simonis de Bernezai.

Nov. 11. The king takes the castles of Pruilli and Champenni.

Benedict. i. 63.

Names of the prisoners.

Eodem anno Lodowicus rex Francorum fecit Ricardum filium Henrici regis Angliæ militem.

Richard knighted.

A.D. 1173. Death of Robert of Aire.

Eodem anno Robertus præpositus Dary,[1] qui electus erat episcopus ecclesiæ de Arraz, illam refutavit electionem, et factus et electus episcopus ecclesiæ de Chambrai; sed antequam consecraretur ab inimicis suis interfectus est. Benedict, i. 49.

Henry II. nominates new bishops.

Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ pater, contra prohibitionem Henrici regis filii sui, et post appellationem factam ad dominum papam, dedit Ricardo priori de Dovre archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem; et Reginaldo filio Jocelini, Saresberiensis episcopi, episcopatum Batoniensem; et Ricardo de Ivecestre, Pictavensi archidiacono, episcopatum Wintoniensem; et Roberto Foliot episcopatum Herefordensem; et Gaufrido Ridel, Cantuariensi archidiacono, episcopatum Eliensem; et Johanni de [2] episcopatum Cicestrensem. Benedict, i. 63.

Nov. 30. He takes Vendome.

In festo Sancti Andreæ rex Angliæ pater per vim cepit Vendomiam, quam Bucardus de Lavardin contra eum tenuit, expulso inde patre suo comite de Vendome.[3]

Annus XX^{mus} regni regis Henrici secundi.

A.D. 1174. He keeps Christmas 1173 at Caen, and makes a truce till Mar. 31.

Anno gratiæ M°C°LXX°IV°., qui est annus vicesimus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem Henricus fuit in festo Nativitatis Dominicæ apud Cadomum in Normannia, et datæ sunt treugæ inter ipsum et Lodowicum regem Francorum a festo Sancti Hylarii usque ad clausum Pascha.

Truce of the Bishop of Durham with the Scots.

In eodem festo Sancti Hylarii [4] Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, habito colloquio inter ipsum et Willelmum regem Scottorum in confinio regnorum Angliæ et Scotiæ, Benedict, i. 64.

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[1] Robert, provost of Aire on the Lys, the chief minister of count Philip of Flanders; his assassination occupies an important place in the History of Cambray. See *Ann. Cameracenses* apud Bouquet xiii.; Pertz. xvi.

[2] These promotions, except those to Canterbury and Bath, are not found in Benedict; perhaps Hoveden was employed in the business, as in that of Norwich in 1175. The bishops are Richard of Canterbury, 1174–1184; Reginald of Bath, 1174–1193; Richard of Winchester, 1174–1188; Robert of Hereford, 1174–1186; Geoffrey of Ely, 1174–1189; John of Chichester, 1174–1180. MSS. A. B. omit the surname of the bishop of Chichester, which is supplied by Savile with *Greneforde;* on what authority does not appear.

[3] John I., count of Vendome, 1136–1192. Bouchard was his eldest son and successor. John's second wife was Richilda of Lavardin; her son Geoffrey of Lavardin was among the supporters of the younger Henry (Bened., i. 47).

[4] *eodem . . . Hylarii*] Eodem anno et tempore supradicto, Savile.

Benedict, i. 64. apud Revedene,[1] dedit prædicto regi Scottorum trecentas marcas argenti de terris baronum Northimbriæ, pro treugis habendis a festo Sancti Hilarii usque ad clausum Pascha. Interim Rogerus de Moubrai firmavit castellum apud Kinardeferie in Haxiholm, et Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus firmavit castellum apud Alvertun. A.D. 1174. Roger de Mowbray builds a castle in Axholm.

Benedict, i. 71. Post Pascha diruptis treugis Henricus rex Angliæ filius et Philippus comes Flandriæ, magno congregato exercitu, in Angliam venire proposuerunt. The young king threatens an invasion.

Benedict, i. 64. Interim[2] Willelmus rex Scottorum venit in Northimbriam cum exercitu magno, et ibi per Scottos et Galwalenses suos execrabiliter egit. Nam sui mulieres prægnantes findebant, et fœtus extractos super lancearum acumina jactabant; infantes, pueros, juvenes, senes utriusque sexus a maximo usque ad minimum sine ulla redemptione et misericordia interfecerunt. Sacerdotes autem et clericos in ipsis ecclesiis super altaria detruncabant. Quæcunque igitur Scotti et Galwalenses attingebant plena erant horroris et immanitate. William king of Scotland invades Northumberland.

Deinde rex Scottorum misit David fratrem suum usque Leicestre ad succurrendum militibus comitis Leicestriæ. David goes to Leicester.

Benedict, i. 58. Sed antequam ipse illuc veniret, Reginaldus comes Cornubiæ, et Ricardus de Luci justitiarius Angliæ, combusserunt villam de Leicestre[3] totam cum ecclesiis et ædificiis, excepto castello. Leicester burnt by the earl of Cornwall.

Benedict, i. 68. Post Pentecosten Anketillus Mallore, constabularius Leicestriæ, commisso prælio cum burgensibus de North- In May Anketil Mallory

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[1] *Revedene*] Revedalam, Bened.

[2] This description of the ravages of the Scots comes originally from Henry of Huntingdon. It is incorporated from him in the earlier portion of the present work in connexion with the war of 1138. Here it is drawn from the Chronicle of Benedict, and through that from Huntingdon, from whom the author of that chronicle has borrowed, for William of Arundel at Breteuil, the speech ascribed by H. Huntingdon to bishop Ralph Nowell.

[3] *Leicestre*] The burning of the town of Leicester belongs to the year 1173, in which it is placed by the author of Benedict's Chronicle, i. 58. The exact dates are given by Ralph de Diceto: the siege lasted from July 3rd to July 28th; and on leaving the ruined town the castle garrison had a truce to Michaelmas. R. de Diceto, 573. These dates, which could belong only to 1173, are by themselves proof sufficient that the present chronicle was drawn up after the exact sequence of events was forgotten.

A.D. 1174. May. defeats the men of Northampton.

amtun, et eos confecit,[1] et ex illis plusquam ducentos cepit, et quamplures interfecit. Benedict, i. 68.

The earl of Derby burns Nottingham.

Robertus comes de Ferrers,[2] una cum militibus Leicestriæ, venit diluculo ad Nottingham, villam regis, quam Reginaldus de Luci custodivit; et eam cepit, et combussit, et prædavit, et burgenses captivos secum duxit. Benedict, i. 69.

Geoffrey elect of Lincoln takes Kinardferie.

Gaufridus Lincolniensis electus, regis Henrici filius, cepit castellum de Kinardeferie et subvertit. Robertus vero de Mulbrai, ejusdem castelli constabularius, dum iret versus Leicestre pro auxilio, in ipso itinere captus est de hominibus del Clai et retentus. Benedict, i. 68.

Norwich burnt by Hugh Bigot.

Comes Hugo Bigot infregit civitatem de Norewiz et combussit.

Geoffrey takes Malzeard and builds a castle at Topcliffe.

Gaufridus Lincolniensis electus, una cum Rogero Eboracensi archiepiscopo, obsedit Malesart, castellum Rogeri de Mulbrai, et cepit, et multos milites et servientes in eo. Et tradidit illud Eboraci archiepiscopo custodiendum. Et antequam recederet, firmavit castellum apud Topeclive, quod et tradidit Willelmo de Stutevile[3] in custodia.

Ricardus Cantuariensis et Reginaldus Bathoniensis electi profecti sunt Romam.

Confirmation of the new bishops by Pope Alexander III.

Interim Ricardus Cantuariensis electus et Reginaldus Batoniensis electus Romam profecti sunt, pro electione sua et aliorum electorum Angliæ electione confirmanda. Benedict, i. 69.

Contra quos Henricus rex filius misit Romam magistrum Berterum Aurelianensem.[4] Cumque præfatæ partes adversæ in præsentia Alexandri papæ et cardinalium consisterent, et dominus papa plurimum increparet absentiam cæterorum electorum Angliæ, et dominus Cantuariensis electus eorum absentiam sufficienter excusaret, dominus papa interrogabat attentius quare non venit ille electus Eliensis. Cui Berterus Aurelianensis

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[1] *confecit*] devicit, Savile.

[2] *comes*] of Derby.

[3] William de Stuteville was sheriff of Yorkshire in 1191.

[4] Berter of Orleans, the composer of the Lamentation over Jerusalem, A.D. 1187, below. The anecdote in the text is taken from another source than Benedict.

sic respondit, "Domine, evangelicam habet excusatio-"nem." Cui papa, "Quam," frater, "excusationem?" Et ille, "Uxorem duxit, et ideo non potest venire." Et quamvis multa altercatio et verborum tergiversatio hinc inde coram domino papa et cardinalibus diducta fuisset, tamen dominus papa Cantuariensem electum consecravit.[1] Unde Reginaldus Batoniensis electus in hac forma scripsit domino suo regi Angliæ.

A.D. 1174. Story of Pope Alexander III.

Epistola Reginaldi, Batoniensis electi, ad regem Angliæ patrem.

May 5. Letter of Reginald bishop elect of Bath, reporting the consecration of Richard archbishop of Canterbury.

Benedict, i. 69. "Henrico illustri Angliæ regi, et duci Normanniæ et Aqui-"tanniæ, comiti Andegaviæ, carissimo domino suo, Reginaldus Ps. cxliv. 10. "Dei gratia Batoniensis electus, salutem in Eo Qui dat sa-"lutem regibus. Noverit vestræ prudentia majestatis, nos in Benedict, i. 70. "curia domini papæ duros de regno Francorum et de terra "vestra duriores adversarios invenisse. Ideoque nos ibi multa "pati, et moram oportuit facere tædiosam. Tandemque ad "instantiam nostram, Divina cooperante gratia, domini papæ "duritia adeo est emollita, quod domini Cantuariensis electi "electionem solemniter in præsentia omnium confirmavit; "eumque etiam confirmatum, Dominica sequenti consecravit; "consecrato, pallium die tertia dedit, et modici temporis spatio "excurrente primatiam addidit. Nos præterea desiderantes ip-"sum habere plenissimam potestatem, vindictam ecclesiasticam "exercendi in homines regni vestri, qui contra innocentiam "vestram nequiter et proditione suæ malitiæ calcaneum extu-"lerunt, multa sollicitudine obtinuimus, quod dominus papa "eidem provinciæ suæ legationem indulsit. Meum itaque et "aliorum electorum negotium adhuc in pendenti est, nec de "nobis dominus aliquid statuere vel diffinire decrevit, donec "vobiscum filius vester ad concordiam reformetur. Speramus "tamen in Domino, quod mea et omnium aliorum electorum "promotio domini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi providentiæ "committetur."[2]

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[1] *consecravit*] April 7, at Anagni: Gerv. 1426; R. de Dic., 580.

[2] *committetur*] "Proxima Do-"minica post Ascensionem Domini "dimissæ sunt litteræ istæ, et nihil "jam exspectabamus præter galeas "nostras, dominumque Cantuarien-"sem cum festinatione volo, post-"posito negotio meo, ad vos redu-"cere, ut ipsius in hac werra con-"silium et auxilium habeatis. Va-"lete." Add. B.P.

A.D. 1174. June 24. Richard de Lucy besieges Huntingdon.

Eodem anno, in festo Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, Ricardus de Luci obsedit castellum de Huntedun, milites vero castelli villam combusserunt. Et Ricardus de Luci novum castellum firmavit ante portas castelli de Huntedune supradicti, et tradidit illud comiti Symoni.[1] Benedict, i. 70.

William king of Scotland besieges Carlisle, and takes the castles of Liddel, Burgh, Appleby, Warkworth, and Harbottle.

Interea Willelmus rex Scottorum obsedit Carleolum, quod Robertus de Vals in custodia habuit. Et dimissa parte exercitus sui in obsidione castelli, ipse cum reliqua parte exercitus sui perambulavit Northimbriam, terram regis et baronum suorum devastans. Et cepit castellum de Lidel, et castellum de Burgo, et castellum de Appelbi, et castellum de Wercwrde, et castellum Yrebotle, quod Odonellus de Umframvile tenuit, et postea rediit ad obsidionem Carleoli. Et tamdiu ibi moram fecit, donec Robertus de Vals, victu sibi et cæteris inclusis deficiente, cum eo pacem fecit in hunc modum; quod ad festum Sancti Michaelis proximo sequens, redderet ei castellum et villam Carleoli, nisi interim haberet succursum a domino suo rege Angliæ. Rex vero Scottorum procedens inde, obsedit Prudehou, castellum Odonelli de Umframvile, sed illud capere non potuit. Nam Robertus de Stutevile, vicecomes Eboraci, et Willelmus de Vesci, et Rannulfus de Glamvile, et Radulfus de Tilli, constabularius familiæ Rogeri Eboracensis archiepiscopi, et Bernardus de Baillol, et Odonellus de Umframvile, magno congregato exercitu, illo ire properabant. Quorum adventu cognito, rex Scotiæ inde recedens obsedit Alnewic, castellum Willelmi de Vesci; et dividens exercitum suum in tres partes, unam secum retinuit et reliquis duabus præfecit comitem Dunecanum,[2] et comitem de Anegus, et Ricardum de Morevile.[3] Et præcepit ut ipsi circumjacentes devastarent provincias, homines interficerent, et prædas abducerent. Proh[4] dolor! Tunc audires clamorem mulierum, ululatus senum, gemitus morientium, desperationem juvenum.[5] Benedict, i. 64, 65.

He besieges Prudhoe.

The Yorkshiremen march against him. Benedict, 66.

He besieges Alnwick.

The younger Henry comes to Gravelines.

Interea[6] rex Angliæ filius et Philippus comes Flandriæ venerunt cum magno exercitu usque Gravelinges, parati ad transfretandum in Angliam. Benedict, i. 71 and 72.

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[1] *Symoni*] of St. Liz., earl of Northampton.

[2] *Dunecanum*] earl of Fife.

[3] *Moreville*] constable of Scotland.

[4] *Proh . . . . viventium*] From Henry of Huntingdon (ed. Savile), 222.

[5] *juvenum*] or *viventium*. See above, vol. i. pp. 192, 193.

[6] *Interea*] About Midsummer-day. Bened., i. 71.

Benedict, i. 71. Quo audito rex Angliæ pater, qui profectus fuerat cum exercitu suo in Pictaviam, et multas munitiones, et castra, et Sanctonensem civitatem, et duas turres in ea, quarum una vocabatur turris Major, et ecclesiam episcopalem Sanctonensem, quam milites et servientes contra eum victu et armis munierant, ceperat: rediit in Andegaviam, et cepit Ancenam,[1] villam Guionu de Ancenis, juxta Sanctum Florentium. Et in ea munitionem fortissimam firmavit, et in manu sua retinuit, provinciamque circumjacentem igne et gladio devastavit, vineas et arbores fructiferas eradicavit, et postea in Normanniam rediit, rege filio suo et comite Flandriæ adhuc moram facientibus apud Gravelinges. Ventus enim erat illis contrarius, et transfretare non poterant. Venit ergo rex Angliæ pater ad Barbeflet, ubi naves multæ congregatæ erant in adventu ejus, et sicut Domino placuit ita factum est; sit nomen Domini benedictum, Qui virtute potenti vim venti mutavit in melius, et prosperum iter navigandi tam subito dedit illi. Ille enim navibus ascensis, in crastino applicuit in Anglia apud Suthamtune, octavo idus Julii, feria secunda, et adduxit secum Alienor reginam, uxorem suam, et Margaretam reginam, filiam Lodowici regis Francorum, uxorem regis filii et Robertum comitem Leicestriæ, et Hugonem comitem Cestriæ, quos statim custodiæ mancipavit.

A.D. 1174. June. Henry II. after ravaging Poictou passes through Anjou into Normandy.

Benedict, i. 72.

He gets a good wind although his son cannot; and crosses to England, July 8.

De peregrinatione Henrici regis ad Sanctum Thomam Cantuariensem martyrem.

Et in crastino peregre profectus est ad beatum Thomam Cantuariensem martyrem. Et cum appropinquasset, ex quo ecclesiam videre potuit, in qua corpus beati martyris sepultum est, equum in quo sedebat deseruit, et extractis calceamentis, nudus, pedes, et in pannis laneis, per tria milliaria profectus est usque ad sepulcrum martyris, in tanta humilitate et cordis compunctione, ut credatur Illius opus sine dubio ex-

July 9. He starts for Canterbury.

His pilgrimage.

[1] *Ancenam*] About S. Barnabas' day. Bened., i. 71.

A.D. 1174. July 12. His penance at Canterbury.

stitisse, Qui respicit terram, et facit eam tremere.[1] Vestigia autem ejus in via qua ambulabat intuentibus apparuerunt sanguinolenta, et erant; sanguis enim plurimus a teneris pedibus ejus, lapidibus duris incisis, profluebat in terram. Cum autem ad tumbam veniret, pium erat intueri afflictiones quas faciebat cum fletu singultuoso, et disciplinas quas de manu episcoporum monachorum sacerdotumque plurimorum recepit. Ibidem etiam ante sepulcrum beati martyris in oratione, in jejunio et planctu pernoctavit, adjutus plurimorum sanctorum virorum suffragiis. Dona autem et redditus, quos ecclesiæ illi in remissionem peccatorum suorum contulit, a memoria ecclesiæ nulla poterunt ratione divelli. In crastino autem summo mane missa audita, inde recessit, tertio idus Julii, Sabbato, Lundonias iturus. Et quoniam memor fuit Domini in toto corde suo, dedit illi Dominus victoriam de inimicis suis, et tradidit eos captivos in manu sua.[2]

Benedict, i. 72. Ps. civ. 32.

He returns to London, July 13.

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[1] This quotation is made also by Grim in his account of the penance. *S.T.C.*, i. 86. There is a general likeness in the expressions of the different commentators on the subject; Grim, l.c., Robert de Monte, and the other annalists: but the additional particulars given in the text, over and above the extract from Benedict, are not yet identified as the work of another writer. It seems most likely that they are taken from a letter or some other source common to both the author of Benedict's Chronicle and Hoveden, and more largely used by the latter.

[2] As there appears to be some difficulty in reconciling the dates of these transactions, (Robertson, *Scotland under her early Kings*, i. 371), it may be said that, as above, Henry landed at Southampton on the 8th of July, Monday, and on the morrow, Tuesday the 9th, started for Canterbury. On the Friday the 12th he did penance, on Saturday the 13th started for London, and there, on Thursday the 18th, received the news of the capture of William the Lion, which, according to Benedict, had taken place on the 13th. R. de Diceto, Twysden, 577, and Gervase (*ib.* 1427,) place the penance on the Friday; and the capture of the king of Scots on the Saturday. Robert de Monte places the penance on the Saturday, and makes it take place in the chapter-house, as does William of Newburgh.

De captione Willelmi Regis Scottorum apud Alnewic.

Benedict, i. 72.

A.D. 1174. July 13.

Capture of the king of Scots at Alnwick.

Nam eodem die Sabbati quo ipse a Cantuaria recessit, captus est Willelmus rex Scottorum apud Alnewic a præfatis militibus Eboracensis syriæ, qui secuti fuerant eum post recessum de Prudehou. Sic, "sic raro antecedentem scelestum" deserit "pœna pede claudo." Captique sunt cum eo Ricardus Cumin, et Willelmus de Mortemer, Willelmus de Insula, Henricus Revel, Radulfus de Ver, Jordanus Flandrensis, Waldevus filius Baldewini de Bicre, Ricardus Malluvel, et alii multi, qui sponte sua se capi permiserunt, ne viderentur in captione domini sui consensisse. Eodem die applicuit apud Herterpol Hugo[1] comes de Bar supra Secanam, nepos Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, cum quadraginta militibus et quingentis Flandrensibus, pro quibus prædictus episcopus miserat: sed episcopus statim, propter captionem regis Scotiæ, permisit prædictos Flandrenses repatriare, datis prius illis liberationibus suis et donis quadraginta dierum. Comitem autem Hugonem, et milites qui cum eo venerant, secum retinuit, et tradidit illis castellum suum de Alvertun in custodia.

Hor. Od. III. ii. 30.

Benedict, i. 67.

Hugh count of Bar lands at Hartlepool, and garrisons Northallerton.

Benedict, i. 67.

Benedict, i. 68.

The lords of Galloway make an attempt at independence.

Ucthredus vero filius Fergus, et Gillebertus frater ejus,[2] principes Galwalensium, statim post captionem domini sui regis Scottorum regressi sunt in terram suam, et ministros regis a finibus suis expulerunt; Anglicos et Francigenas, quos in terris suis invenerunt, sine misericordia interfecerunt; munitiones et castella, quæ rex Scottorum in terris eorum firmaverat, obsederunt, ceperunt et comminuerunt. Regi vero Angliæ patri plurimum supplicaverunt, et dona plurima obtulerunt, ut ipse eos a dominio regis Scotiæ eriperet, et suo subjugaret imperio.

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[1] Hugh de Puiset, son of Everard, and nephew of bishop Hugh of Durham, had married Petronilla, daughter of Milo II., count of Bar sur Seine, and held the county from 1168 to his death in 1189.

[2] Uhtred and Gilbert who were the sons of Fergus, by an illegitimate daughter of Henry I. (Robertson's *Scotland under her early Kings*, i. 356, &c.) succeeded their father in the lordship of Galloway in 1161. Chron. S. Crucis., ed. Bouterwek, p. 39. Galloway had been conquered by Malcolm in 1160, and the brothers took advantage of William's captivity to make an attempt at independence.

De obsidione Rothomagi.

A.D. 1174. July. The king of France besieges Rouen.

Interim Lodowicus rex Francorum, audita transfretatione regis patris in Angliam, et audita captione regis Scottorum, cui plurimum condoluit, revocavit regem Angliæ filium, et Philippum comitem Flandriæ, qui adhuc morabantur apud Gravelinges; et[1] obsedit Rothomagum ex omni parte, excepta illa quam fluvius Secanæ præterfluit. Benedict, i. 73.

De castellis redditis regi patri in Anglia infra tres hebdomadas.

July 21. Henry takes the castle of Huntingdon.

Rex igitur pater, audita regis Scottorum captione, gavisus est gaudio magno valde, et gratias Omnipotenti Deo, et beato Thomæ martyri, cum gratiarum actione persolvens, profectus est Huntendoniam, et castellum obsedit: quod redditum est ei die Dominica proximo sequenti, duodecimo kalendas Augusti. Milites vero et servientes qui erant in castello illo reddiderunt se in misericordia regis, salvis vita et membris. Et statim perrexit rex inde cum exercitu suo versus Fremingham, castellum comitis Hugonis Bigot: ubi ipse comes cum magna Flandrensium multitudine fuit. Et cum rex venisset prope Fremingham, fixit tentoria sua in loco qui dicitur Seleham, et ibi nocte illa mansit. In crastino[2] venit ad eum comes Hugo Bigot, et facta cum illo pace, reddidit ei castellum de Fremingham et castellum de Bungeie, et cum magna difficultate impetravit a rege quod Flandrenses qui cum eo erant sine impedimento possent repatriare. Benedict, i. 72. Benedict, i. 73.

He encamps at Seleham where Hugh Bigot surrenders, July 25.

The king wounded.

Ibidem vero equus Tostes de Sancto Odmero cujusdam militis Templi percussit regem in tibia et multum læsit. In crastino autem, videlicet septimo kalendas Augusti, rex recessit de Seleham et perrexit Northamtoniam. Quo cum venisset, adductus est ei Willelmus rex Scottorum sub ventre equi compeditus.

He goes to Northampton (July 26) to meet the King of Scots and bishop of Durham.

Venitque illuc ad eum Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, et tradidit ei castellum de Dunelmo, et castellum de Norham, et Benedict, i. 73.

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[1] *et*] qui cum ad eum redissent, Savile.

[2] *In crastino*] viii°. kal. Aug., Bened.

Benedict, i. 73. castellum de Alvertun novum, quod firmaverat, et vix impetravit quod comes de Bar, nepos suus, et milites qui cum eo venerant, in terram suam redire possent. Venit etiam ibidem ad regem Rogerus de Mulbrai, et reddidit ei castellum de Tresk. Et comes de Ferreres reddidit ei castellum de Tutesbiri, et castellum de Duffeld. Et Anketillus Mallore et Willelmus de Dive, constabularii comitis Leicestriæ, reddiderunt ei castellum Leicestriæ, et castellum de Muntsorel, et castellum de Grobi. Sic igitur infra tres hebdomadas tota Anglia pacificata est, et omnes munitiones ejus traditæ sunt in manu regis. A.D. 1174. July 31. The castles of the rebel barons surrendered.

Benedict, i. 74. Quibus[1] pro voluntate sua dispositis, ipse festinanter transfretavit de Anglia in Normannia, et applicuit apud Barbeflet sexto idus Augusti, feria quinta; et reduxit secum Braibancenos suos, et mille Walenses, et Willelmum regem Scottorum, et Robertum comitem Leicestriæ, et Hugonem comitem Cestriæ, et incarceravit eos primo apud Cadomum, deinde apud Faleise. Eodem vero die, quo rex apud Barbeflet applicuit, habuit sibi obvios in ipso littore maris Ricardum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum redeuntem ab Alexandro summo pontifice cum pallio et legatia et primatia totius Angliæ, et Reginaldum Bathoniensem episcopum, quem idem archiepiscopus consecraverat apud Sanctum Johannem de Mauriana, cum a Roma redissent. Et noluit rex eos secum retinere, sed misit eos in Angliam. August 8. Henry returns to Normandy with his prisoners. He meets the archbishop and bishop of Bath coming home.

Et die Dominica sequente venit rex pater cum Braibancenis et Walensibus suis Rothomagum, quam rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ filius obsederant ex una parte: ex altera vero parte patebat securus ingressus et egressus. Et in crastino mane misit rex Walenses suos ultra Secanam: qui per vim transeuntes per medium castrorum regis Franciæ illæsi pervenerunt ad nemus magnum, et eodem die plusquam centum de hominibus regis Franciæ interfecerunt. Rex autem Franciæ vix per mensem ibidem moram fecerat: ecce rex Angliæ August 11. He reaches Rouen. August 12. His Welsh mercenaries are successful against the French.

[1] *Quibus*] In this account of the siege of Rouen, it will be observed that whilst Hoveden slightly amplifies the account of the earlier chronicler, he furnishes no additional facts, and seems to weigh rather more lightly on the cowardice of king Lewis. The idea of destroying the engines, which in Benedict is ascribed to the king, is here given to the army. Hoveden was in France at the time; but writing twenty years later, he merely modifies the form of the narrative of his predecessor.

A.D. 1174. August 12. Sally from the town.

pater veniens de Anglia portas civitatis, quas burgenses obstruxerant, reseravit, et exiens cum militibus et servientibus, fossata, quæ facta fuerant inter exercitum regis Franciæ et civitatem, fecit impleri lignis, lapidibus et terra, et in planum redigi. Rex autem Franciæ et sui erant in tentoriis nolentes exire. Cæteri autem de familia regis Angliæ stabant ad propugnacula murorum, sed nemo eis repugnabat. Pars quidem exercitus regis Franciæ intendebat dissolvere machinas suas bellicas. Et in crastino præmisit rex Franciæ debiliores exercitus sui in terram suam mane, et, permissione regis Angliæ, eodem die secutus est eos usque ad locum qui dicitur Malaunai, qui est inter Rothomagum et villam quæ dicitur Tostes, data prius securitate per manum Willelmi Senonensis archiepiscopi et comitis Theobaldi, quod ipse in crastino reverteretur ad colloquium cum rege Angliæ de pace facienda inter illum et filios suos. Rex autem Franciæ, fidem et sacramenta non servans, ad colloquium non venit in crastino, sed abiit in terram suam.

Benedict, i. 75.

Panic and flight of Lewis. (August 14.)

He fails to attend a conference.

Secundum colloquium pacis inter regem Henricum et filios suos.

(August 15.) A conference fixed for Sept. 8, at Gisors.

Et[1] misit prædictos archiepiscopum Senonensem et comitem Theobaldum ad regem Angliæ, statuens diem colloquii apud Gisortium in Nativitate Sanctæ Mariæ. Quo cum venissent, non potuit inter eos convenire propter absentiam Ricardi comitis Pictaviæ, qui tempore illo erat in Pictavia expugnans castella et homines patris sui. Et ideo aliud ceperunt inter se colloquium, ad festum Sancti Michaelis, inter Turonim et Ambasium, et statuerunt treugas inter se hac conditione: quod Ricardus comes Pictaviæ excluderetur a treugis illis; et quod rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ filius nullum succursum ei facerent. His itaque hinc et inde concessis, rex Angliæ pater promovit exercitum suum in Pictaviam. Cujus adventum Ricardus comes Pictaviæ filius ejus non ausus expectare

Benedict, i. 76.

Adjourned to Sept. 29, between Tours and Amboise.

Henry subdues Poictou.

[1] *Et*] "Paucis igitur evolutis diebus, iterum":—ins. Savile. Benedict has "sequenti die."

Benedict, i. 76. fugit de loco in locum. Et cum constaret illi quod rex Franciæ et rex frater suus exclusissent eum a treugis, indignatus est inde. Et cum lacrymis veniens cecidit pronus in terram ante pedes regis patris sui, et postulans veniam in patris sinu recipitur. Facta sunt autem hæc in Pictavia nono kalendas Octobris, feria secunda. Et ambo videlicet rex pater et Ricardus filius ejus facti amici civitatem Pictavis ingressi sunt. A.D. 1174. Sept. 23. Submission of Richard at Poictiers.

Tertium colloquium pacis inter regem Anglorum et filios suos.

Benedict, i. 77. Deinde profecti sunt ambo simul ad colloquium inter Turonim et Ambasium, pridie kalendas Octobris, feria secunda, in crastino Sancti Michaelis. Ubi rex filius, et Ricardus et Gaufridus fratres ejus, consilio et voluntate regis et baronum Franciæ, hanc pacem subscriptam fecerunt cum rege patre suo. Sept. 30. Conference and peace.

Pax facta inter Henricum regem Angliæ et filios suos.

"Notum sit tam præsentibus quam futuris, quod pax inter "dominum regem et filios suos, Henricum videlicet et Ricardum et Gaufridum, in hunc modum Deo volente reformata est. Henricus rex filius regis, et fratres sui prædicti, ad "patrem suum et ad servitium ejus, sicut ad dominum suum, "redierunt, liberi et absoluti ab omni juramento et imprisa "quam inter se, vel cum aliis, fecerunt contra eum vel "homines suos. Et omnes homines et barones, qui a fidelitate patris causa eorum recesserant, clamaverunt quietos ab "omni juramento quod eis fecerant, et ita liberi et quieti "ab omni juramento, et absoluti ab omni conventione quam "eis fecerant, in hominium et ligantiam domini regis redierunt. Et dominus rex debet rehabere, ipse et homines sui, "et barones sui, omnes terras suas et castella sua, quæ habuerunt quindecim diebus antequam filii sui recederent ab "eo. Similiter barones et homines sui qui recesserunt ab "eo, et secuti sunt filios suos, debent rehabere terras suas, "quas habuerunt quindecim diebus antequam ab eo recederent. Et dominus rex remisit omnem malitiam baronibus et hominibus suis qui recesserunt ab eo, ita quod "propter hoc nullum malum eis faciet, quamdiu fideliter ei

Treaty between Henry and his sons.

The young king releases his partizans from their oath.

Both parties to hold what they held fifteen days before the war.

A.D. 1174. Sept. 30.

The two kings pardon each others' partizans.

" servient sicut ligio domino suo. Et rex filius ejus similiter " perdonavit omnibus, tam clericis quam laicis, qui cum " patre suo fuerunt, omnem malitiam, et adsecuravit in " manu domini regis patris sui, quod illis qui servierunt ei " nec malum nec damnum aliquod hac de causa faciet vel " perquiret in tota vita sua. Et dominus rex per hanc " conditionem donat regi filio suo duo castella idonea in " Normannia, ad voluntatem patris illius, et singulis annis " quindecim millia librarum Andegavensium. Et Ricardo filio " suo duo receptacula idonea in Pictavia, unde regi damnum " non possit provenire, et medietatem reddituum Pictaviæ in " denariis. Gaufrido vero filio suo dat in Britannia in de- " nariis medietatem maritagii filiæ comitis Conani, quam " ducere debet in uxorem. Et postquam concessione Romanæ " ecclesiæ eam in uxorem duxerit, habebit omnes redditus " illius maritagii, sicut continetur in carta comitis Conani. " Prisones vero qui cum domino rege finem fecerunt ante " factam pacem cum domino rege, videlicet rex Scotiæ, et " comes Leicestriæ, et comes Cestriæ, et Radulfus de Ful- " geriis, et obsides eorum, et obsides aliorum prisonum quos " prius habuerat, sint extra conventionem istam. Alii autem " prisones ex utraque parte deliberari debent, ita scilicet " quod dominus rex obsides accipiet de prisonibus suis de " quibus habere voluerit, et qui dare poterunt. Et de aliis " habebit securitatem per fidem et sacramentum suum et " amicorum suorum. Castella vero quæ firmata sunt vel in- " fortiata postquam gwerra incepit in terra domini regis, pro " voluntate sua debent redigi ad illum statum in quo fuerunt " quindecim diebus ante guerram. Præterea sciendum est, quod " rex Henricus filius domini regis concessit domino regi patri " suo, se quam firmiter observaturum omnes donationes elee- " mosynarum, quas dederat vel daturus erat de terris suis, et " donationes terrarum quas dederat hominibus suis, vel daturus " erat pro servitio suo. Concessit etiam se firmiter et incon- " cusse observaturum donationem, quam dominus rex pater suus " fecit Johanni fratri suo, videlicet mille libratas reddituum " in Anglia de dominico suo, et de excaetis suis ad voluntatem " suam et pertinentiis suis; et castellum de Notingham cum " comitatu, et castellum de Merleberga cum pertinentiis suis; " et in Normannia mille libratas reddituum Andegavensium, " et duo castella in Normannia ad voluntatem patris; et in " Andegavia, et in terra quæ fuit comitis Andegaviæ, mille " libratas reddituum Andegaviæ, et castellum unum in An- " degavia; et unum castellum in Turonica, et unum castellum " in Cenomannia. Concessum est autem a domino rege pro

Benedict, i. 77.

Provision for the young king; for Richard; for Geoffrey.

Benedict, i. 78.

The king of Scots and the earls not included in this peace.

Other prisoners to be released.

Castles to be put in statu quo ante bellum.

Provision to be made for John.

Benedict, i. 79.

A.D. 1174. Sept. 30.

Conditions of pardon.

"amore filii sui, quod omnes illi qui recesserunt ab eo post "filium suum, et in recessu suo forisfecerunt in terra domini regis, ad pacem ejus revertantur: ita quod de catallis "quæ asportaverunt in recessu suo non respondeant; de morte "vero vel proditione vel perditione alicujus membri respondeant secundum judicium et consuetudinem terræ. Qui "autem ante werram quacunque de causa aufugerunt, et ad "servitium filii sui venerunt, pro amore filii sui ad pacem "revertantur, si vagium et plegium dederint standi judicio "de his quæ ante werram forisfecerunt. Illi autem qui in "placito erant quando recesserunt ad filium suum, ad pacem "revertantur, ita quod in eo statu placiti sui sint, in quo "erant quando recesserunt. Hanc conventionem tenendam firmiter ex parte sua assecuravit Henricus rex filius domini regis "in manu domini regis patris sui. Præterea assecuraverunt "Henricus rex filius domini regis et fratres sui quod a domino "rege patre suo nunquam amplius exigent ultra donationem "præscriptam et determinatam contra voluntatem et beneplacitum domini regis patris sui, et quod neque se neque servitia "sua patri suo subtraherent. Ricardus vero et Gaufridus filii "regis devenerunt homines ejus de iis, quæ eis concessit et "dedit. Cum autem filius ejus Henricus hominium ei facere "voluisset, noluit dominus rex recipere, quia rex erat, sed "securitatem accepit ab eo."

The sons promise to make no further demands.

Henry receives the homage of Richard and Geoffrey, but not of his eldest son.

Benedict, i. 80.

Mutilation of Uhtred of Galloway.

Eodem anno orta dissensione[1] inter Ucthredum et Gillebertum, filios Fergus, duces Galwalensium, Malcolmus filius Gilleberti proditiose cepit ipsum Ucthredum, et fecit eum interfici, abscisis testiculis, et oculis evulsis.

Consecration of bishops, at Canterbury.

Eodem anno Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus consecravit in Anglia, apud Cantuariam, Ricardum episcopum Wintoniæ, et Robertum Foliot episcopum Herefordiæ, et Gaufridum Ridel episcopum Eliensem, et Johannem episcopum Cicestrensem.

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[1] It was in consequence of this quarrel that Roger of Hoveden was sent by the king from France on an embassy with Robert de Vaux to Gilbert and Uhtred. On arriving in Galloway, they received from Gilbert a proposal to submit to Henry on the understanding of being freed from subjection to Scotland. The ambassadors were unable to accept this without reference to Henry, who, on hearing of the cruel death of his cousin Uhtred, refused to listen to it. Bened., i. 80. Perhaps the unsuccessful result of the negotiation prevented Hoveden from mentioning it; but it is curious that on the only other event of his life recorded by Benedict he is likewise silent.

A.D. 1174. Canterbury burnt. Bishop of Norwich dies.

Eodem anno combusta est fere tota civitas Cantuariæ cum ecclesia Sanctæ Trinitatis metropolitana. Benedict, i. 81.

Eodem anno obiit Willelmus Turbe, episcopus Norewicensis.

De concordia facta inter Rogerum Eboracensem archiepiscopum et Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum.

Agreement between the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham, in reference to the rights of Hexham; (Not in Benedict.)

" Eodem anno pax et finalis concordia facta est inter Rogerum Eboracensem archiepiscopum et Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum in hac forma. Capella et cœmiterium de Alvertun in manu prioris Haugustaldensis erunt, ita quod archiepiscopus non coget aliquem ibi sepeliri, nec episcopus prohibebit. Ecclesia Haugustaldensis chrisma et oleum recipiet a Dunelmensi ecclesia sicut solet. Prior quoque Haugustaldensis veniet ad synodum Dunelmensem. Clerici et canonici Haugustaldenses ab episcopo Dunelmensi ordinem recipient. Parochiani Haugustaldenses, in Pentecosten, visitabunt, si voluerint, ecclesiam de Dunelmo sine coactione episcopi vel suorum, et sine prohibitione archiepiscopi vel suorum. Quod si sui contra facere præsumpserint, ipsi domini corrigent. Prior Haugustaldensis omnia placita ecclesiastica illius parochiæ placitabit, sine pœna pecuniaria, et pœnitentias dabit. Decedente vero priore Ricardo,[1] qui nunc est, eandem auctoritatem habebit episcopus Dunelmensis in alterius prioris constitutione, quam idem prior Ricardus, et prior de Giseburne, et Petrus frater prioris de Bridlingtun, juraverunt ecclesiam Dunelmensem habuisse in constitutione ejusdem prioris Ricardi, si quam habuisse eam juraverint. De ecclesiis beati Cuthberti, quorum nomina hæc sunt in archidiaconatu de Clivelande: ecclesia de Hemmingburc, ecclesia de Schipewid, ecclesia de Halevertun, ecclesia de Brettebi, ecclesia de Osmunderleic,

and the churches in Yorkshire belonging to Durham.

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[1] *Ricardo*] Richard, prior of the canons of Hexham, the historian, is supposed by Mr. Raine to have died before 1167, on the evidence of a passage in Ailred of Rievaulx, where it is said of him that " cum " esset in sæculo ob insigne castita- " tis et sobrietatis fere monachus pu- " taretur." I think that the passage does not imply his death, but refers to the fact that even before he became a regular canon, whilst he was still a secular or even a layman, he was thought almost a monk. It seems clear from the text that he was still prior in 1174. *See* Raine's *Priory of Hexham*, I. cxliv. 193. I have searched in vain for the original document described in the text.

(Not in Benedict.) " ecclesia de Sigestun, ecclesia de Lec, ecclesia de Otering- A.D. 1174.
" tun, ecclesia de Craik, ecclesia de Holtebi: et in archidia- " conatu Eboraci, ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum in Usegate, et " ecclesia Sancti Petri quæ dicitur parva, et dimidium ecclesiæ " Sanctæ Trinitatis in Guderumgate: et in archidiaconatu the- " saurarii, ecclesia de Hoveden, ecclesia de Welletun, ecclesia " de Brentingham, ecclesia de Walkintun:—non exiget archi- " episcopus denarios synodales. Si vero clerici earundem " ecclesiarum, vel laici de dominicis maneriis beati Cuthberti " in Eboraci syria, aliquid dignum ecclesiastica correctione " perpetraverint, per archiepiscopum emendabitur, tali facta " prius summonitione, quod episcopus interesse poterit vel " ejus minister. Hæc supradicta firmaverunt archiepiscopus " et episcopus, fide invicem interposita, se servaturos sine " dolo et fraude quamdiu ipsi duo vixerint, sine præjudicio " utriusque ecclesiæ post alterius decessum. Præterea promisit " archiepiscopus episcopo, sub eadem fidei interpositione, quod " ipsum vel ecclesiam suam vel aliquem de episcopatu suo in " nullo gravabit, nisi causa prius palam cognita judiciario " ordine."

Howden and other churches not to pay synodals to the archbishop.

Regulations for trial of clerks in these districts.

Vicesimus primus annus regni regis Henrici. A.D. 1175.

Benedict, i. 81. Anno gratiæ M°C°LXX°V°., qui est annus vicesimus primus regni regis Henrici, filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex fuit in Normannia apud Argentomium in festo Natalis Domini. Et in Purificatione Sanctæ Mariæ ipse et rex filius ejus fuerunt apud Cenomannum, et inde redierunt in Normannia, et habuerunt colloquium[1] apud Gisortium cum Lodowico rege Francorum. Et cum[2] venissent in Normannia apud Burum, rex filius, ut omnem ambiguitatem ab animo patris sui tolleret, devenit homo suus ligius, et juravit ei fidelitatem contra omnes homines, coram Rotrodo Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, et Henrico Bajocensi episcopo, et Willelmo comite de Mandevilla, et Ricardo de Humez constabulario, et aliis multis de familia utriusque regis.

Henry keeps Christmas (Dec. 25, 1174) at Argentan: Feb. 2 he is at Le Mans.

Benedict, i. 82.

(April 1.) The younger Henry swears fealty to his father at Bur.

In solemnitate Paschali fuerunt ambo reges apud Cæsarisburgum; et post Pascha venerunt Cadomum

Easter (April 13) at Cherbourg.

[1] *colloquium*] On the feast of St. Matthias, Feb. 24th. Bened.

[2] *cum*] inde, ins. Savile. April 1, R. de Dic., 585.

A.D. 1175. Visit of count Philip of Flanders, who has taken the cross. (April 22.)

obviam Philippo comiti Flandriæ, qui paulo ante[1] crucem Jerosolimitanæ peregrinationis receperat. Adversus quem rex pater effecit, quod ipse quietum clamavit regem filium ab omni conventione quam cum eo fecerat tempore hostilitatis. Et comes Flandriæ tradidit in manu regis patris cartam regis filii, quam habuit de supradicta conventione. Et ipsi confirmaverunt prædicto comiti redditum quem ipse annuatim percipere solebat in Anglia ante werram. Benedict, i. 83.

Richard sent into Poictou, Geoffrey into Brittany.

The two Henries return to England, May 9.

Rex vero pater misit Ricardum filium suum in Pictaviam, et Gaufridum filium suum in Britanniam: præcipiens quod castella, quæ firmata vel infortiata fuerant tempore guerræ, redigerentur in eum statum quo fuerunt quindecim diebus ante guerram. Deinde rex pater et rex filius transfretaverunt, et applicuerunt in Anglia apud Portesmue, septimo idus Maii, feria sexta. Benedict, i. 82, 83.]

Concilium Ricardi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Lundoniis celebratum.

May 18. Council of Westminster.

Et venientes Lundonias invenerunt Ricardum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum apud Westmonasterium celebraturum concilium, die Dominica ante Ascensionem Domini. Ad quod concilium venerunt fere omnes episcopi et abbates Cantuariensis diocesis. Et coram prænominatis[2] regibus, et episcopis, et abbatibus, Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, in eminentiori loco constitutus, hæc decreta subscripta promulgavit. Benedict, i. 84.

Speech of archbishop Richard.

" Ideo in ecclesia Dei secundum antiquam patrum consue-" tudinem concilia congregantur, ut ii qui constituti sunt in " eminentiori cura pastorali, vitam subditorum de communi " consilio regularibus institutis informent, et enormitates, " quæ pullulant incessanter, consultiore censura compescant. " Nos itaque potius inhærentes orthodoxorum patrum regulis, " quam aliquid de novo statuentes, quædam certa capitula " dignum duximus in medium promulganda; quæ universis

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[1] *paulo ante*] On Good Friday, April 11th. Bened.

[2] *coram prænominatis*] The words seem to be taken inadvertently from the older Chronicler, who had named the bishops and abbots present.

Benedict, i. 85. "provincialibus nostris firmiter et inviolabiliter observanda "injungimus. Omnes enim sacrorum censemus canonum "transgressores, qui statutis hujus sacrosanctæ synodi præ-"sumpserint contraire. A.D. 1175. May 18. Decrees of the Council.

Ex decretali epistola Alexandri papæ tertii ad Rogerum Wigornensem episcopum.

Gilb. Foliot, ep. ccclxviii. "Si quis sacerdos vel clericus, in sacris ordinibus consti-"tutus, ecclesiam vel ecclesiasticum beneficium habens, pub-"lice fornicariam habeat, et semel, secundo et tertio com-"monitus fornicariam suam non dimiserit, et a se prorsus "non expulerit, sed potius in immunditia sua duxerit persis-"tendum, omni officio et beneficio ecclesiastico spolietur. "Si qui vero infra subdiaconatum constituti matrimonia con-"traxerint, ab uxoribus suis, nisi de communi consensu ad "religionem transire voluerint, et ibi in Dei servitio jugiter "permanere, nullatenus separentur; sed cum uxoribus viventes "ecclesiastica beneficia nullo modo percipiant. Qui autem "in subdiaconatu vel supra ad matrimonia convolaverint, "mulieres etiam invitas et renitentes relinquant. Against fornication and clerical marriages.

"Decrevimus etiam ejusdem epistolæ auctoritate, ne filii "sacerdotum in paternis ecclesiis a modo personæ instituan-"tur, nec eas qualibet occasione, media non intercedente "persona, obtineant.

*Ex concilio Carthaginensi III*tio*.*

Conc. Carthag. III. (A.D. 397), canon 27. "Clerici in sacris ordinibus constituti, edendi vel bibendi "causa tabernas non ingrediantur, nec publicis potationibus "intersint, nisi peregrinationis necessitate compulsi. Si quis "vero tale quid fecerit, aut cesset aut deponatur. Against priests haunting taverns.

*Ex concilio Toletano III*tio*.*

Conc. Tolet. xi., A.D. 675, c. 6. "Iis qui in sacris ordinibus constituti sunt judicium san-"guinis agitare non licet. Unde prohibemus ne aut per se "membrorum truncationes faciant, aut inferendas judicent. "Quod si quis tale fecerit, concessi ordinis privetur officio et "loco. Inhibemus etiam sub interminatione anathematis, ne "quis sacerdos habeat vicecomitatum, aut præpositi sæcularis "officium. Clergy not to meddle with causes perilling life or limb.

A.D. 1175. May 18.

Ex concilio Agathensi.

Benedict, i. 86.

Clergy to be well shorn and dressed.

Conc. Agath (A.D 506), canon 20.

" Clerici qui comam nutriunt, ab archidiacono etiam inviti " tondeantur. Vestimentis etiam vel calceamentis, nisi quæ " honestatem et religionem deceant, eos uti non liceat. Si " quis autem contra hoc facere præsumpserit, et commonitus " emendare noluerit, excommunicationi subjaceat.

Ex diversis decretis Urbani, Innocentii, et conciliis Chalcedonensis et Carthaginensis.

Cf. I. Decr., dist. lxxi.

Irregular ordinations by strange bishops to be treated as invalid.

" Quia quidam clerici, desperantes ab episcopis suis ordinari, " vel propter imperitiam, vel vitæ incontinentiam, vel nativi- " tatis conditionem, aut tituli defectum, aut ætatem minorem, " extra provinciam suam, interdum etiam a transmarinis epi- " scopis ordinantur, vel ordinatos se mentiuntur, ignota sigilla " episcopis suis deferentes; statuimus talium ordinationem " irritam esse habendam; sub interminatione anathematis in- " hibentes, ne a quoquam ad officii sui executionem suscipi- " antur. Episcopum quoque nostræ jurisdictionis, qui talem " sciens et prudens ordinaverit vel susceperit, ab illius ordinis " collatione, ad quem eum ordinavit vel suscepit, usque ad " condignam satisfactionem se noverit esse suspensum.

Secular causes not to be tried in churches or church-yards.

Cf. Decr. Greg. IX., lib. iii. tit. xlix. c. 5.

" Item, cum ecclesia Dei, secundum evangelicam veritatem, " domus orationis esse debeat, et non spelunca latronum et " sanguinis forum; sæculares causas, in quibus de sanguinis " effusione vel de pœna corporali agitur, in ecclesiis vel in " cœmeteriis agitari, sub interminatione anathematis prohibe- " mus. Absurdum enim est et crudele ibi sanguinis judicium " exerceri, ubi et reis constituta est tutela refugii.

Ex concilio Triburiensi.

Against selling holy ordinances.

II. Decr., caus. i. qu. i. c. 105.

" Dictum est, solere in quibusdam locis pro perceptione " chrismatis nummos dari: similiter pro baptismo et commu- " nione. Hæc Simoniacæ hæresis esse detestata est sancta " synodus, et anathematizavit. Statuimus ergo, ut de cætero " nec pro ordinatione, nec pro chrismate, nec pro baptismo, " nec pro extrema unctione, nec pro sepultura, nec pro com- " munione, nec pro dedicatione quicquam exigatur, sed gratis " dona Christi gratuita dispensatione donentur. Si quis contra " hoc facere præsumpserit, anathema sit.

Benedict, i. 87.

Ex decreto Urbani papæ.

A.D. 1175. May 18.

II. Decr. caus. i. qu. ii. c. 3.

" Nullus prælatus, in recipiendo monacho, vel canonico, vel " sanctimoniali pretium sumere, vel exigere ab iis qui ad " conversationem veniunt, aliqua pacti occasione præsumat. " Si quis autem hoc fecerit, anathema sit.

Monks not to be received for payment.

Decretum novum.

" Nulli liceat ecclesiam nomine dotalicii ad aliquem trans- " ferre, vel pro præsentatione alicujus personæ pecuniam vel " aliquod emolumentum, pacto interveniente, accipere. Quod " si quis fecerit, et inde in jure vel confessus vel convictus " fuerit, ipsum, tam regia quam nostra freti auctoritate, pa- " trocinio ejusdem ecclesiæ in perpetuum privari statuimus.

Money not to be taken for presentations.

Ex decretis diversorum patrum.

Cf. I. Decr., dist. lxxxviii.

" Secundum instituta patrum nostrorum sub interminatione " anathematis prohibemus, ne monachi vel clerici causa lucri " negotientur, et ne monachi a clericis vel laicis firmas tene- " ant, neque laici ecclesiastica beneficia ad firmas suscipiant.

Clergy not to trade or farm.

Ex concilio Meldensi.

Conc. Meld., A.D. 845, c. xxxvii.

" Quicunque ex clero videntur esse, arma non sumant, nec " armati incedant, sed professionis suæ vocabulum religiosis " moribus ex religioso habitu præbeant. Quod si contempse- " rint, tanquam sacrorum canonum contemptores, et ecclesias- " ticæ auctoritatis profanatores, proprii gradus amissione " mulctentur, quia non possunt simul Deo et sæculo militare.

Clergy not to wear arms.

Ex decreto Alexandri papæ III. episcopo Nortwicensi misso.

Cf. Decr. Greg. IX., lib. v. t. xxi. c. 6.

" Illud etiam de vicariis, qui personis fide et sacramento " obligati sunt, duximus statuendum, quod si fide vel sacra- " menti religione contempta personatum sibi falso assumentes " contra personas se erexerint, super hoc in jure vel confessi " vel convicti fuerint, de cætero in eodem episcopatu ad officii " sui executionem non admittantur.

Vicars not to set themselves up against the parsons.

A.D. 1175. May 18.

Ex concilio Rothomagensi.

Benedict, i. 88.

Tithes to be paid under pain of anathema.

"Omnes decimæ terræ, sive de frugibus, sive de fructibus " arborum, sive de aliis fructibus, Domini sunt, et Illi sanctifi- " cantur. Sed quia multi modo inveniuntur decimas dare nolen- " tes, statuimus ut juxta domini papæ præcepta admoneantur " semel, secundo et tertio, ut de grano, de vino, de fructibus " arborum, de fœtibus animalium, de lana, de agnis, de butyro " et caseo, de lino et canabe, et de reliquis quæ annuatim " renovantur, decimas integre persolvant; quod si commoniti " non emendaverint, anathemati se noverint subjacere.

II. Decr. caus. xvi. qu. vii. c. 5.

Item.

Chicanery and rash litigation to be restrained by condemning in costs.

"Calumniam et audaciam temere litigantium condemnando " in expensas, et alio multiplici remedio, imperialis sanctio " compescat. Quoniam igitur hoc sacris institutis consonare " dinoscitur, præcipimus ut de cætero in causis pecuniariis, " quæ inter clericos agitabuntur, victus victori condemnetur " in expensis. Qui autem solvendo non fuerit, eum in arbitrio " episcopi sui puniendum relinquo.

Cf. Conc. Later (A.D. 1179) app. pt. i.

Ex decreto Pelagii papæ.

The number of proper prefaces in the Ordinary of the Mass restricted.

"Invenimus tantum decem præfationes in sacro catalogo re- " cipiendas: unam in Albis Paschalibus, 'Et Te quidem omne " 'tempore.' Secundam in die Ascensionis, 'Qui post resur- " 'rectionem.' Tertiam in Pentecosten, 'Qui ascendens super " 'omnes cœlos.' Quartam de Natali Domini, 'Quia per Incar- " 'nati Verbi mysterium.' Quintam de apparitione Domini, " 'Quia cum Unigenitus Tuus.' Sextam de apostolis, 'Et Te, " 'Domine, suppliciter exorare.' Septimam de Sancta Trinitate, " 'Qui cum Unigenito Tuo.' Octavam de Cruce, 'Qui salutem " 'humani generis.' Nonam de jejunio Quadragesimali tan- " tummodo dicendam, 'Qui corporali jejunio.' Decimam de " beata Virgine. 'Et Te in veneratione beatæ Mariæ.' Hujus " igitur decreti et domini papæ Alexandri auctoritate districte " præcipimus, ne quis præfatis præfationibus aliquam omnino " præsumat adjicere.

III. Decr., dist. i. c. 71.

Benedict, i. 89.

Ex decreto Julii papæ.

The consecrated bread not to

"Inhibemus ne quis quasi pro complemento communionis " intinctam alicui Eucharistiam tradat. Nam intinctum panem

III. Decr., dist. ii. c. .

Benedict, i. 89.

"aliis Christum præbuisse non legimus, excepto illo tantum "discipulo quem intincta buccella Magistri proditorem ostenderit, non quæ sacramenti hujus institutionem signaret.

A.D. 1175. May 18. be dipped in the wine.

Ex concilio Remensi.

Cf. III. Decr., dist. i. c. 45.

"Præcipimus ne consecretur Eucharistia, nisi in calice "aureo vel argenteo, et ne stagneum calicem aliquis episcopus "a modo benedicat, interdicimus.

Tin chalices forbidden.

Ex decreto Ormisdæ papæ.

II. Decr., caus. xxx. qu. v. c. 2.

"Nullus fidelis cujuscunque conditionis sit occulte nuptias "faciat, sed benedictione accepta a sacerdote publice nubat in "Domino. Si quis ergo sacerdos aliquos occulte conjunxisse "inventus fuerit, triennio ab officio suspendatur.

Secret marriages forbidden.

Ex decreto Nicolai papæ.

II. Decr., caus. xxx. qu. ii. c. 1.

"Ubi non est consensus utriusque non est conjugium. Ergo "qui pueris dant puellas in cunabulis nihil faciunt, nisi uter- "que puerorum postquam venerint ad tempus discretionis "consentiat. Hujus ergo decreti auctoritate inhibemus, ne de "cætero aliqui, quorum uterque vel alter ad ætatem legibus "constitutam et canonibus determinatam non pervenit, con- "jungantur: nisi forte aliquando, urgente necessitate interve- 'niente, pro bono pacis conjunctio talis toleretur."

Children not to be married, except for the sake of peace.

In hoc autem concilio clerici Rogeri Eboracensis archiepiscopi calumniati fuerunt jus Eboracensis ecclesiæ de cruce portanda in diocesi Cantuariensis ecclesiæ. Præterea calumniati sunt ibidem ex parte Eboracensis archiepiscopi, episcopatum Lincolniensem, et episcopatum Cestrensem, et episcopatum Wigornensem, et episcopatum Herefordensem de jure pertinere debere ad metropolitanam Eboracensium ecclesiam. Et super hoc prædictum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum appellaverunt ad Romani pontificis præsentiam. Præterea appellaverunt ipsum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum ad Romanum pontificem super injuria et anathematis sententia, quam intulit clericis Eboracensis archiepiscopi, qui per eum ministraverunt in ecclesia Sancti Oswaldi de Gloucestria, pro eo quod ad illum venire nolebant ad ipsius summonitionem, sicut clerici diocesis suæ fecerunt. In ipso autem concilio clerici ecclesiæ Sancti Asaf petierunt a Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, ut in vi obedientiæ

Disputes between York and Canterbury, about the cross, the suffragan sees, and the church of S. Oswald, Gloucester.

Benedict, i. 90.

A.D. 1175. May 18. Godfrey, bishop of S. Asaph, is ordered to reside or resign.

præciperet Godefrido,[1] episcopo ecclesiæ Sancti Asaf, ad sedem ecclesiæ suæ redire, cui præfuit pontificali potentia; vel ut prædictus archiepiscopus alium episcopum loco ipsius Godefridi institueret. Ipse enim Godefridus episcopatum suum deseruit, paupertate et Valensium infestatione compulsus, veniensque in Angliam a Christianissimo rege Henrico benigne et honorifice susceptus est: et tradidit ei rex abbatiam Abbendoniæ vacantem in custodia, donec ad sedem propriam liberum haberet regressum. Itaque præfatus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in ipso concilio ad instantiam prænominatorum clericorum, et admonitione Alexandri summi pontificis, necnon et consilio venerabilium coepiscoporum suorum, convenit jam dictum Godefridum, ut in vi obedientiæ ad sedem propriam rediret, vel curam pastoralem, quæ sibi fuerat commissa, in manu ipsius libere et absolute resignaret. Ipse vero Godefridus, sperans quod abbatia de Abbendonia, quæ tradita fuerat ei in custodia, posset sibi remanere, episcopatum suum nullo cogente resignavit in manu Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, libere et absolute tradens illi annulum et baculum pastoralem. Et sic deceptus amisit utrumque. Nam rex dedit episcopatum Sancti Asaf magistro Adæ Walensi,[2] et abbatiam de Abbendune cuidam monacho.[3]

Benedict, i. 90.

He resigns.

Benedict, i. 91.

Bristol castle surrendered to Henry.

Robertus[4] comes Gloucestriæ eo tempore reddidit regi Angliæ turrim de Bristoue, quam nunquam antea rex habere potuit.

Benedict, i. 92.

Council at Woodstock, July 1.

Eodem anno, in octavis Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, venerunt ambo reges usque Wodestoke, et occurrerunt eis illuc[5] Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Ricardus Wintoniensis episcopus, et Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus, et Jocelinus Saresberiensis episcopus, et Rogerus Wigornensis episcopus, et Gaufridus Eliensis episcopus, et Johannes Cicestrensis, et Walterus Rofensis episcopus, et Bartholomæus epi-

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[1] Godfrey, consecrated to S. Asaph about 1160. Gervase, 1665. He acted as abbot of Abingdon for nine years and a half. Hist. Abend., ii. 234.

[2] *Ada Walensi*] Adam, canon of Paris, bishop of S. Asaph, 1175—1181.

[3] *cuidam monacho*] Roger, prior of Bermondsey. Hist. Abend., ii. 293.

[4] *Robertus*] Really William, son of the great earl Robert.

[5] To summon to this council the monks of the vacant abbeys and of the cathedral monastery of Norwich, Roger of Hoveden was sent on the part of the king, with Robert of Hinglisham on the part of the archbishop. Here then Hoveden omits all mention of himself, as above, p. 69.

Benedict, i. 93. scopus Exoniensis, et Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, qui illuc venerat pro negotio suo. Venerunt etiam illuc omnes abbates Cantuariensis diocesis, et magnum celebraverunt concilium de pastore eligendo ad sedem pontificalem Norewicensis ecclesiæ: et de pastoribus eligendis ad abbatias, quæ tunc vacabant per Angliam: videlicet abbatia de Grimesbi, abbatia de Cruilande, abbatia de Thornai, abbatia de Holmo, abbatia de Westmuster, abbatia Sancti Augustini Cantuariæ, abbatia de Bello, abbatia de Hida Wintoniæ, abbatia de Abbendune, abbatia de Abbotesbiri, abbatia de Michennia. Johannes vero de Oxeneforde, clericus regis, electus est ad episcopatum Norewicensis ecclesiæ, et consecratus a Ricardo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. Prædictæ autem abbatiæ distributæ sunt viris religiosis, sicut domino regi et prædicto archiepiscopo placuit.[1]

A.D. 1175. July 1. Elections of abbots and of a bishop of Norwich.

Benedict, i. 92.

John of Oxford chosen and consecrated.

Benedict, i. 93. Eodem anno dominus papa Alexander confirmavit electionem Gaufridi Lincolniensis episcopi.

Geoffrey's election to Lincoln confirmed.

Benedict, i. 92. Eodem anno rex pater implacitavit omnes clericos et laicos regni sui, qui tempore hostilitatis forisfecerant illi de forestis suis et captione venationis; et omnes redemit, licet Ricardus de Luci warantizaret hoc totum factum fuisse per ipsum et per præceptum regis de ultra mare.

Forest prosecutions.

Benedict, i. 94.

Benedict, i. 95. Deinde ambo reges perrexerunt Eboracum, ubi occurrerunt eis Willelmus rex Scottorum, et David frater ejus, fere cum universis episcopis et abbatibus et aliis magnatibus terrarum suarum. Et ibi renovata est pax et finalis concordia, quam prædictus rex Scotiæ fecerat cum domino suo rege Angliæ patre apud Falesiam, dum esset in captione ejus, et coram rege filio, et Rogero Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo, et comitibus et baronibus Angliæ: et coram episcopis et abbatibus, comitibus et baronibus de regno Scotiæ, in ecclesia Sancti Petri Eboraci, lecta est et concessa in hunc modum.

The kings meet William of Scotland at York, and confirm the treaty of Falaise.

[1] The abbots elected on this occasion were :— Crowland, Robert of Reading, 1175—1190; Thorney, Solomon, prior of Ely, 1175—1193; Holm, Thomas, 1175—1186; Westminster, Walter, prior of Winchester, 1175—1191; S. Augustine's, Roger of Lurdingdene, 1175—1202; Battle, Odo, prior of Canterbury, 1175—1200; Hyde, Thomas, prior of Montacute, 1175—1180; Abingdon, Roger, prior of Bermondsey, 1175—1184. The names of the other three I have not been able to find.

A.D. 1175. August.

Hæc est conventio et finis quem Willelmus rex Scotiæ fecit cum domino suo rege Henrico, filio Matildis imperatricis. Benedict, i. 96.

Convention of Falaise between the kings of England and Scotland, arranging the homages, confirmed at York.

"Willelmus rex Scotiæ devenit homo ligius domini regis "contra omnem hominem, de Scotia et de omnibus aliis terris "suis; et fidelitatem ei fecit ut ligio domino suo, sicut alii "homines sui ipsi facere solent. Similiter fecit homagium "Henrico regi filio suo, salva fide domini regis patris sui. "Omnes vero episcopi, et abbates et clerus terræ regis Scotiæ, "et successores sui, facient domino regi sicut ligio domino "fidelitatem, de quibus habere voluerit, sicut alii episcopi "sui ipsi facere solent, et Henrico regi filio suo et hæredibus "eorum. Concessit autem rex Scotiæ, et David frater suus, "et barones et alii homines sui, domino regi, quod ecclesia "Scotiæ talem subjectionem a modo faciet ecclesiæ Angliæ, "qualem illi facere debet, et solebat tempore regum Angliæ "prædecessorum suorum. Similiter Ricardus episcopus Sancti "Andreæ [1] et Ricardus episcopus de Dunkelden,[2] et Gaufridus "abbas de Dunfermelin,[3] et Herebertus prior de Colding- "ham,[4] concesserunt quod etiam ecclesia Anglicana illud "jus habeat in ecclesia Scotiæ quod de jure habere debet, "et quod ipsi non erunt contra jus ecclesiæ Angliæ. Et (Benedict, i. 97.) "de sicut ligiam fidelitatem domino regi et Henrico filio "suo fecerunt, eos inde assecuraverunt; hoc idem facient "alii episcopi et clerus Scotiæ per conventionem inde "inter dominum regem et regem Scotiæ, et David fratrem "suum, et barones suos factam. Comites etiam et barones et "alii homines de terra regis Scotiæ, de quibus dominus rex "habere voluerit, facient ei homagium contra omnem hominem, "et fidelitatem ut ligio domino suo, sicut alii homines sui "facere ei solent, et Henrico regi filio suo et hæredibus suis "salva fide domini regis patris sui. Similiter hæredes regis "Scotiæ et baronum et hominum suorum homagium et ligan- "tiam facient hæredibus domini regis contra omnem hominem. "Præterea rex Scotiæ et homines sui nullum a modo fugiti- "vum de terra domini regis pro felonia receptabunt in Scotia "vel in alia terra sua, nisi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia "domini regis, et stare judicio curiæ. Sed rex Scotiæ et "homines sui quam citius poterunt eum capient, et domino

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[1] *Sancti Andreæ*] 1165–1178.

[2] *Dunkelden*] 1170–1178.

[3] *Dunfermelin*] d. 1178.

[4] *Coldingham*] From 1151.

Benedict, i. 97.

A.D. 1175. August. Convention of Falaise confirmed at York.

" regi reddent, vel justitiariis aut baillivis suis in Anglia. Si
" autem de terra regis Scotiæ aliquis fugitivus fuerit pro
" felonia in Anglia, nisi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia
" regis Scotiæ, vel in curia domini regis, et stare judicio
" curiæ, non receptabitur in terra domini regis, sed liberabitur
" hominibus regis Scotiæ per ballivos domini regis, ubi inven-
" tus fuerit. Præterea homines domini regis habebunt terras
" suas, quas habebant et habere debent, de domino rege, et de
" rege Scotiæ et de hominibus suis. Et homines regis Scotiæ
" habebunt terras suas, quas habebant et habere debent, de do-
" mino rege[1] et de hominibus suis. Pro ista vero conventione
" et fine firmiter observando domino regi, et Henrico filio suo
" et hæredibus suis, a rege Scotiæ et hæredibus suis, liberavit
" rex Scotiæ domino regi castellum de Rokesburg, et castellum
" de Berewic, et castellum de Geddewrde, et castellum Puella-
" rum, et castellum de Striveline in misericordia domini regis.
" Et ad custodienda castella illa assignabit rex Scotiæ de
" redditu suo mensurabiliter ad voluntatem domini regis. Præ-
" terea pro prædicta conventione et fine exsequendo, liberavit
" rex Scotiæ domino regi David fratrem suum in obsidem,
" et comitem Dunecan, et comitem Waldevum et comitem
" Gillebertum, et comitem de Anegus, et Ricardum de More-
" vile constabularium, et Nes filium Willelmi, et Ricardum
" Cumin, et Walterum Corbet, et Walterum Olifard, et Johan-
" nem de Vals, et Willelmum de Lindescie, et Philippum de
" Colevile, et Philippum de Valuines, et Robertum Frembert, et
" Robertum de Burnevile, et Hugonem Giffard, et Hugonem
" Ridel, et Walterum de Berkelai, et Willelmum de la Haie, et
" Willelmum de Mortemer. Quando vero castella reddita fuerint,
" Willelmus rex Scotiæ et David frater suus liberabuntur. Co-
" mites quidem et barones prænominati, unusquisque postquam
" liberaverit obsidem suum, scilicet filium legitimum, qui ha-
" buerit, et alii nepotes suos, vel propinquiores sibi hæredes, et
" castellis, ut dictum est, redditis liberabuntur. Præterea rex
" Scotiæ et barones sui prænominati assecuraverunt, quod ipsi
" bona fide, et sine malo ingenio, et sine occasione facient,
" quod episcopi et barones et homines terræ suæ, qui non affue-
" runt quando rex Scotiæ cum domino rege finivit, eandem ligan-
" tiam et fidelitatem domino regi facient et Henrico filio suo,
" quam ipsi fecerunt, et quod barones et homines qui affuerunt,
" obsides liberabunt domino regi, de quibus habere voluerit.

The king of Scots surrenders Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling.

Benedict, i. 98.

Hostages of the king of Scots.

The king to be released on the surrender of the castles.

The bishops and absent barons are to take the same oath of allegiance.

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[1] *de domino rege*] Here MS. C. begins again after a lacuna of several folios.

A.D. 1175. August. The bishops and barons are to keep the king of Scots to his word.

"Præterea episcopi, comites et barones conventionaverunt domino regi et Henrico filio suo, quod si rex Scotiæ aliquo casu a fidelitate domini regis et filii sui et a conventione prædicta recederet, ipsi cum domino rege tenebunt, sicut cum ligio domino suo, contra regem Scotiæ et contra omnes homines domino regi inimicantes. Et episcopi sub interdicto ponent terram regis Scotiæ, donec ipse ad fidelitatem domini regis redeat. Prædictam itaque conventionem firmiter observandam, bona fide et sine malo ingenio, domino regi et Henrico filio suo et hæredibus suis, a Willelmo rege Scotiæ, et David fratre suo, et a baronibus suis prædictis, et ab hæredibus eorum, assecuravit ipse rex Scotiæ, et David frater ejus, et omnes barones sui prænominati, desicut ligii homines domini regis, contra omnem hominem, et Henrici filii sui, salva fidelitate domini patris sui. Testibus his, Ricardo episcopo Abrincensi, et Johanne Saresberiæ decano, et Roberto abbate Malmesbiriæ, et Radulfo abbate de Mundeburg, et Herberto archidiacono Northamtoniæ, et Waltero de Constantiis, et Rogero capellano regis,[1] et Osberto clerico de camera, et Ricardo filio domini regis comite Pictaviæ, et Gaufrido filio domini regis comite Britanniæ, et comite Willelmo de Exexa, et Hugone comite Cestriæ, et Ricardo de Humezt constabulario, et comite de Mellent, et Jordano Thesun, et Umfrido de Boum, et Willelmo de Curci senescallo, et Gileberto Malet senescallo, apud Falesiam." Benedict, i. 98. Benedict, i. 99.

Fealty sworn by the Scottish barons.

His itaque recitatis in ecclesia Sancti Petri Eboraci coram prædictis regibus Angliæ, et coram rege Scotiæ et David fratre suo, et universo populo, episcopi, et comites et barones, et milites de terra regis Scotiæ juraverunt domino regi Angliæ, et Henrico filio suo, et hæredibus eorum, fidelitatem contra omnem hominem sicut ligiis dominis suis. Benedict, i. 95, 96.

De captione et interfectione Walteri de Fontanis.

Story of Walter des Fontaines.

Interim Philippus comes Flandriæ cepit Walterum de Fontanis, militem siquidem nobili prosapia ortum, et in armis militaribus præ universis consortibus suis con- Benedict, i. 99.

[1] R. de Diceto (c. 584) gives December 8, 1174, as the date of this treaty. Roger Hoveden could not then have returned from Galloway. The names of the witnesses are retrenched in C.

[2] *Angliæ . . . suo*] et David fratre regis Scotiæ, C.

Benedict, i. 100. spicuum, imponens ei quod illicite cognoverat comitissam Flandriæ. Prædictus autem Walterus tendens in inficias obtulit purgare innocentiam suam modo quolibet; affirmans quod ipse comitissam illam nunquam cognoverat, nec unquam in mente habuit, ut eam cognosceret. Comes vero purgationem aliquam ab eo recipere noluit, sed in furore iræ suæ præcepit ut ipse fustibus cæsus interficeretur. Ceperunt ergo eum carnifices, et ligatis pedibus et manibus, cum fustibus ceciderunt eum, et semivivum suspenderunt illum per pedes, inclinato capite deorsum, in quadam vili cloaca, et sic cloacali fœtore extinctus miserrime vitam finivit. Tunc Aelisinus[1] et cæteri filii prædicti Walteri de Fontanis, et Jakes de Avennis, et cæteri parentes illorum, munitis castellis suis, insurrexerunt in comitem, et terras suas igne et gladio devastaverunt. Et sic demum coegerunt illum satisfacere illis de morte prædicti Walteri de Fontanis.

A.D. 1175. The charge against him and his punishment.

Benedict, i. 101.

Rebellion in Flanders.

Eodem anno Ricardus comes Pictaviæ, filius Henrici regis Angliæ, obsedit Castellonium supra Agiens, quod Arnoldus de Boivile contra eum munierat, nec reddere voluit. Et paratis ibi machinis suis bellicis, infra duos menses cepit, et triginta milites in eo, et in manu sua retinuit.

Richard takes Castillon on the Dordogne.

Eodem anno Henricus rex pater magnum congregavit concilium apud Windeshores, in octavis festi Sancti Michaelis, præsentibus rege filio, et Ricardo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et episcopis Angliæ; et coram Laurentio Dublinensi archiepiscopo, præsentibus etiam comitibus et baronibus Angliæ. In quo concilio Catholicus Tuamensis archiepiscopus, et Cantordis abbas Sancti Brandani, et magister Laurentius cancellarius Roderici regis Conactensis, hunc finem et concordiam subscriptam fecerunt cum domino rege patre, ex parte Roderici regis Conactæ:

Oct. 6. Council at Windsor.

Benedict, i. 102.

Irish envoys.

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[1] *Aelisinus*] "Hellinus Variniacensis." Benedict has "Aelisinus et filii ipsius," on which Hoveden has perhaps based a mistake. See the Preface to vol. i. p. lviii.

A.D. 1175. October 6.

Concordia facta inter Henricum regem Angliæ et Rodericum regem Conactæ.

Benedict, i, 102.

Agreement between the king of England and the king of Connaught.

" Hic est finis et concordia quæ facta fuit apud Windeshores " in octavis Sancti Michaelis, anno ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo septuagesimo quinto, inter dominum regem " Angliæ Henricum, filium Matildis imperatricis, et Rodericum " regem Conactæ, per Catholicum archiepiscopum Tuamensem, " et Cantordem abbatem Sancti Brandani, et magistrum Laurentium cancellarium regis Conactensis. Scilicet quod rex

Roderick to be king as tributary to Henry.

" Angliæ concedit prædicto Roderico ligio homini suo, regi Conactæ, quamdiu ei fideliter serviet, quod sit rex sub eo, paratus ad servitium suum, sicut homo suus, et quod terram suam " teneat ita bene et in pace, sicut tenuit antequam dominus rex " Angliæ intraret Hiberniam, reddendo ei tributum ; et totam " aliam terram et habitatores terræ habeat sub se, et justitiet, " ut tributum regi Angliæ integre persolvant, et per manum " ejus, et sua jura sibi conservent; et illi qui modo tenent, teneant in pace quamdiu manserint in fidelitate regis Angliæ, et " ei fideliter et integre persolverint tributum et alia jura sua, " quæ ei debent, per manum regis Conactæ, salvo in omnibus " jure et honore domini regis Angliæ et suo. Et si qui ex eis " regi Angliæ et ei rebelles fuerint, et tributum et alia jura " regis Angliæ per manum suam solvere noluerint, et a fidelitate

Henry is to support the authority of his vassal.

" regis Angliæ recesserint, ipse eos justitiet et amoveat. Et si " eos per se justitiare non poterit, constabularius regis Angliæ " et familia sua de terra illa juvabunt eum ad hoc faciendum, " cum ab ipso fuerint requisiti, et ipsi viderint quod necesse " fuerit. Et propter hunc finem reddet prædictus rex Conactæ " domino regi Angliæ tributum singulis annis, scilicet, de singulis decem animalibus unum corium placabile mercatoribus,

Benedict i. 103.

The tribute to be a tenth hide.

" tam de tota terra sua quam de alia ; excepto quod de terris " illis quas dominus rex Angliæ retinuit in dominio suo, et " in dominio baronum suorum, nihil se intromittet; scilicet " Divelina cum pertinentiis suis, et Mida cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, sicut unquam Murchat Ua Mailethlachlin [1] eam " melius et plenius tenuit, aut aliqui qui de eo eam tenuerunt. Et excepta Wesefordia, cum omnibus pertinentiis

Roderick is not to meddle with Dublin, Meath, Wexford, or Waterford, and their dependencies.

" suis, scilicet cum tota Lagenia. Et excepta Waterfordia, " cum tota terra illa quæ est a Waterforde usque ad Duncarvan, ita quod Duncarvan sit cum omnibus pertinentiis infra

[1] *Murchat Ua Mailethlachlin*] Murchat O'Melachlin, king of all Meath, in 1111. See *Chron. Scotorum*, ed. Hennessy ; p. 319.

Benedict, i. 103.

A.D. 1175. October 6. Provision about fugitives.

" terram illam. Et si Hybernenses qui aufugerunt redire vo-
" luerint ad terram baronum regis Angliæ, redeant in pace,
" reddendo tributum prædictum, sicut alii reddunt, vel faci-
" endo antiqua servitia quæ facere solebant pro terris suis. Et
" hoc sit in arbitrio et voluntate dominorum suorum. Et si
" aliqui redire noluerint, et domini eorum requisierint re-
" gem Conactæ, ipse cogat eos redire ad terram suam, ut ibi
" remaneant et pacem habeant, et rex Conactæ accipiat obsides
" ab omnibus, quos ei commisit dominus rex Angliæ, ad volun-
" tatem domini regis et suam; et ipse dabit obsides ad volun-
" tatem domini regis Angliæ, illos vel alios, et ipsi servient
" domino regi de canibus et avibus suis singulis annis, de præ-
" sentiis suis. Et nullum omnino, de quacunque terra domini
" regis sit, retinebunt contra voluntatem et mandatum domini
" regis. Testibus his: Ricardo episcopo Wintoniensi, Gaufrido
" episcopo Eliensi; Laurentio Divelinensi archiepiscopo, Gau-
" frido et Nicholao et Rogero, capellanis regis; Willelmo
" comite de Exesse, et Ricardo de Luci, Gaufrido de Pertico,
" Reginaldo de Curtenea."

Roderick is to give hostages.

In eodem vero concilio rex Angliæ dedit magistro Augustino Hybernensi episcopatum Waterfordiæ, qui tunc vacabat in Hibernia. Et misit eum in Hiberniam cum Laurentio Divelinæ archiepiscopo, ad Donatum Casselensem archiepiscopum ad consecrandum.

The king appoints a bishop of Waterford.

Benedict, i. 104.

Eodem anno exstitit in Anglia et in regionibus circumjacentibus pestifera hominum mortalitas, ita quod plerisque diebus septem vel octo mortuorum cadavera deferebantur ad sepeliendum. Et statim post illam pestiferam mortalitatem, secuta est dira fames.

Plague and famine.

Et eodem anno, paulo ante festum Omnium Sanctorum, applicuit in Anglia quidam cardinalis nomine Hugeszun,[1] apostolicæ sedis legatus, pro quo dominus rex Romam miserat. Et invenit dominum regem apud Wintoniam. Et dominus rex in obviam ei venit, et rex filius suus cum eo, et eum cum debito honore et reverentia susceperunt. Et dominus rex per aliquot dies moram faciens apud Wintoniam, diutissime tractavit de pace facienda inter Rogerum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, et Ricardum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, de capella Sancti Oswaldi Gloucestriæ, et de cruce archiepiscopi Eboracensis portanda. Et tandem per consilium regis inter prædictos archiepiscopos in hunc modum convenit; quod Cantuariensis archiepiscopus quietam clamavit archiepiscopo Eboracensi, et liberam

Before Nov. 1, a new legate arrives and visits the king at Winchester.

Truce between York and Canterbury.

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[1] *Hugeszun*] Uguccione Pier Leoni, cardinal deacon of St. Michael the Archangel

A.D. 1175. October.

Truce between York and Canterbury.

ab omni jurisdictione sua, capellam Sancti Oswaldi Glocestriæ, sicut dominicam capellam domini regis. Et absolvit clericos archiepiscopi Eboracensis, quos excommunicaverat. Et de cruce portanda, et aliis controversiis quæ inter ecclesias suas erant, starent judicio archiepiscopi Rothomagensis, et aliorum vicinorum episcoporum de regno Franciæ. Et quod sic pacem inter se haberent per quinquennium,[1] ita quod neuter illorum alteri malum vel damnum quæreret donec controversia illa determinata esset, et ad debitum finem perducta, per Rothomagensem archiepiscopum et per vicinos episcopos de regno Franciæ. Prædictus autem Hugeszun cardinalis, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, dedit domino regi licentiam implacitandi clericos regni sui, de forestis suis, et de captione venationis. Benedict, i. 105.

The cardinal allows the king to implead clerks by forest law.

Deposition of the abbot of Peterborough.

Eodem anno Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus deposuit Willelmum de Waltervile,[2] abbatem Sancti Petri de Burgo, pro eo quod ipse violenta manu et armata claustrum suum infregerat, et reliquias sanctorum una cum brachio Sancti Oswaldi regis et martyris asportare volebat. In quorum defensione monachi et ministri ecclesiæ quidam vulnerati, et quidam interfecti sunt. Hujus tamen depositionis summa et principalis causa fuit, quod dominus rex eum oderat propter Walterum[3] de Waltervile fratrem suum, quem ipse cum cæteris inimicis regis receptaverat tempore hostilitatis. Benedict, i. 106.

Death of the earl of Cornwall.

Eodem anno obiit Reginaldus comes Cornubiæ, avunculus regis, apud Certesie, et sepultus est apud Redinges. Benedict, i. 105.

Vicesimus secundus annus regni regis Henrici.

The two kings keep Christmas at Windsor; the cardinal at York.

Anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo septuagesimo sexto, qui erat annus vicesimus secundus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex et rex filius suus fuerunt in festo Natalis Domini apud Windeshores. Eodem die, prædictus Hugeszun, tituli Sancti Michaelis de Petra

[1] The truce for five years was made, according to Benedict, at a later council held also at Winchester, on the 15th of August 1176. See the Preface to the first volume of this work, pp. lix., lx.

[2] William de Walterville, abbot of Peterborough, 1155–1175.

[3] *Walterum*] Radulfum, Benedict. (MS. Julius A. xi.) The estate of Ralph de Walterville paid ten shillings among the Escheats of Lincolnshire in 1178. Madox, *Hist. Exch.* 205.

Benedict, i. 107.

Leonis diaconus cardinalis, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, fuit apud Eboracum cum Rogero Eboracensi archiepiscopo.

A.D. 1176. Jan. 25. Council at Northampton.

Post Natale Domini, in festo Conversionis Sancti Pauli, venit dominus rex pater usque Notingham,[1] et ibi magnum celebravit concilium de statutis regni sui, et coram rege filio suo, et coram archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus et baronibus regni sui, communi omnium consilio, divisit regnum suum in sex partes; per quarum singulas, tres justitiarios itinerantes constituit, quorum nomina hæc sunt.

List of Itinerant Justices.

	Justices	Counties
1	Hugo de Cressi[2] Walterus filius Roberti[3] Robertus Mantel[4]	Nortfolc. Sutfolc. Cantebrigesire. Huntedunesire. Bedefordesire. Bukinghamsire. Exxes. Hertefordesire.
2	Hugo de Gundevilla[5] Willelmus filius Radulfi[6] Willelmus Basset[7]	Lincolnesire. Notinghamsire. Derebisire. Stafordesire. Warewicsire. Northamtesire. Leicestresire.
3	Robertus filius Bernardi[8] Ricardus Giffard[9] Rogerus filius Reinfrei[10]	Kent. Surreie. Suthantesire. Suthsexa. Berkesire. Oxencfordsire.

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[1] *Notingham*] Northamtoniam, Benedict.

[2] *Hugo de Cressi*] justice itinerant, 1175.

[3] *Walter filius Roberti*] justice itinerant, 1176. He held pleas of court, in 1181.

[4] *Robertus Mantel*] justice itinerant, 1173.

[5] *Hugo de Gundevilla*] sheriff of Hants, 1170–1178; Northants, 1175–1178; Devon, 1178–80.

[6] *Willelmus filius Radulfi*] sheriff of Notts and Derby, 1170–1178, 1180, &c.

[7] *Willelmus Basset*] sheriff of Leicester and Warwick, 1165–1170: displaced at the Inquest of sheriffs. Sheriff of Lincolnshire, 1178–1184. Justice itinerant, 1168, 1173.

[8] *Robertus filius Bernardi*] sheriff of Kent, 1175–1184.

[9] *Ricardus Giffard*] justice itinerant, 1176–1180.

[10] *Rogerus filius Reinfrai*] sheriff of Sussex, 1177–1188; Berks, 1188.

A.D. 1176. Jan. 25. Itinerant Justices.

Benedict, i. 108.

4	Willelmus filius Stephani[1] Bertram de Verdun[2] Turstan filius Symonis[3]	Herefordesire. Gloucestresire. Wirecestresire. Salopessire.
5	Radulfus filius Stephani[4] Willelmus Ruffus[5] Gillebertus Pipard[6]	Wiltesire. Dorsete. Sumersete. Devonia. Cornubia.
6	Robertus de Vals[7] Rannulfus de Glanvile[8] Robertus Pikenot[9]	Everwicsire. Richemundesire. Loncastre. Coplande. Westmerilande. Northumberlande. Cumberlande.

Oath of the Justices.

Et postea fecit dominus rex omnes prædictos justitiarios jurare supra sacrosancta evangelia, quod ipsi bona fide, et sine malo ingenio, has subscriptas assisas custodirent, et inviolabiliter ab hominibus regni facerent custodiri.

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[1] *Willelmus filius Stephani*] justice itinerant, 1176–1180.

[2] *Bertram de Verdun*] sheriff of Leicester and Warwick, 1170–1185.

[3] *Turstan filius Symonis*] justice itinerant, 1173.

[4] *Radulfus filius Stephani*] sheriff of Essex and Herts, 1172–1185.

[5] *Willelmus Ruffus*] sheriff of Bedfordshire and Bucks, 1180–1188; justice itinerant, 1173.

[6] *Gillebertus Pipard*] sheriff of Cheshire, 1185; Essex, 1168–1170; Lancashire, 1184.

[7] *Robertus de Vals*] sheriff of Cumberland, 1176–1188.

[8] *Rannulfus de Glanvile*] sheriff of Lancashire, 1175; Northumberland, 1185; Worcestershire, 1183. Justice itinerant, 1175. Great justiciar, 1181–1189.

[9] *Robertus Pikenot*] He appears as judge only this year.

Benedict, i. 108.

Hæ sunt assisæ domini Henrici regis Angliæ, filii Matildis imperatricis, factæ apud Clarendun,[1] *et postea recordatæ apud Northamtune.* A.D. 1176. Jan. 25.

Assize of Northampton; revised issue of the Assize of Clarendon: (1.) Presentments by jury to be made to the Justices, and process thereon.

I. "Si quis retatus fuerit coram justitiis Domini regis, de "murdro, vel latrocinio, vel roberia, vel receptatione homi- "num tale facientium, vel de falsoneria, vel iniqua combus- "tione, per sacramentum duodecim militum de hundredo, et "si milites non adfuerint per sacramentum duodecim libe- "rorum et legalium hominum, et per sacramentum quatuor "hominum de unaquaque villa hundredi, eat ad judicium "aquæ, et si perierit, alterum pedem amittat. Et apud "Northamtune additum est pro rigore justitiæ, quod dexterum "similiter pugnum cum pede amittat, et regnum abjuret, et "infra quadraginta dies a regno exulet. Et si ad aquam "mundus fuerit, inveniat plegios, et remaneat in regno, nisi "retatus fuerit de murdro vel aliqua turpi felonia per "commune comitatus et legalium militum patriæ; de quo si "prædicto modo retatus fuerit, quamvis ad aquam mundus "fuerit, nihilominus infra quadraginta dies a regno exeat, et "catalla sua secum asportet, salvo jure dominorum suorum, "et regnum abjuret in misericordia domini regis. Hæc "autem assisa attenebit a tempore quo assisa facta fuit apud "Clarendun, continue usque ad hoc tempus, et a modo "quamdiu domino regi placuerit, in murdro et proditione et "iniqua combustione, et in omnibus prædictis capitulis, nisi in "minutis furtis et roberiis, quæ factæ fuerant tempore gwerræ, "sicut de equis et bobus et minoribus rebus.

Benedict, i. 109.

(2.) Strangers not to be harboured more than one night.

II. [2] "*Item,* nulli liceat, neque in burgo neque in villa "hospitari aliquem extraneum ultra unam noctem in domo "sua, quem ad rectum habere noluerit, nisi hospitatus ille "essonium rationabile habuerit, quod hospes domus monstret "vicinis suis; et cum recesserit, coram vicinis recedat, et per "diem.

(3.) Persons accused not to withdraw

III. "*Item,* si quis saisitus fuerit de murdro, vel de latrocinio, "vel roberia, vel falsoneria, et inde sit cognoscens, vel de

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[1] *Clarendun*] In 1166. See Benedict, ii. pref. pp. cxlix.-cliv., and below under the year 1180. The title belongs most especially to the first article, several of the others being material modifications of the older law, and some entirely new.

[2] II. Answering to the Articles xv. and xvi. of the Assize of Clarendon.

A.D. 1176. Jan. 25. their own confessions.

"aliqua alia felonia, quam fecerit, coram præposito hundredi "vel burgi, et coram legalibus hominibus, id postea coram "justitiis negare non poterit. Et si idem sine saisina "coram eis aliquid hujusmodi recognoverit, hoc simul coram "justitiis negare non poterit. Benedict, i. 109.

(4.) Of seisin, reliefs, wardships, dowers;

IV. [1] "*Item*, si quis obierit francus tenens, hæredes ipsius "remaneant in tali saisina qualem pater suus habuit die qua "fuit vivus et mortuus, de feodo suo, et catalla sua habeant, "unde faciant et divisam defuncti: et dominum suum postea "requirant, et ei faciant de relevio et aliis, quæ ei facere "debent de feodo suo. Et si hæres fuerit infra ætatem, "dominus feodi recipiat homagium suum, et habeat in "custodia illum, quamdiu debuerit; alii domini, si plures "fuerint, homagium ejus recipiant, et ipse faciat eis, quod "facere debuerit. Et uxor defuncti habeat dotem suam, et "partem de catallis ejus, quæ eam contingit. Et si dominus "feodi negat hæredibus defuncti saisinam ejusdem defuncti, "quam exigunt, justitiæ domini regis faciant inde fieri "recognitionem per duodecim legales homines, qualem saisinam defunctus inde habuit die qua fuit vivus et mortuus. "Et sicut recognitum fuerit, ita hæredibus ejus restituant. "Et si quis contra hoc fecerit, et inde attaintus fuerit, "remaneat in misericordia regis.

recognitions of tenure by jury of twelve.

(5.) Term for the inquiries of the Justices.

V. "*Item*, justitiæ domini regis faciant fieri recognitionem "de dissaisinis factis super assisam a tempore quo dominus "rex venit in Angliam proximo post pacem factam inter ipsum "et regem filium suum.

(6.) Justices are to take fealties of all, and to enforce homage to the king.

VI. "*Item*, justitiæ capiant fidelitates domini regis infra "clausum Pascha, et ad ultimum infra clausum Pentecosten, ab "omnibus videlicet comitibus, baronibus, militibus, et libere "tenentibus, et etiam rusticis, qui in regno manere voluerint; "et qui facere noluerit fidelitatem, tanquam inimicus domini "regis capiatur. Habent etiam justitiæ præcipere, quod "omnes illi qui nondum fecerunt homagium et ligantiam "domino regi, quod ad terminum quem eis nominabunt "veniant, et faciant regi homagium et ligantiam sicut ligio "domino. Benedict, i. 110.

(7.) Extent of jurisdiction of Justices in matters of and.

VII. "*Item*, justitiæ faciant omnes justitias et rectitudines "spectantes ad dominum regem, et ad coronam suam, per "breve domini regis vel illorum qui in loco ejus erunt, de "feodo dimidii militis et infra: nisi tam grandis sit querela "quod non possit deduci sine domino rege, vel talis quam

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[1] IV. Answering to articles xxvi. and xxvii. of Magna Carta.

Benedict, i. 110. " justitiæ ei reportent pro dubitatione sua, vel ad illos qui " in loco ejus erunt. Intendant tamen pro posse suo ad " commodum domini regis faciendum. Faciant etiam assisam " de latronibus iniquis et malefactoribus terræ, quæ assisa " est per consilium regis filii sui, et hominum suorum, per " quos ituri sunt comitatus. A.D. 1176. Jan. 25. They are to attend to the king's interests.

VIII. " *Item*, justitiæ provideant quod castella diruta " prorsus diruantur, et diruenda bene prosternantur. Et nisi " hoc fecerint, dominus rex judicium curiæ suæ de eis habere " voluerit sicut de contemptoribus præcepti sui. (8.) To enforce the demolition of castles.

IX. " *Item*, justitiæ inquirant de excaetis, de ecclesiis, de " terris, de fœminis, quæ sunt de donatione domini regis. (9.) To inquire into escheats, churches, &c.

X. " *Item*, ballivi domini regis respondeant ad scaccarium, " tam de assiso redditu, quam de omnibus perquisitionibus " suis quas faciunt in bailliis suis, exceptis illis quæ per- " tinent ad vicecomitatum. (10.) The king's bailiffs to answer at the exchequer.

XI. " *Item*, justitiæ inquirant de custodiis castellorum, et " qui et quantum et ubi eas debeant, et postea mandent " domino regi. (11.) The Justices to inquire into castle guards.

XII. [1] " *Item*, latro, ex quo capitur, vicecomiti tradatur ad " custodiendum: et si vicecomes absens fuerit, ducatur ad " proximum castellanum, et ipse illum custodiat, donec illum " liberet vicecomiti. (12.) Thieves to be committed to the sheriffs.

Benedict, i. 111. XIII. [2] " *Item*, justitiæ faciant quærere per consuetudinem " terræ illos qui a regno recesserunt; et nisi redire voluerint " infra terminum nominatum, et stare ad rectum in curia " domini regis, postea uthlagentur, et nomina utlagorum " afferantur, ad Pascha et ad festum Sancti Michaelis, ad " scaccarium, et exinde mittantur domino regi." (13.) Fugitives to be outlawed.

[3] Ad prædictum vero concilium apud Northamtun celebratum, venit Willelmus rex Scottorum per mandatum domini regis, adducens secum Ricardum episcopum Sancti Andreæ, et Gocelinum episcopum de Glascou, et Ricardum episcopum de Dunkelden, et Christianum episcopum de Candida Casa, et Andream episcopum de Catenesse, et Symonem de Touni episcopum de Murevia, et cæteros episcopos et abbates et priores regni sui. Qui cum coram domino rege The Scottish bishops and abbots attend the council.

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[1] XII. Answering to article vi. of Clarendon.

[2] XIII. Answering to article xviii. of Clarendon.

[3] This account of the conduct of the Scottish clergy at the Council of Northampton differs in some important parts from the account of Benedict, especially in the details of the speech of bishop Jocelin of Glasgow. On this see the Preface to vol. i. of this work, pp. lvi., lvii.

A.D. 1176. Jan. 25. They refuse to subject themselves to the English archbishops. Angliæ convenissent, præcepit eis dominus rex, per fidem quam ei debebant, et per sacramentum fidelitatis quod ei fecerant, quod eandem subjectionem facerent Anglicanæ ecclesiæ quam facere debebant, et solebant tempore regum Angliæ prædecessorum suorum. Cui responderunt, quod ipsi nunquam subjectionem fecerant Anglicanæ ecclesiæ, nec facere debent. Ad hoc autem respondit Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, affirmans quod Glascuenses episcopi et episcopi Candidæ Casæ subjecti fuerant Eboracensi ecclesiæ tempore archiepiscoporum prædecessorum suorum. Benedict, i. 111.

Argument of the bishop of Glasgow. Et super hoc privilegia Romanorum pontificum sufficienter instructa præmonstravit. Ad quod Jocelinus Glascuensis episcopus respondit, "Glascuensis ecclesia "specialis filia est Romanæ ecclesiæ, et ab omni "subjectione archiepiscoporum sive episcoporum ex- "empta; et si Eboracensis ecclesia aliquo tempore "dominationem habuit in ecclesia Glascuensi, constat "illam demeruisse aliquam de cætero in ea habere "dominationem." Claim of the archbishop of Canterbury. Et quia Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus nitebatur, quod ecclesia Scottica Cantuariensi subjiceretur ecclesiæ, effecit adversus regem Angliæ, quod ipse permisit episcopos Scotiæ in terras suas redire, nulla subjectione facta Anglicanæ ecclesiæ.

March 14. Council of Westminster, under cardinal Uguccione. [1] Eodem anno, in medio Quadragesimæ, supradictus Hugeszun tituli Sancti Michaelis de Petraleonis, cardinalis et apostolicæ sedis legatus, Lundonias venit celebraturus concilium. Benedict, i. 112. Et convenientibus ibidem in unum Cantuariensi et Eboracensi archiepiscopis et omnibus episcopis et abbatibus Angliæ, et clero multo, prædictus cardinalis sedit cathedratus apud Westmonasterium in capella monachorum infirmorum, et episcopi et abbates cum illo, unusquisque in loco suo secundum dignitatem et ordinem suam. Quarrel of the archbishops. Sed inter Cantuariensem et Eboracensem archiepiscopos orta est contentio, quis illorum sederet a dextris cardinalis. Et cum

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[1] This account of the council of Westminster is greatly abridged from that of Benedict, although few particulars of importance are omitted.

Benedict, i. 113. Eboracensis archiepiscopus ibi sedere vellet, servientes archiepiscopi Cantuariensis irruerunt in eum et projecerunt in terram, et pedibus suis conculcaverunt, et cappam suam fregerunt. Et sic dispersi sunt, et cardinalis fugit, et abscondit se a facie illorum, et ita impeditum est quod nullum tenuit concilium: sed factis appellationibus hinc et inde ad summum pontificem, unusquisque illorum conquestus est domino regi de injuriis sibi factis. A.D. 1176. March 14. Uproar and riot: the council dispersed.

Benedict, i. 114, 115. [1] Eodem anno, in solemnitate Paschali fuit rex pater apud Wintoniam, et rex filius, et Ricardus comes Pictaviæ, et Gaufridus comes Britanniæ, filii domini regis, fuerunt ibi cum illo. Post Pascha rex filius, et Ricardus comes Pictaviæ, et Gaufridus comes Britanniæ, per licentiam regis patris sui, transfretaverunt de Anglia in Normanniam. April 4. The king and his sons keep Easter at Winchester. The sons go to France.

Benedict, i. 120. Et statim cum Ricardus comes Pictaviæ in Pictaviam venisset, magnum congregavit exercitum, et commisit prælium cum Braibancenis, inter Sanctum Megrinum et Butevile, et eos devicit. Deinde debellavit Aimericum vicecomitem de Limoges, pro eo quod ipse pacem suam fregerat. Deinde obsedit castellum quod vocatur Aessa, et illud cepit, et in eo quadraginta milites. Deinde obsedit civitatem de Li- Benedict, i. 121. moges et cepit: deinde venit Pictavim in occursum regis fratris sui, qui illuc venit in adjutorium ipsius; et ipsi obsederunt Novum-castellum et ceperunt. Quo capto, rex frater ejus cum eo diutius moram facere noluit, sed pravo usus consilio ab eo recessit. Ricardus vero comes Pictaviæ obsedit Mulinous, castellum vicecomitis de Engolismo, et cepit in eo Willelmum Tailefer comitem de Engolismo, et Bugerum filium ejus, et Aimarum vicecomitem de Limoges, et vicecomitem de Vendadur, et vicecomitem de Chabanais. Richard in Poictou defeats the viscount of Limoges, takes Aixe and Limoges; and with Henry's aid Neuf Châtel. He reduces the rebel barons.

[1] The proceedings of Richard in Poictou are described at much greater length in Benedict, who also gives approximate dates. The battle of S. Megrin was fought soon after Whitsuntide, May 23, and Richard returned to Poictiers after June 24. The rebellious nobles were Aymer V., viscount of Limoges, 1148–1199; William Taillefer IV., count of Angoulême, 1140–1178; and his son Wulgrin Taillefer, who was count, 1178–1181; Eschivard, viscount of Chabannes; Ebles, viscount of Ventadour. According to Benedict they were besieged in Angoulême.

A.D. 1176. Surrenders of castles. Et comes de Engolismo tradidit comiti Pictaviæ castellum de Butevile, et castellum de Archiac, et castellum de Muntinniac, et castellum de Lachese, et castellum de Melpis. Benedict, i. 121.

The sin and punishment of Adam de Chirchedune. Rex vero filius cum in reditu suo Pictavim veniret, cepit Adam de Chirchedune,[1] vicecancellarium suum, clericum videlicet Gaufridi præpositi Beverlaci, cancellarii regis filii, et fecit eum fustibus cædi, imponens illi quod ille secreta sua detexerat regi patri suo; et flagellatum duci fecit nudum per plateas civitatis Pictavis fustigando, et sub voce præconia clamando, "Sic debet "dehonestari qui secreta domini sui detegit." Benedict, i. 122, 123.

Arrival of a Sicilian embassy to ask the hand of Johanna. [2] Eodem anno venerunt in Angliam nuncii Willelmi regis Siciliæ, videlicet episcopus Trojacensis, et electus Capuæ, et comes Florius, ad Henricum regem Angliæ patrem, et petierunt ab eo Johannam filiam suam donari in uxorem Willelmo regi Siciliæ domino suo. Habito ergo inde concilio Lundoniis, rex pater, consilio universorum episcoporum, comitum et baronum regni, concessit regi Siciliæ filiam suam. Et cum illa concessione præmisit Benedict, i. 115. Benedict, i. 117.

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[1] *Adam de Chirchedune*] This story occupies two pages in Benedict, who describes Adam as a clerk of Roger, archbishop of York, who was uncle to Geoffrey, the young king's chancellor; and giving Argentan as the place of his own imprisonment, says that he was finally committed to the charge of the abbot of Hyde. The whole account is more circumstantial than that in the text.

[2] The marriage of William with a daughter of Henry had been contemplated during the lifetime of S. Thomas, *S.T.C.*, iii. 123; and it would appear from a letter of William the Good, printed in the Fœdera, i. 32, that the proposal in the present case came from Henry. Johanna was born in 1165.

Hoveden, in this narrative of Johanna's wedding, collects and abridges the scattered notices found in Benedict on the subject, anticipating the date of the marriage and the position of the charter of settlement, the former of which occurs under 1177 in Benedict, whilst the latter is not inserted until it is brought to the king's knowledge on the return of the ambassadors in June 1177. Hoveden does not correct the mistake of Benedict as to the character of the Sicilian envoys, who were Elias ELECT of Troja; Arnulf BISHOP of Capaccio, (not Capua,) and count Florius of Camerota. V. Romuald Salern. ap. Muratori, *Scriptores* vii., 218. The mistake about the elect of Troja might have been corrected from the following document.

Benedict, i. 117. — A.D. 1176. Henry's embassy in reply.

rex ad regem Siciliæ episcopum Trojacensem, et Johannem Nortwicensem episcopum, et Parisium Rofensem archidiaconum, et Baldewinum Bulot, et Ricardum de Camvile. Et rex pater interim præparavit Johannæ filiæ suæ et itineri suo necessaria.

Benedict, i. 120. — Johanna sent to Sicily.

Quibus more debito completis, rex misit Johannam filiam suam regi Willelmo Siciliæ in uxorem.

Benedict, i. 157. — Her reception at Palermo, February, 1177.

Quæ cum Panormum veniret in Sicilia, una cum Ægidio Ebroicensi episcopo, et aliis nunciis domini regis, tota civitas eis applausit, et tot et tanta accensa sunt luminaria, ut civitas penitus crederetur comburi, et stellarum radii præ fulgore tantorum luminum nullatenus possent comparere. De nocte enim intraverant civitatem Panormi. Ducta est ergo prædicta regis Angliæ filia, super equum regium, vestibus regalibus insignita, in quoddam palatium, ut ibidem desponsationis et coronationis suæ diem gratius posset expectare. Paucis itaque lapsis diebus, prænominata regis Angliæ filia desponsata est Willelmo regi Siciliæ, et solemniter coronata Panormi, in capella regia, coram Ægidio Ebroicensi episcopo, et aliis nunciis regis Angliæ, qui propter hoc missi fuerant. Desponsata itaque et coronata fuit, die Dominica ante ingressum Septuagesimæ, Idibus Februarii. Et dotata est honorifice de comitatu Sancti Angeli, et de civitate Siponti, et de civitate Vestæ, et pluribus aliis tam castellis quam locis. Unde idem rex Siciliæ fecit ei cartam suam in hac forma.

Benedict, i. 158. — Her marriage and coronation, February 13, 1177.

Benedict, i. 169.

Hæc est carta Willelmi regis Siciliæ, quam fecit Johannæ filiæ Henrici regis Angliæ de dote sua, qua eam dotavit die desponsationis suæ.[1]

A.D. 1177. February. The marriage settle-

" In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.[2]
" Rerum fœdus et concordiam humanarum, inter cætera pacis
" bona ligat fortius et astringit vinculum conjugale; quod et

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[1] An abridgment of this document is given by Robert de Monte, ad ann. 1178; who refers for a copy of the seal and names of the witnesses, " in principio libri Origenis " super Numeros," p. 922, ed. Pistorius.

[2] *In nomine—Amen*] In nomine Dei æterni et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, Amen.—Benedict.

A.D. 1177. February. ment of Johanna. Marriage settlement of queen Johanna.

"sacramenti altitudine venerandum, et ipsa suæ institutionis "est singularitate præclarum, et solemni ab initio mundi et "temporis consuetudine celebratum. Cujus itaque virtus et "forma, quia de divina institutione traxit originem, nec de "peccato induit maculam, nec de longævi serie temporis de-"suetudinis potuit sentire jacturam; quinetiam id honoris "venerando accessit mysterio, ut maris et fœminæ consensus in "matrimonium Christi et ecclesiæ teneat sacramentum. Tanti "ergo mysterii ratione simul et veneratione inducti, nos Wil-"lelmus, divina favente clementia rex Siciliæ, et ducatus "Apuliæ, et principatus Capuæ, Johannam puellam regii ex-"cellentia sanguinis, illustrissimam filiam Henrici magnifici "regis Anglorum, divino nutu et felici auspicio, sacri lege "matrimonii et maritali nobis fœdere copulamus: ut bonum "conjugii castæ dilectionis fides exhibeat; unde nobis in pos-"terum proles regia, Deo donante, succedat, quæ divini gratia "muneris virtutum simul et generis titulo ad regni possit et "debeat fastigium sublimari. Quia vero nostra dignum est "celsitudine, ut tam nobile ac insigne conjugium decenti do-"dario debeat honorari, per hoc præsens scriptum damus, et in "dodarium concedimus præfatæ reginæ carissimæ uxori nostræ "comitatum Montis Sancti Angeli, sicut est inferius annota-"tum; videlicet in demanio, civitatem Montis Sancti Angeli, "civitatem Siponti, et civitatem Vestæ, cum omnibus justis "tenementis et pertinentiis earum. In servitio autem concedi-"mus ei de tenementis comitis Goffridi, Alesine, Peschizam, "Bicum, Caprile, Baranum, et Sfilizum, et omnia alia quæ idem "comes de honore ejusdem comitatus Montis Sancti Angeli "tenere dinoscitur. Concedimus etiam ei similiter in servitio "Candelarium, Sanctum Clericum, castellum Paganum, Bersen-"tium, et Cagnanum. Insuper concedimus ut sint de honore "ipsius dodarii, monasterium Sancti Johannis de Lama, et "monasterium Sanctæ Mariæ de Pulsano, cum omnibus tene-"mentis quæ ipsa monasteria tenent de honore prædicti co-"mitatus Sancti Angeli. Ita quidem ut ipsa regina uxor "nostra prædicta omnia semper recognoscat, ab hæredibus "nostris, nobis nostra ordinatione in regnum succedentibus, "et de omnibus præscriptis tenementis servitium, prout exi-"git feodum eorum, integre et illibate jam dictis hæredibus "nostris faciat, et maneat semper in eorum fidelitate. Ad "hujus autem donationis et concessionis nostræ memoriam et "inviolabile firmamentum, præsens privilegium per manus "Alexandri notarii nostri scribi, et bulla aurea nostro typario "impressa roboratum, nostro sigillo jussimus decorari. In

Benedict, i. 169, 170.

Eph. v. 32.

Monte S. Angelo, Siponto, Viesti, Lesina, Peschicci, Vico, Caprile, Varano, Ceffalicchia, Candelaro, San Chirico, Castello Pagano, Bersentium, Cagnano, S. Maria de Pulsano, S. John de Lama.

Benedict, i. 171.

Benedict, i. 171. A.D. 1177. February Queen Johanna's settlement.

" quo familiares nostri et aliæ personæ præcepto nostro se
" scripserunt anno, mense et indictione subscriptis.[1]
" Ego Walterus Panormitanus archiepiscopus.
" Ego Alphanus Capuanus archiepiscopus.
" Ego Ricardus Siracusanus episcopus.
" Ego Bartholomæus Agrigentinus episcopus.
" Ego Reginaldus Barensis archiepiscopus.
" Ego Nicholaus primus Messanensis archiepiscopus.
" Ego Ruffus Cosentinus archiepiscopus.
" Ego Theobaldus episcopus, abbas regalis monasterii Sanctæ
" Mariæ novæ.
" Ego Robertus Cataniensis episcopus.
" Ego Wido Cepheliensis episcopus.
" Ego Elias Trojanus electus.
" Ego Justus Mazarensis episcopus.
" Ego Robertus Tricaricensis episcopus.
" Ego Petrus Galethanus episcopus.
" Ego Johannes Potentinus episcopus.
" Ego Robertus de Bizino.
" Ego Robertus Malcuvenanz.
" Ego Alexander Gupille.
" Ego Mathæus, domini regis vicecancellarius.
" Ego Robertus Casertanus comes.
" Ego Amphusus comes Scrullacensis.
" Ego Jocelinus comes Loretanus.
" Ego Hugo comes Cathazarii.
" Ego Ricardus Fundanus, comes admiratus.
" Ego Walterus de Moac, regii fortunati stolii admiratus.
" Ego Aldewinus de Candida domini regis Senescallus.
" Ego Berardus Gentilis, regiæ privatæ Maisnedæ constabu-
" larius.

Benedict, i. 172.

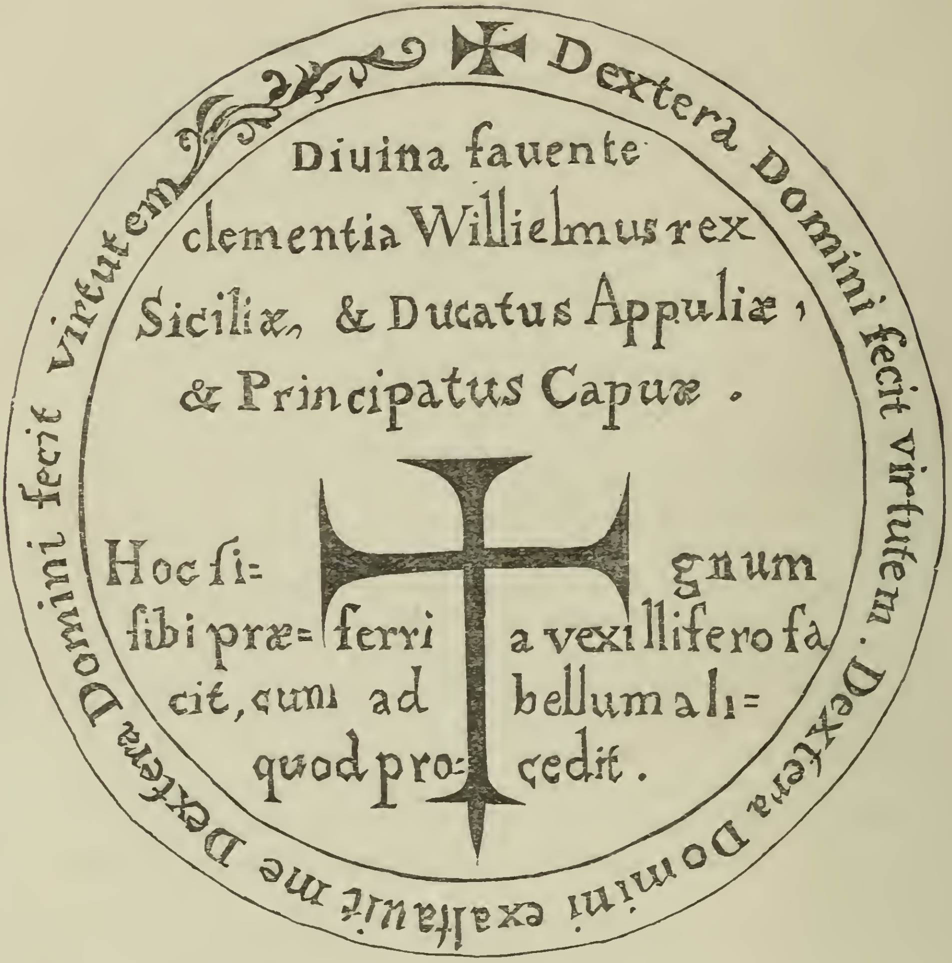
" Ego Ricardus, sacri regii palatii logotheta.
" Ego Bamalis de Monte Forti, magister justitiarius.
" Ego Persicus, regiæ curiæ magister justitiarius.
" Ego Fredericus, regiæ curiæ justitiarius.
" Data in urbe Panormi felici per manus Walteri venera-
" bilis Panormi archiepiscopi et Mathæi regis vicecancella-
" rii, et Ricardi venerabilis Siracusani episcopi, domini regis
" familiarium; anno Dominicæ Incarnationis millesimo cen-
" tesimo septuagesimo septimo, mense Februarii, decima indic-
" tione; regni vero domini nostri Willelmi Dei gratia mag-
" nifici et gloriosissimi regis Siciliæ, ducatus Apuliæ, et prin-
" cipatus Capuæ, anno undecimo, feliciter. Amen."

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[1] *anno subscriptis*] hoc modo, Savile, with MS. C.

A.D. 1177. February.

Signum Willelmi regis Siciliæ.[1]



A.D. 1176. July. Cardinal Vivian (of S. Stephen) lands in England.

Benedict, i. 118.

Eodem anno[2] Alexander papa misit Vivianum presbyterum cardinalem, apostolicæ sedis legatum, in Scotia et in insulis circumjacentibus, et in Hybernia, et in Noreweia, ad causas ecclesiasticas audiendas, et deter-

[1] The copy of the Seal in the text is from Savile's edition of Hoveden. It agrees most nearly with MS. C. MS. A. omits the Cross and the words *Hoc...procedit;* Willielmus is Savile's reading of Willelmus.

[2] Hoveden here slightly expands language of Benedict, but mentions fewer circumstances. The legate was sent from Rome in compliance with the request of the Scots urged after the council of Northampton; he landed in July, and met the king's messengers at Northampton.

Benedict, i. 118.

A.D. 1176. July. The king makes him swear to do no mischief, and sends him on to Scotland.

minandas secundum quod Deus ei administraret. Qui cum in Angliam veniret, dominus rex Angliæ misit ad eum Ricardum Wintoniensem, et Gaufridum Eliensem episcopos, et interrogavit[1] eum cujus auctoritate ausus erat intrare regnum suum sine licentia illius. His igitur interrogationibus prædictus cardinalis plurimum territus, de satisfactione juravit regi, quod ipse nihil ageret in legatione sua contra voluntatem illius, et sic data est ei licentia transeundi usque in Scotiam. Et dominus rex invenit ei conductum et expensas, usque dum veniret in terram regis Scotiæ.

(Aug. 15.) The king reconciles the archbishops and bishops.

Eodem anno[2] Gaufridus Eliensis episcopus, calumniatus coram rege a Rogero Eboracensi archiepiscopo, quod ipse violentas manus in eum injecerat, in supradicto concilio, quod Hugezun tenere debuit Lundoniis, purgavit innocentiam suam, dicens in verbo veritatis, quod violentas manus in eum non injecerat. Et hoc idem attestatus est in verbo Domini supradictus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus. Et sic facti sunt amici Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus et Gaufridus Eliensis episcopus. Et ad instantiam domini regis, Cantuariensis et Eboracensis archiepiscopi statuerunt inter se inducias per quinquennium, super controversia quæ vertebatur inter illos, tam de verberatione[3] Eboracensis archiepiscopi, quam de aliis controversiis quæ inter illos et ecclesias suas vertebantur: supponentes se omnino arbitrio et examini Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, et episcoporum de regno Franciæ; et juraverunt quod judicio illorum starent, et quod neuter illorum alteri malum interim quæreret vel damnum.

Benedict, i. 123.

Marriage of Peter of Flanders.

Eodem anno Petrus frater Philippi comitis Flandriæ, qui fuerat electus de Chambrai, duxit in uxorem filiam Odonis domini de Issodun,[4] cum comitatu de Neverz,

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[1] *et interrogavit*] ut interrogarent, Savile, with C.

[2] *Eodem anno*] Hoveden greatly abridges here. A council was held for the reconciliation of the bishops, at Winchester, Aug. 15. Benedict i. 118. See above and vol. I. pref. p. lx.

[3] Here is another lacuna in C., extending as far as p. 119 below.

[4] *filiam Odonis de Issodun*] She was a daughter of Raymond of Burgundy, and had been married to Odo of Issoudun, before she became the wife of Guy count of Nevers. Her fourth husband was Robert of

A.D. 1176. His early death. quæ erat uxor Widonis de Neverz, sed infra annum obiit sine prole. Benedict, i. 124.

John betrothed to the earl of Gloucester's daughter. Eodem anno Willelmus comes Gloucestriæ, filius Roberti comitis fratris imperatricis, dedit Johanni filio domini regis Angliæ filiam suam in uxorem, cum comitatu Gloucestriæ, si præfatus Johannes prædictam mulierem licentia domini papæ posset sibi in matrimonio copulare. Et pro hac concessione dominus rex Angliæ pater dedit primogenitis filiabus ejusdem comitis ducentas libratas reddituum in Anglia; videlicet uxori Amauri comitis Ebroicarum centum libratas, et uxori Ricardi comitis de Clare centum libratas. Benedict, i. 125.

William of Champagne made archbishop of Rheims. Eodem anno Philippus[1] frater Lodowici regis Francorum, archiepiscopus Remensis obiit; cui successit Willelmus Senonensis archiepiscopus, facta sedium archiepiscopalium commutatione, Alexandri summi pontificis permissione.

Ireland given to John. Eodem anno dominus rex Angliæ pater dedit Johanni filio suo Hyberniam.

John of Salisbury bishop of Chartres. Eodem anno magister Johannes Saresberiensis, quondam clericus et familiaris beati Thomæ Cantuariensis martyris, factus est episcopus Carnothensis.[2]

Richard of Strigul dies, Eodem anno obiit Ricardus comes de Striguil, quem dominus rex Angliæ pater justitiarium Hyberniæ constituerat; in cujus loco dominus rex constituit Willelmum filium Aldelini, qui saisivit in manu regis omnes munitiones, quas prædictus comes in Hibernia habuit.

and William of Arundel, Eodem anno obiit Willelmus comes de Arundel, cui successit filius ejus Willelmus.

and William de Courci. Eodem anno obiit Willelmus de Curci,[3] justitiarius Normanniæ; cui successit Willelmus filius Radulfi.

Dreux. The earlier MS. of Benedict omits all mention of her relationship to Odo of Issoudun; but it is introduced into the later MS. The death of Peter is dated in Benedict, "circa Assumptionem "Sanctæ Mariæ."

[1] *Philippus*] Here again Hoveden has erred by adding to the information he derived from Benedict. The archbishop's name was Henry, but it is left blank in the earlier MS. of Benedict; and in the second *Philippus* is inserted.

[2] *Carnothensis*] Hoveden again follows the later MS. of Benedict, omitting the mention of the miraculous circumstances accompanying the elevation of John of Salisbury.

[3] *Willelmus de Curci*] He was succeeded as justiciar of Normandy not by William Fitz Ralph, but by Richard bishop of Winchester. Benedict, i. 124. The bishop as justiciar witnessed an act of the exchequer at Caen in 1176 (Stapleton, *Norman Rolls*, I. xxix.), and was still in office in 1177. Bened. i. 194.

Benedict, i. 126. Eodem anno[1] Fredericus Romanorum imperator magnum congregavit exercitum Theutonicorum et Alemannorum: et inter Cumas et Mediolanum, prope Seeurum,[2] cum Longobardis commisit prælium. Quod cum a mane usque ad vesperas durasset, contigit quod imperator, amissa majore parte exercitus sui, versus est in fugam, et inter cæteros, quos perdidit, amisit vexilliferum suum, et alios multos, qui a Longobardis in carcere detenti sunt. A.D. 1176. (May 29.) Defeat of Frederick I, between Como and Milan.

Eodem anno[3] dominus rex pater fecit demoliri castellum et mœnia Leicestriæ, et castellum de Grobi, et castellum de Tresk, et castellum de Malesart, et castellum novum de Alvertun, et castellum de Fremigham, et castellum de Benedict, i. 127. Bungeie, et fere omnia castella Angliæ et Normanniæ, quæ fuerunt contra eum tempore guerræ. Sed castellum de Pasci retinuit in manu sua et castellum de Muntsorel sicut suum proprium, quod ei adjuratum fuit per recognitionem legalium hominum de visneto. Demolition of castles.

Eodem anno obiit Radulfus de Dolis[4] in Berria, cujus filiam et hæredem dominus rex Angliæ pater dedit Baldewino de Rivers in uxorem, cum honore castelli Radulfi. Ralph of Deols dies.

Eodem anno, xvi°. kalendas Novembris, die Dominica, dedicata est ecclesia canonicorum regularium Cirencestriæ in honore Beatæ Dei genitricis Mariæ, a Bartholomæo Exoniensi episcopo,[5] præsente domino rege patre Angliæ, qui eidem ecclesiæ in dedicatione sua magnos redditus dedit. Benedict, i. 128. Oct. 17. Consecration of Cirencester abbey church.

Eodem anno Manuel Constantinopolitanus imperator, habito prælio campestri cum Soltano Yconii, et illo devicto, in hac forma scripsit domino regi Angliæ:

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[1] *Eodem anno*] Hoveden, by omitting the exact date, avoids the mistake (if it be one) of his predecessor, who has given June 28, instead of May 29, as the date of the battle of Legnano. See R. de Diceto, c. 591; R. de Monte, 918.

[2] *Seeurum*] Seeyrium, Benedict.

[3] *Eodem anno*] Hoveden here collects the several notices of demolition. Benedict mentions the owners of the castles:—Leicester, Groby, Mount Sorel, and Pascy belonged to the earl of Leicester; Thirsk and Malzeard to Roger Mowbray; Freningham and Bungay to Hugh Bigot; Northallerton to the bishop of Durham. The order for the demolition of the last was not given until the council of Windsor, in May 1177.

[4] *Radulfus de Dolis*] See vol. I., pref., p. lvii.

[5] *episcopo*] et ab alio quopiam episcopo tunc temporis existente ibidem abbate. Add. Bened.

Epistola Manuelis Constantinopolitani imperatoris ad regem Angliæ patrem.[1]

A.D. 1176. Letter of Manuel Comnenus to Henry II., giving an account of his expedition into Asia Minor.

" Manuel in Christo Deo fidelis imperator, Porfirogenitus, " divinitus coronatus, sublimis, potens, excelsus, semper Au- " gustus, et moderator Romanorum, Comnanus, Henrico " nobilissimo regi Angliæ, carissimo amico suo, salutem et " omne bonum. Cum imperium nostrum necessarium repu- " tet notificare tibi, ut dilecto amico suo, de omnibus quæ " sibi obveniunt; ideo et de his, quæ nunc acciderunt ei, op- " portunum judicavit declarare tuæ nobilitati.[2] Igitur a " principio[3] imperium meum meum odium adversus Dei " inimicos Persas in corde nutrivit, dum cerneret illos in " Christianos gloriari, elevarique in nomen[4] Dei, et Christia- " norum dominari regionibus. Quocirco et alio quidem tem- " pore indifferenter invasit eos, et prout concessit ei Deus, " sic et fecit. Et quæ ab ipso frequenter patrata sunt ad " contritionem ipsorum et perditionem, sperat imperium " nostrum non latere nobilitatem tuam. Quoniam autem et " nunc maximum exercitum contra eos ducere proposuit, et " bellum contra omnem Persidem movere, quia res cogebat, " non ut voluit multum aliquem apparatum fecit, sicut ei " visum est, verumtamen prout tempus dabat, et rerum status, " potenter eos invasit. Collegit ergo circa se imperium nos- " trum potentias suas: sed quia carpenta ducebat armorum et " machinarum, manganorum, et aliorum instrumentorum confe- " rentium civitatum expugnationibus pondera portantia: id- " circo nequaquam cum festinatione iter suum agere poterat. " Amplius autem dum adhuc propriam regionem peragraret, " antequam barbarorum alius adversus nos militaret in bellis " adversarius, ægritudo difficillima, fluxus ventris, invasit nos, " qui diffusus per agmina imperii nostri pertransibat, depo- " pulando et interimendo multos, omni pugnatore gravior. Et " hoc malum invalescens maxime nos contrivit. Ex quo vero

Benedict, i. 128.

Impediments on the march; disease in the army.

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[1] Benedict's account of Manuel's expedition is abridged from the letter here copied in extenso. "Im- " perium nostrum," is "our impe- " rial majesty," Manuel speaking of himself in the third person. A very succinct and imperfect abridgment of the letter is given also by Ralph de Diceto, c. 596. Savile's text contains several verbal variations for which I can find no MS. authority.

[2] *nobilitati*] voluntati, A.B.

[3] *principio*] coronationis nostræ, ins. Savile.

[4] *nomen*] nomine, A.

Benedict, i. 128 (abridged). A.D. 1176.

Success of the Christians in the first skirmishes.

" fines Turcorum invasimus, bella quidem primum frequentia " concrepabant et agmina Turcorum cum exercitibus imperii " nostri undique dimicabant. Sed Dei gratia ex toto a nostris " in fugam vertebantur barbari. Post vero, ubi ei quæ illic " adjacet angustiæ loci, quæ a Persis nominatur Cybrilcymani, " propinquavimus, tot Persarum turmæ peditum, et equitum, " quorum pleræque ab interioribus partibus Persidis occurre- " rant in adjutorium contribulium suorum, exercitui nostro " supervenerunt, quot pene nostrorum excederent numerum.

Manuel's army marches in too straggling order.

Benedict, i. 129.

" Exercitu itaque imperii nostri propter viæ omnino angus- " tiam et difficultatem, usque ad decem milliaria extenso; et " cum neque qui præibant possent postremos defendere, neque " versa vice rursus postremi possent præeuntes juvare, non " mediocriter ab invicem hos distare accidit. Sane primæ " cohortes permultum ab acie imperii nostri dividebantur, " postremum oblitæ, illas non præstolantes. Quoniam igitur " Turcorum agmina ex jam factis præliis cognoverant, non " conferre sibi a fronte nobis repugnare, loci angustiam bonum " subventorem cum invenissent, posteriora statuerunt invadere " agmina: quod utique et fecerunt.

Attack of the barbarians.

Arctissimo igitur ubique " loco existente, instabant barbari undique, a dextris et a sinis- " tris et aliunde dimicantes, et tela quasi imbres super nos de- " scendentia interimebant viros et equos quamplures. Ad hæc " itaque imperium nostrum ubi malum superabundabat, re- " putans secum opportunum judicabat retro expectare, atque " illos, qui illic erant, adjuvare; expectando utique contra " infinita illa Persarum agmina, bellum sustinuit.

The emperor is modest as to his own exploits.

Quanta " quidem dum ab his circumdaretur, patraverit, non opus " habet dicere nunc;[1] ab illis autem, qui interfuerunt, for- " sitan discet de his tua nobilitas. Inter hæc tamen existente " imperio nostro, et omne belli gravamen in tantum sus- " tinente, postremæ cohortes universæ Græcorum et Lati- " norum, et reliquorum omnium generum conglobatæ, quæ " jaciebantur ab inimicis tela non sustinentes, impactione " utuntur, et ita violenter ferebantur, dum in adjacentem illic " collem quasi ad propugnaculum festinarent, se præcedentes " impellunt nolentes.

Terrible disaster to the Christians.

Multo autem elevato pulvere, ac per- " turbante oculos, et neminem permittente videre quæ circa " pedes erant, in præcipitium, quod aderat, profundissimæ " vallis, alius super alium, homines et equi sic incontinenter " portati corruerunt, quod alii alios conculcantes ad invicem " interemerunt non ex gregariis tantum, sed ex clarissimis et " ex intimis nostris consanguineis. Quis enim inhibere poterat

[1] *habet . . . nunc*] est ad tempus sermonibus retexere, Savile.

A.D. 1176. Stout resistance of the emperor. — Benedict, i. 130 (abridged).

"tantæ multitudinis importabilem impulsum? At vero imperium nostrum tot et tantis consertum barbaris, saucians sauciatumque, adeo ut non modicam in eos moveret perturbationem, obstupentes perseverantiam ipsius, et non remittebatur, bene juvante Deo campum obtinuit. Neque locum illum scandere adversarios permisit porro, in quo dimicavit cum barbaris. Nec quidem equum suum illorum timore incitavit celerius aliquando vestigia ponere. Sed congregando omnia agmina sua, et de morte eripiendo, ea collocavit circa se; et sic primos attigit, et ordinatim proficiscens ad exercitus suos accessit. Ex tunc ergo videns Soltanus,[1] quod post tanta, quæ acciderant exercitibus nostris, quod imperium nostrum, sicut opportunum erat, rem hujusmodi dispensavit, ut ipsum rursum invaderet, mittens supplicavit imperio nostro, et deprecatoribus usus est sermonibus, et requisivit pacem illius, promittens omnem adimplere imperii nostri voluntatem, et servitium suum contra [omnem] hominem dare, et omnes, qui in regno suo tenebantur, captivos absolvere, et esse ex toto voluntatis nostræ. Ibidem ergo per duos dies integros, in omni potestate morati sumus, et cognito quod nihil poterat fieri contra civitatem Yconii, perditis testudinibus, et machinis bellicis, eo quod boves cecidissent a telis in modum pluviæ jactis, qui eas trahebant; simul autem et quod universa animalia nostra, irruente in illa difficillima ægritudine, laborabant, suscepit Soltani deprecationem, et fœdera et juramenta peracta sub vexillis nostris, et pacem suam ei dedit. Inde egressum imperium nostrum in regionem suam regreditur, tribulationem habens non mediocrem super his, quos perdidit, consanguineis, maximas tamen Deo gratias agens, Qui per Suam bonitatem et nunc ipsum honoravit. Gratum autem habuimus, quod quosdam nobilitatis tuæ principes accidit interesse nobiscum, qui narrabunt, de omnibus quæ acciderant, tuæ nobilitati seriem. Cæterum autem licet contristati simus propter illos qui ceciderunt, opportunum tamen duximus de omnibus quæ acciderant declarare tibi, ut dilecto amico nostro, et ut per multum conjuncto imperio nostro per puerorum nostrorum intimam consanguinitatem.[2] Data mense Novembri, indictione decima."

The Sultan of Iconium proposes a peace.

An attack on Iconium being impracticable, the emperor accepts peace.

He then returns home.

English nobles fought on his side.

He recognizes the relationship of his children and Henry's.

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[1] The Sultan of Iconium was Kilidge Arslan II., 1155—1192.

[2] *consanguinitatem*] Manuel's second wife, Mary of Antioch, was daughter of Raymond of Poictiers, uncle of queen Eleanor; her children and Eleanor's would thus be second cousins. Her son by Manuel, afterwards Alexius II., married Agnes, daughter of Lewis VII.,

Eodem anno[1] Henricus rex Angliæ, filius, Matildis imperatricis, dedit Alienor filiam suam Aldefonso regi Castellæ in uxorem. A.D. 1176. Eleanor queen of Castile.

Benedict, i. 126. Eodem anno[2] Gilbertus filius Fergus, princeps Galwanorum, qui Ucthredum fratrem suum, consanguineum Henrici regis Angliæ, interficere fecerat, venit in Angliam in conductu Willelmi regis Scottorum, et devenit homo Henrici regis patris, et fidelitatem ei juravit contra omnes homines. Et pro amore ipsius habendo, dedit ei mille marcas argenti, et Dunecanum filium suum in obsidem de pace servanda.[3] Submission of Gilbert of Galloway.

Benedict, i. 124. Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ pater saisivit in manu sua omnia castella Angliæ et Normanniæ, tam episcoporum quam comitum et baronum, et custodes suos in eis posuit. Henry takes in hand all the castles.

Benedict, i. 125. Eodem anno Petrus, prior de Weneloc, factus est episcopus de Sancto David[4] in Wallia. Peter bishop of S. Davids.

Eodem anno damnata est Ariana hæresis quæ fere totam provinciam Tolosanam fædaverat, coram archiepiscopis, et episcopis, et aliis viris religiosis et honestis subscriptis.

Concilia, *Mansi*, xxii. 159. Erant itaque in provincia Tolosana quidam hæretici, qui se appellari faciebant Bonos Homines, quos manutenebant Tenets of the Good Men of Lombers.

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and sister to the wife of the younger Henry of England. But this marriage is not known to have been yet contemplated: it is said by Alberic of Trois Fontaines to have been negotiated by Philip of Flanders on his way home from the Crusade, to which he went in 1177.

[1] *Eodem anno*] This is a sad blunder. The marriage of Eleanor with Alfonso is particularly recorded by Robert de Monte as having been completed in 1170. "Alienora filia regis Anglorum "Henrici ad Hispaniam ducta est, "et ab Amfunso imperatore solem"niter desponsata."

[2] *Eodem anno*] At Feckenham, in October. Benedict, i. 126.

[3] *servanda*] Mentioned by Benedict, i. 336.

[4] *David*] Fitz Gerald, bishop 1148—1176. Peter 1176—1198.

A.D. 1176. milites de Lumbercio,[1] proponentes, et docentes populum contra fidem Christianam; dicentes etiam quod non recipiebant legem Moysi, neque Prophetas, neque Psalmos, neque Vetus Testamentum, neque doctores Novi Testamenti,[2] nisi solummodo Evangelia, et Epistolas Pauli, et septem canonicas Epistolas, et Actus Apostolorum, et Apocalypsim. Concilia, *Mansi*, xxii. 159.

They are examined as to their doctrines on the Sacraments.

Et interrogati[3] de fide sua, et de baptismo parvulorum et si salvabantur per baptismum, et de Corpore et Sanguine Domini, ubi consecrabatur, vel per quos, et qui sumebant, et si magis vel melius consecrabatur per bonum quam per malum; et de matrimonio, si poterant salvari si carnaliter jungebantur vir et mulier; responderunt, quod de fide sua et de baptismo parvulorum non dicerent, neque dicere cogebantur.[4] De Corpore et Sanguine Domini dicebant, quod qui digne sumebat salvabatur; et qui indigne, adquirebat sibi damnationem. De matrimonio autem dicebant, quod vir et mulier jungebantur propter luxuriam et fornicationem vitandam,[5] sicut dicit Paulus. 1 Cor. vii. 2.

They deny the lawfulness of oaths.

Dixerunt etiam multa non interrogati, quod non debebant jurare omnino per aliquod juramentum, sicut dicebat Johannes[6] in Evangelio, et Jacobus in epistola sua. Dixerunt etiam quod Paulus prædicebat, quod essent ordinandi in ecclesia episcopi et presbyteri, et si tales non ordinabantur, quales præcipiebat, non essent episcopi nec presbyteri, sed lupi rapaces, et hypocritæ et seductores, amantes salutationes in foro, primas cathedras, et primos accubitus in cœnis, volentes vocari S. Matt. v. 34. S. James, v. 12. S. Matt. vii. 15.

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[1] The acts of the council of Lombers, of which the following pages are a careful abridgment, are published in the Collections of Councils, Labbe and Cossart, x. 1470, and Mansi, xxii. 159, &c., from a MS. belonging to Sirmond, which gives A.D. 1165 as the date of the transaction. Vaissete saw another copy belonging to the Inquisition of Carcassonne, with the same date. (Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, iii. 535.) Hoveden's version is very slightly abridged: but Savile, or the MS. he used, has treated the text in a very profligate manner, omitting names, and inserting wrong amplifications of initial letters.

[2] *neque . . . Testamenti*] om. M.

[3] *Et interrogati*] In the Acta, these questions are given separately, and the answers appended to each; and the seventh interrogation is treated here instead of below: but the words are for the most part accurately given by Hoveden.

[4] *neque . . . cogebantur*] nisi cogerentur, M.

[5] *vitandam*] om. M.

[6] *Johannes*] Jesus, M.

Concilia, *Mansi*, xxii. 159. S. Matt. xxiii. 7. — A.D. 1176. They deny that obedience is due to unworthy priests.

Rabbi, contra præceptum Christi; ferentes albas et candidas vestes, gestantes in digitis aureos annulos et gemmatos, quod non præcipit Magister eorum. Et idcirco quia episcopi et presbyteri erant tales, quales fuerunt presbyteri qui tradiderunt Jesum, non debebant illis obedire, quia mali erant.

Council of Lombers.

Auditis itaque utrinque allegationibus coram Girardo Albiensi episcopo, electis etiam et statutis judicibus ab utraque parte, et consentientibus, atque assidentibus præfato[1] episcopo Girardo Albiensi, et R. Castrensi abbate, et P. abbate Ardurellensi, et abbate de Candilio, et Arnaldo Nerbone, in præsentia bonorum virorum, tam clericorum quam laicorum, videlicet domini P. Narbonensis archiepiscopi, et G. Tolosani episcopi, et A. Nemausensis episcopi, et G. Agathensis episcopi, et R. abbatis Sancti Pontii, et P. Sendracensis abbatis, et abbatis de Fonte Frigido, et abbatis de Galliaco, et M. præpositi Tolosani, et G. præpositi Albiensis, et archidiaconorum Narbonensis et Argathensis, et G. prioris Sanctæ Mariæ de Montepessolano, et B. prioris de Villa Nova, et magistri Blanci, et B. de Verreiras; et laicorum, videlicet Trenkevalli, et Constantiæ uxoris Raimundi comitis Tolosani, et S. vicecomitis Lautrecensis, et J. de Dornua, et multorum virorum, et fere totius populi Albiæ et Lumberci: contra quæ prædicti hæretici proponebant, inductæ sunt Novi Testamenti multæ auctoritates a domino P. Narbonensi archiepiscopo, et A. Neumacensi episcopo, et Cendracensi abbate, et abbate de Fonte Frigido. Præfati enim hæretici nolebant recipere judicium nisi per Novum Testamentum. Talem ergo diffini-

[1] The threefold uncertainty of the initials, of their appropriation, and of the dates of the persons to whom they may be appropriated, makes it impossible to argue the date of the council from them. The following may be identified: Girald bishop of Toulouse, Adalbert of Nismes, William of Agde, and Gaucelin of Lodeve; Pontius archbishop of Narbonne; Rigald abbot of Castres, Peter of Sendras, Raymond of S. Pontius, Maurice provost of Toulouse, and Constance daughter of Lewis VI. and wife of Raymond V. of Toulouse. Two of these, the bishops of Toulouse and Agde, died before 1176. On the other hand *Girard* bishop of Alby, acccording to the Gallia Christiana, became bishop in that year. For *Girard*, however, Vaissete's Carcassonne MS. reads simply *G.*; which might stand for *Guillelmus*, who was bishop in 1165. Vaissete has a long argument in favour of the earlier date. Trenkevallus may be either Raymond, 1150–1167; or Roger, 1167–1194, the son-in-law of Constance.

A.D. 1176. Council of Lombers. Sentence of the bishop of Lodeve.

tivam sententiam ex Novo Testamento protulit Lugdovensis episcopus coram omnibus prædictis, facto a cunctis silentio. Concilia, *Mansi*, xxii. 160.

Condemnation of the Heretics.

" Ego G. Lugdovensis episcopus, ex mandato Albiensis " episcopi et assessorum ejus, judico istos hæreticos esse, et " damno sententiam Oliverii, et sociorum ejus ubicunque " sunt. Et hoc judicamus per Novum Testamentum.

I. Conviction of heresy as rejecting the Old Testament Scriptures.

" (I.) In primo capitulo damnamus eos et judicamus hære- " ticos esse. Lex enim recipienda est per evangelium, et qui " legem non recipit Dominum Jesum Christum non credit. " Ipse enim in Evangelio dicit, 'Si crederetis Moysi,' etc. Et- " iterum, 'Non veni legem solvere, sed adimplere.' Et iterum, " 'Oportet impleri, quæ scripta sunt in lege et prophetis et " 'psalmis de Me,' etc. 'Et incipiens a Moyse interpreta- " 'batur illis scripturas,' etc. Quare autem interpretabatur " scripturas, et quare dabat doctrinam de lege et prophetis, " nisi quia volebat ut legem et prophetas reciperent, et ut con- " firmarentur in fide per legem et prophetas? Multa etiam " Dominus Jesus inducebat de Lege et Prophetis et Psalmis, " quod quidem Bonus Magister non fecisset, nisi Lex et Pro- " phetæ et Psalmi recipiendi essent. Ostendit etiam factis " legem esse bonam, quia circumcisus est, et in templo præ- " sentatus, et hostia pro Eo oblata secundum legem Moysi. " Et Ipse ascendit ad diem festum. In transfiguratione " quoque Moyses et Elias prophetæ apparuerunt, perhiben- " tes ei testimonium. Convincimus etiam eos per epistolas, " ait enim Paulus, "Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram " 'doctrinam scripta sunt,' etc. Et iterum, 'Omnis scrip- " 'tura divinitus inspirata,' etc. Et iterum, 'Nihil extra " 'dico quam ea quæ locuti sunt prophetæ futura esse.' Et " Petrus, 'Habemus firmiorem propheticum sermonem,' etc. " Quod etiam doctores recipiendi sunt, testatur Paulus: " 'Quosdam quidem posuit Deus in ecclesia,' etc. Paulus " etiam inducit legis exemplum, dicens, "Maledictus omnis, " 'qui non permanet in omni verbo legis.' Et tam ipse quam " cæteri apostoli multa inducunt testimonia de lege et pro- " phetis et psalmis. Quod quidem non fecissent, si eorum " dicta recipienda non essent. Confessi sunt etiam isti hære- " tici se recipere Moysen et prophetas et psalmos, in his " tantum testimoniis quæ inducuntur a Jesu et apostolis, et " non aliis: non enim dicimus, quod si instrumentum, vel " scriptum testimonium, in aliqua parte sui creditur, debet " totum credi, vel in nulla parte sui recipi.

S. John, v. 46. S. Matt. v. 17. S. Luke, xxiv. 44. S. Luke xxiv. 27. S. John, vii. 10. Rom. xv. 4. 2 Tim. iii. 16. Acts, xxvi. 22. 2 S. Pet. i. 19. 1 Cor. xii. 28. Gal. iii. 10.

II. Conviction of heresy as refusing to acknowledge their belief.

" (II.) In secundo capitulo convincimus istos et judicamus " hæreticos esse, auctoritatibus Novi Testamenti. Dicimus " enim quod fidem catholicam non habet, qui eam non con-

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Concilia, *Mansi*, xxii. 161. "fitetur, quando interrogatur, vel fides periclitatur. Unde "Dominus in Actibus Apostolorum ad Ananiam de Paulo "dicit, 'Vas electionis est Mihi, ut portet nomen Meum,' etc. (Acts ix. 15.) "Item Dominus de centurione, 'Non inveni tantam fidem in "Israel.' (S. Matt. viii. 10.) Cum fuisset etiam apostolis denunciatum ne loque- "rentur in nomine Jesu Christi, confidenter dicit Petrus, "'Oportet nos obedire Deo magis quam hominibus,' etc. (Acts v. 29.) "Interrogatus quis de fide Jesu Christi respondere debet, "sicut fecit Petrus. Interrogatus enim a Domino, 'Quem "'dicunt homines esse filium hominis?' respondit, 'Tu es "'Christus Filius Dei vivi.' (S. Matt. xvi. 16.) Interrogatus quoque cæcus "illuminatus a Domino, si credat in Filium Dei, re- "spondit, 'Credo, Domine.' (S. John, ix. 35.) Interrogata autem a Domino "Martha, 'Credis hoc?' ait Illi, 'Utique, Domine, ego "credidi quia Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi, Qui in hunc "'mundum venisti.' (S. John, xi. 26, 27.) Item apostolus, 'Corde creditur ad jus- "'titiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem.' (Rom. x. 10.) Item Petrus in "fine suæ epistolæ ait, melius enim traduntur memoriæ, "quæ in fine sermonum dicuntur, 'Dominum Jesum Christum "'sanctificate in cordibus vestris,' etc. (1 S. Pet. iii. 15.) Isti etiam hæretici "jactabant se non mentiri, nos autem dicimus quia plane "mentiuntur. Est enim fraus in tacendo et in dicendo. "Unde Paulus confidenter in faciem restitit Petro, quia cir- "cumcidebat. Visum enim fuerat Paulo quod veritatem "evangelii non annunciaret, quia aliud præcipiebat quam "credebat. Veritas enim constat in tribus, in corde et ore "et opere. Veraciter enim dicit qui voluntatem suam sono "vocis enunciat, et qui quod corde tenet, ore fatetur, et ope- "ribus exequitur.[1]

III. Conviction of heresy, on the subject of baptism.

"(III.) In tertio capitulo convincimus istos et judi- "camus hæreticos esse, Novi Testamenti auctoritatibus. Di- "cimus enim quod Deus vult omnem hominem salvum fieri, "etc. (1 Tim. ii. 4.) Nec Christus pro omnibus esset crucifixus, si tantum "salvarentur majores, qui originali peccato actualia peccata "addiderunt, et si infantes non salvarentur, quos Deus crea- "verat et formaverat ad imaginem et similitudinem Suam, "qui nullum peccatum forte fecerant, sed tantum originale "contraxerunt. Baptisma enim omnibus generaliter est tra- "ditum, tam majoribus quam minoribus, sicut ait Dominus

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[1] Several additional authorities are quoted in the Acta, on this head: especially S. Matt. xviii. 16; x. 32; S. Luke, xxiv. 47; 1 S. John, iv. 2; 1 Cor. xii. 3; S. Matt. viii. 29; S. Mark, i. 24; Acts xix. 15; S. Matt. vii. 21; Wisdom i. 5.

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" discipulis : 'Ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos, in Concilia, *Mansi*, xxii. 162.
" 'nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.' Et iterum,
" 'Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu,' etc. Et S. Matt. xxviii. 19.
" iterum Dominus : 'Sinite parvulos venire ad Me.' Quod S. John iii. 3.
" quidem dicit duplici ex causa. Scilicet, ut qui salvari S. Mark x. 14.
" volunt, malitia et dolo parvuli sint, et iidem simplices, sicut 1 Cor. xiv. 20.
" Ipse ait, 'Nisi efficiamini sicut parvulus iste,' etc. Et S. Matt. xviii. 3, 5.
" idem dicit, ne apostoli eorumque sequaces super parvulis
" baptizandis unquam dubitarent. Baptisma enim successit
" in locum circumcisionis, quæ quidem præcepta erat in
" majoribus et in infantibus. Et baptisma est generalius et
" plenius, quia masculi et fœminæ baptizantur, et gratiæ ibi
" præstantur. Si autem cum fide salvantur infantes, cum
" ipsi fidem non habeant, 'sine qua impossibile est placere Heb. xi. 6.
" 'Deo,' dicimus quia fide ecclesiæ, vel fide patrinorum, sicut
" paralyticus est curatus fide offerentium, per tegulas sub- S. Luke, v. 19.
" mittentium eum ; et filius reguli et filia Chananeæ salvati S. John iv. 53.
" sunt eadem hora qua regulus et Chananea crediderunt. S. Matt. xv. 28.
" Dicimus enim quod baptisma debet celebrari in ecclesia
" et per ministros ecclesiæ nisi necessitas urgeat. Unde
" dicit Paulus, 'Qui idoneos nos fecit ministros Novi Testa- 2 Cor. iii. 6.
" 'menti.'

IV. Conviction of heresy, on the Eucharist : the priesthood : and the use of churches.

" (IV.) In quarto capitulo convincimus et judicamus istos
" hæreticos esse Novi Testamenti auctoritatibus. Quia Domi-
" nicum Corpus non consecratur nisi per sacerdotem, sive
" bonus sit, sive malus. Per verba enim sacra, quæ dixit
" Salvator in cœna, scilicet, 'Hoc est corpus Meum, et hic S. Matt. xxvi. 26, 28.
" 'est sanguis Meus,' consecratur et conficitur Dominicum
" Corpus. Sicut enim imperatoris, vel regis Franciæ, vel
" alicujus potentis nuncius, non corrumpit nec vilificat sui
" abjectione vel pannositate quod dicit, sic verba Domini non
" variantur nec maculantur. Et sicut solis radius transiens
" per cloacas maculam non contrahit, nec fœtorem : vel sicut
" aqua pura et nitida transit ad arriolas [1] per cannales luteos
" aut sordidos vel limosos : sic verba Dominica non sordi-
" dantur, nec melius nec nitidius per bonum quam per malum
" proferuntur ; quoniam apud Deum 'non est transmutatio S. James, i. 17.
" 'nec vicissitudinis obumbratio.' Quod autem Dominicum
" Corpus celebrari [2] non debeat nisi in ecclesia, Paulus ait,
" 'Aut ecclesiam Dei contemnitis ? Numquid domos non 1 Cor. xi. 22.

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[1] *arriolas*] areolas, M.
[2] *celebrari*] consecrari, Savile, in marg.

Concilia, Mansi, xxii. 163. — A.D. 1176. Council of Lombers.

" 'habetis ad manducandum?' Item Paulus ad Titum:[1]
" 'Oportet te conversari in domo Dei, quæ est ecclesia Dei
1 Tim. iii. 15. " 'vivi, columna et firmamentum veritatis.' Omnes etiam
" fideles debent doctrinam suam in ecclesia accipere. Unde
1 Cor. xiv. 35. " Paulus, 'Mulieribus loqui in ecclesia non permitto,' etc.
Ps. lxviii. 25. " Hic est enim panis angelorum, quem manducat homo, qui
" descendit de cœlo: et sicut manna quod pluerat de cœlo, et
" virga Aaron quæ fronduerat, servabantur in arca, et tabulæ
" testamenti quæ erant scriptæ digito Dei; sic Corpus Do-
" minicum non consecratur nec custoditur nisi in ecclesia
Heb. ix. 4. " sicut carissimum sanctuarium Domini. Et sicut arca defere-
" batur in humeris a solis Levitis et custodiebatur, et soli
" Levitæ ministrabant in tabernaculo Domini; sic solis sacer-
" dotibus et illorum ministris commissa est ecclesiæ cura
Rev. xi. 19. " et tradita. De hac arca dicitur in Apocalypsi, 'Apertum
" 'est cœlum, et visa est arca testamenti in templo Ejus.'
" Solis etiam sacerdotibus tradita est potestas ligandi atque
S. Matt. xvi. 19. " solvendi. Unde Dominus ait Petro, 'Quodcunque ligaveris
" 'super terram erat ligatum et in cœlis,' etc. Et Paulus
Titus i. 5. " ad Timotheum, 'Hujus rei gratia reliqui te Cretæ, ut
" 'corrigas mala, ea quæ Dei sunt custodias, et ut consti-
" 'tuas presbyteros per singulas civitates.' Item de ordinibus,
1 Tim. v. 17. " 'Presbyteri qui bene præsunt duplici honore digni habe-
1 Tim. v. 19. " 'antur.' Item, 'Adversus presbyterum accusationem noli
" 'accipere, nisi sub duobus vel tribus testibus,' etc. Et item,
1 Tim. iii. 8. " 'Oportet diaconos pudicos esse.' Et item, 'Omnibus qui sunt
Phil. i. 1. " 'Philippis episcopis et diaconibus gratia sit vobis et pax.'
" Ecce quibus committit verba Dei, scilicet verba prædicationis
2 Tim. iv. 2. " et correptionis. Item Paulus, 'Argue, obsecra, increpa,' etc.
S. Matt. xxviii. 20. " Et item Dominus ad discipulos, 'Docete eos servare omnia
" 'quæcunque mandavi vobis.' Istis ergo presbyteris, episcopis, — Argument as to unworthy priests.
" diaconibus, clerici et laici debent obedire, propter Deum,
S. Matt. xxiii. 2. " sive boni sunt sive mali. Unde Dominus, 'Supra cathe-
" 'dram Moysi sedebunt scribæ et Pharisæi; quæ dicunt,
" 'facite; quæ autem faciunt, nolite facere, dicunt enim et non
1 S. Pet. ii. 18. " 'faciunt.' Et Petrus de potestatibus, 'Subditi estote dominis
" 'vestris, non tantum bonis et modestis, sed etiam dyscolis.'
Titus i. 9. " Et item, 'Sit pastor potens in doctrina sua.' Et item,
Heb. xiii. 17. " 'Obedite præpositis vestris, et subjacete eis. Ipsi enim
" 'propter vos vigilant quasi pro animabus vestris, rationem
" 'reddituri, ut cum gaudio hæc faciant, et non gementes.'
Heb. xiii. 7. " Et item, 'Mementote præpositorum vestrorum, qui vobis
" 'locuti sunt verbum Dei; quorum intuentes exitum con-

[1] *Titum*] Properly *Timotheum*.

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" 'versationis, imitamini fidem.' 'Quia qui altario deservit de " 'altario participet. Et si vobis spiritualia seminavimus, " 'magnum si carnalia vestra metamus?' etc. Et item ad " Timotheum, 'Tu autem permane in his, quæ didicisti et cre- " 'dita sunt tibi; quia ab infantia sacras litteras didicisti, quæ " 'te possunt instruere ad salutem.'

Concilia, *Mansi*, xxii. 164. 1 Cor. ix. 11, 13. 2 Tim. iii. 15.

V. Conviction of heresy as to marriage.

" (V.) In quinto capitulo convincimus et judicamus istos " hæreticos esse, Novi Testamenti auctoritatibus; quia nolunt " confiteri, quod vir et mulier possunt salvari si carnaliter " misceantur. Qui quidem palam prædicare soliti sunt, quod " vir et mulier salvari non poterant, si[1] carnaliter conven- " erint. Laudant enim et approbant pecudum fœcundita- " tem, et improbant fœcunditatem hominum. Amant steri- " litatem mulierum, sicut dicit Scriptura, 'Beatæ steriles " 'quæ non genuerunt,' etc. Et hoc prædicant, ut innumera- " bilis substantiæ rarus inveniatur dominus, et quæ facta est " creatura ad usum et servitium hominum, careat possessore, " habitatore, rectore; volentes omnes esse sicut ipsi sunt, " juxta quod ait Paulus, 'Volo omnes esse sicut ego sum.' " Et sic virginitatem videntur prædicare, ut sint omnes vir- " gines sicut fuit Christus et Maria virgo, quamvis Ipse " dixerit, 'Crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram.'

S. Luke, xxiii. 29. 1 Cor. vii. 7. Gen. i. 28.

Refutation of the tenets of the heretics on marriage.

" Videntur enim nuptias[2] damnare, quas quidem Dominus " Jesus Christus et Mariæ matris suæ, et discipulorum " præsentia dedicavit, et sua, et aquæ in vinum versæ " miraculo illustravit. Dicitur enim in evangelio, 'Quod " 'Deus conjunxit, homo non separet, nisi causa fornica- " 'tionis liceat viro uxorem dimittere.' Item Paulus, Qui " 'matrimonio jungit virginem suam bene facit.' Et item, " 'Si nubat virgo non peccat.' Et item, 'Mulier alligata est " 'legi quanto tempore vivit vir ejus, nec potestatem habet " 'corporis sui, sed vir.' Similiter et de viro, et item, 'No- " 'lite fraudare invicem, nisi ex consensu, ut vacetis orationi, " 'postea autem revertimini in idipsum ne tentet vos Sathanas.' " Item, 'Volo juvenes nubere, filios procreare, patresfamilias " 'esse.' Et item, 'Non ego dico, sed Dominus: salvabitur " 'mulier per filiorum generationem.' Si esset peccatum filios " procreare, quare diceret Dominus? quare diceret bonum esse " apostolus? et cur diceret 'revertimini,' et 'volo;' nunquid " vult Deus, nunquid vult apostolus ut fiat peccatum? Cre- " dimus etiam quod vir et mulier[3] salvantur, licet carnaliter " misceantur.

S. Matt. xix. 6, 9. 1 Cor. vii. 38. 1 Cor. vii. 28, 39. 1 Cor. vii. 4, 5. 1 Tim. v. 14. 1 Cor. vii. 10. 1 Tim. ii. 15.

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[1] *si*] nisi, M.
[2] *nuptias*] detrahere et eas, Savile, with the Acta.
[3] *mulier*] uxor, M.

Concilia, *Mansi*, xxii. 164. A.D. 1176. Council of Lombers. VI. Conviction of the heretics as disobedient.

"(VI.) In sexto capitulo convincimus et judicamus istos "hæreticos esse, et ab unitate ecclesiæ præcisos, Novi Testa-"menti auctoritatibus. Dicimus enim quia ministerium et "potestatem ligandi atque solvendi Dominus tradidit Petro, "dicens, 'Quodcunque ligaveris super terram,' etc. Et "Jacobus, 'Infirmatur quis in vobis? inducat presbyteros "'ecclesiæ.' Et item, 'Ecce ego mitto ad vos et sapientes "'et scribas.' Sed sicut ait Dominus, 'Non omnes capiunt "'verbum istud.' Præterea dicimus, quia stantes deberent "de evangelio respondere et disputare, cum omnes Christiani "stent quando evangelium recitatur, et si tunc statur cum "legitur, multo fortius cum[1] exponitur, nec debuissent "tenere locum sedendi postquam elegerant locum standi. "Multas etiam habemus auctoritates quibus colligitur mani-"feste, quod stare debeat quis cum Evangelium annun-"ciatur.[2] Ut est illud, 'Stetit Jesus in loco campestri,' "etc. Et item, 'Stetit Jesus et clamabat dicens.' 'Medius "autem vestrum stetit, quem vos nescitis.' Et item, post "resurrectionem Apostolos confirmans et prædicans stetit, "ut dicitur, 'Stetit Jesus in medio discipulorum Suorum, "et dixit eis, Pax vobis.' Ipsi autem non obtinent locum "judicantis, sed respondentis. Dominus enim sedere debuit, "Cui a Patre omne judicium datum est. Isti autem non "judicant, sed judicantur. Nec eis est in ecclesiis mys-"terium[3] concessum prædicandi. Isti autem hæretici tales "sunt quales futuros esse prænunciat [Paulus] dicens, 'Mali "'homines et seductores proficient in pejus, errantes et in "'errorem mittentes: erit enim tempus cum sanam doctrinam "'non sustinebunt, sed a veritate auditum avertent, ad fabulas "'autem convertentur.' Et item, 'Quidam aberrantes conversi "'sunt in vaniloquium, volentes esse legis doctores, nec intel-"'ligentes neque quæ loquuntur, neque de quibus affirmant.' "Istorum autem inobedientiam punire deberent ecclesiæ præ-"lati, atque corrigere coram omnibus. Unde apostolus, 'Pec-"'catores coram omnibus arguantur, ut cæteri corrigantur.' "Item Paulus ad prælatos, 'Habentes in promptu ulcisci "'omnem inobedientiam,' 'et eos qui contradicunt potentes "'arguere.' Et item, 'Argue, obsecra, increpa, in omni im-"'perio.' Et item, 'Tradidi hujusmodi Sathanæ, ut in die "'judicii,' etc. Et item, 'Judicavi absens eum, qui hujusmodi "'est.' Et item, 'Qui aliud vobis annunciaverit anathema "'sit.'"

S. Matt. xvi. 19. S. James, v. 14. S. Matt. xxiii. 34. S. Matt. xix. 11. S. Luke, vi. 20. S. John, viii. 37. S. John, i. 26. S. John, xx. 19. 2 Tim. iii. 13, and iv. 3. 1 Tim. i. 6. 1 Tim. v. 20. 2 Cor. x. 6. Titus, i. 2 Tim. iv. 2. 1 Cor. v. 3, 5. Gal. i. 8.

[1] *cum*] legitur simul et, ins. Savile.

[2] *annunciatur*] adnunciat, M.

[3] *mysterium*] ministerium, M.

A.D. 1176. Council of Lombers.

VII. Examination of the heretics on penitence.

[1] Septimo loco interrogavit eos prædictus episcopus de pœnitentia, si in fine fieret ad salutem, vel si milites vulnerabantur letaliter salvarentur, si pœniterent in fine; vel si deberet unusquisque confiteri peccata sua sacerdotibus et ministris ecclesiæ, vel cuilibet laico, vel de quibus dixit Jacobus, "Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra." Qui respondentes dixerunt, infirmis sufficere si confitentur cui vellent. De militibus vero dicere noluerunt, quia non dicit Jacobus nisi de infirmantibus. Quæsivit etiam ab eis si sufficiebat sola cordis contritio et oris confessio; vel si erat necesse ut facerent satisfactionem post datam pœnitentiam, jejuniis, afflictionibus, et eleemosynis, peccata sua lugentes, si suppeteret eis facultas. Responderunt, dicentes, quia Jacobus dicebat, "Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra ut "salvemini," et per hoc sciebant quod apostolus aliud non præcipiebat nisi ut confiterentur, et sic salvarentur, nec volebant meliores esse apostolo, ut aliquid de suo adjungerent, sicut episcopi faciunt.

Concilia, *Mansi*, xxii. 159.

S. James, v. 16.

S. James, v. 16.

The heretics reviled the bishop.

Responderunt[2] etiam hæretici quia episcopus qui dederat sententiam erat hæreticus, et non ipsi, et erat inimicus eorum, et erat lupus rapax, et hypocrita, inimicus Dei, et quod non bene judicaverat: et quod noluerunt ei respondere[3] de fide sua, quia cavebant se ab eo, sicut eis præceperat Dominus in evangelio, "Attendite a falsis prophetis qui veni-"ent ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt "lupi rapaces," et ipse erat persecutor eorum fraudulentus, et parati erant ostendere per evangelia et epistolas, quod non erat bonus pastor, nec ipse, nec cæteri episcopi vel presbyteri, sed potius mercenarii. Respondit episcopus dicens, quod sententia in eos de jure erat dictata, et hoc paratus erat probare in curia domini catholici Alexandri papæ, vel in curia Lodowici regis Franciæ, vel in curia Raimundi comitis Tolosani, vel uxoris ejus quæ erat præsens, vel in curia præsentis Trenkevelli, quod recte fuerat judicatum, et quod ipsi manifeste essent hæretici, et quod hæresi notati. Et promisit se eos accusare hæresi, in omni curia catholica, et se subiturum judicium discriminis.[4]

Mansi, xxii. 165.

S. Matt. viii. 15.

S. John, x. 12.

The bishop's reply.

[1] The following passage, *Septimo loco . . . faciunt*, is omitted in the version of the Acts of the Council given in Labbe and Cossart, and Mansi, having been given above in the short statement of the questions introductory to the detailed account of the examination.

[2] *Responderunt*] Subjunxerunt, Savile.

[3] *et quod . . . respondere*] nec de fide sua respondere voluerunt, Savile.

[4] *judicium discriminis*] judicii discrimen, M.

Concilia, *Mansi*, xxii. 165. A.D. 1176. Council of Lombers. The heretics confess their faith.

Videntes autem hæretici se esse convictos atque confusos, converterunt se ad omnem plebem dicentes: "Audite, O "boni viri, fidem nostram, quam confitemur nunc propter "amorem[1] et gratiam vestri." Respondit episcopus prædictus, "Vos non dicitis, quod propter Deum dicatis, sed "propter gratiam populi." Et illi inquiunt; Nos credimus unum Deum[2] trinum et unum, Patrem, et Filium, "et Spiritum Sanctum; et Filium Dei carnem nostram[3] "suscepisse, baptizatum esse in Jordane, jejunasse in deserto, "prædicasse salutem nostram, passum, mortuum, atque sepultum, ad inferos descendisse, resurrexisse tertia die, ad "cœlos ascendisse, Spiritum Paracletum in die Pentecosten "misisse, venturum in die judicii ad judicandum vivos et "mortuos, et omnes resurrecturos. Cognoscimus etiam quia "quod corde credimus ore debemus confiteri; credimus quia "non salvatur qui non manducat Corpus Christi, et quod "Corpus Christi non consecratur, nisi in ecclesia, et non "nisi a sacerdote, sive bono sive malo, nec melius fieri per "bonum quam per malum. Credimus etiam quod non salvatur "quis, nisi qui baptizatur, et parvulos salvari per baptisma. "Credimus etiam quod vir et mulier salvantur, licet carnaliter "misceantur; et quod pœnitentiam quislibet debeat accipere "ore et corde; et a sacerdote et in ecclesia baptizari." Et si quid amplius posset eis ostendi per evangelia vel epistolas, illi crederent et confiterentur.

They refuse to swear.

Interrogavit etiam eos prædictus episcopus si jurarent se tenere fidem istam et credere, et si quid amplius deberent confiteri, quia male senserant et prædicaverant ante.[4] Respondentes dixerunt, quod nullo modo jurarent, quia contra evangelium et epistolas facerent. Contra eos autem inductæ sunt Novi Testamenti auctoritates a prædictis catholicis personis. Auditis itaque utrinque auctoritatibus, surgens prædictus episcopus judicavit sic; "Ego G. Lodovensis episco-"pus, jussu et mandato Albiensis episcopi et assessorum "ejus, judico, et in præsentia dico, quod male sentiunt "hæretici de jurejurando, et debent jurare si resipiscere vo-"lunt, præstandumque est jusjurandum ubi fides periclitatur. "Et quia infames sunt et de hæresi notati, debent purgare "suam innocentiam, et redeuntes ad unitatem ecclesiæ, fidem "suam debent jurejurando astruere, sicut tenet et credit "ecclesia catholica; ne infirmi, qui in ecclesia sunt, corrum-"pantur, et ne oves morbidæ universum gregem contaminent.

The bishop of Lodeve declares the lawfulness of oaths; and condemns the heretics.

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[1] *amorem*] dilectionem, M.
[2] *Deum*] vivum et verum, ins. M.
[3] *nostram*] om. M.
[4] *ante*] annon, M.

A.D. 1176. Council of Lombers.

"Nec contra est evangelium vel epistola Pauli.[1] Quod enim dicitur in evangelio, 'sit sermo vester, est, est, non, non, 'neque jurabis per cœlum neque per terram,' etc., non prohibetur jurare per Deum sed per creaturas. Gentes enim colebant creaturas, et si licitum fuisset jurare per creaturas, reverentia et honor, qui Deo soli debetur, creaturis exhiberetur; et sic idola et creaturæ, sicut Deus, adorarentur. Legitur enim in Apocalypsi quod 'Angelus levavit manum 'suam in cœlum, et juravit per Viventem in sæcula 'sæculorum.' Et Paulus ad Hebræos inquit, 'Quoniam 'Deus neminem habuit, per quem juraret majorem, jura'vit itaque per Semetipsum. Homines enim per ma'jorem sui jurant, et omnis controversiæ eorum finis ad 'confirmationem est juramentum. In quibus abundantius 'volens ostendere Deus pollicitationis hæredibus immobili'tatem consilii Sui interposuit jusjurandum.' Juravit enim Deus dicens, 'Juravi per Memetipsum,' et item, 'Juravit 'Dominus et non pœnitebit Eum.' Apostolus etiam frequenter juravit per Deum sic, 'Testis est mihi Deus.' Et item, 'Testor Deum.' Si itaque juravit Dominus, juravit angelus, juravit apostolus, cur non recte juratur, maxime ubi fides periclitatur? Vel illud quod dicitur in Evangelio et epistola Jacobi, consilium est et non præceptum; quia si non juraretur non dejuraretur, et quod amplius est a malo est, id est, a peccato vel Diabolo qui suadet jurare per creaturas."

Concilia, *Mansi*, xxii. 166.

S. Matt. v. 34. 37.

Rev. x. 5, 6.

Heb. vi. 16.

Gen. xx. 16.

Ps. cx. 4.

S. James, v 12.

The heretics plead that they had a promise not to be forced to swear.

Videntes itaque quod super hoc erant convicti, dixerunt, quod episcopus Albiensis[2] fecerat eis pactum, quod non cogeret eos jurare. Quod et Albiensis episcopus negavit.

Sentence confirmed by the judges.

Surgens itaque episcopus Albiensis dixit: "Sententiam, quam protulit G. Lodowensis episcopus, ego confirmo, et jussu meo data est. Et commoneo milites de Lumbercio, ut non manuteneant eos, per finitionem[3] quam fecerunt in manu mea." "Ego Candeliensis[4] abbas, electus judex, hanc sententiam laudo, et assensu meo sic data est." "Eg Ardulesensis[5] abbas, electus judex, hanc sententiam laudo, et assensu meo sic data est." "Ego Arnaldus de Be, electus judex, hanc sententiam laudo et meo assensu sic data est." "Ego P. Narbonensis episcopus, et ego A. Nemausensis episcopus, et ego G. Tolosanus episcopus, et ego V. Agathensis episcopus, et ego R.[6] abbas Sancti Pontii, et ego R. Abbas

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[1] *Pauli*] Jacobi, M.

[2] *Albiensis*] Albericus, Savile.

[3] *finitionem*] plivitionem, M.

[4] *Candeliensis*] Castrensis, M.

[5] *Ardulesensis*] Ardulensis, M.

[6] *R.*] Raimundus, M.

Concilia, *Mansi*, xxii. 167.

A.D. 1176. Sentence of the Council of Lombers.

"Sancti Willelmi, et ego N. abbas Galliaciensis, et ego "abbas Fontis Frigidi, et ego M. Tolosanus præpositus, et "ego G. Albiensis præpositus, et ego N. Narbonensis "præpositus, et ego R. Agathensis archidiaconus, et ego "G.[1] prior de Sancta Maria, et ego P. Sendracensis abbas, "et ego magister Blancus, et ego Bego de Veireiras, et ego "Trenkevellus vicecomes, et ego Constantia soror regis "Franciæ uxor Raimundi comitis Tolosani, et ego Sicardus "vicecomes Lautrocensis,[2] hanc sententiam ratam habemus, "et istos hæreticos esse scimus, et eorum sententiam "improbamus."

XX^mus III^tius annus regni regis Henrici, filii Matildis imperatricis.

Benedict, i. 131.

A.D. 1177. The king spends Christmas 1176 at Northampton.

Anno gratiæ M°C°LXX°VII°., qui erat annus vicesimus tertius regni regis Henrici, filii Matildis imperatricis, idem Henricus, et Gaufridus comes Britanniæ, et Johannes, filii ejus fuerunt simul in Anglia apud Northamtun[3] in festo Natalis Domini. Eodem die Henricus rex filius ejus, et uxor illius, fuerunt in Normannia apud Argentomium. Eodem die Ricardus filius ejus comes Pictaviæ fuit in Aquitannia apud civitatem Burdegalensem: qui statim post Natale Domini obsedit Akensem civitatem, quam Petrus[4] vicecomes Akensis, et comes[5] Bigorniæ, contra eum munierant, et infra decem dies cepit. Deinde obsedit Baoniam civitatem, quam Ernaldus Bertramus vicecomes Baoniæ contra eum munierat, et infra decem dies cepit. Et inde promovens exercitum suum usque ad portas Cizaræ, quæ nunc Portæ Hispaniæ dicuntur, obsedit castellum Sancti Petri, et cepit[6] et demolitus est illud; et compulit per vim Basclos et Navarenses jurare, quod pacem ab illa hora peregrinis et inter se servarent in perpetuum;

Benedict, i. 132.

Richard takes Dax, Bayonne, and other places on the frontier of Spain.

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[1] *G.*] Prior of S. Mary's, Montpellier.

[2] *Lautrocensis*] Lauracensis, M.

[3] *Northamtun*] Notingham, Benedict. Henry did not go to Northampton before Jan. 13. Bened. i. 132. The error is paralleled by that at p. 87, above.

[4] *Petrus*] viscount of Dax was son-in-law of the count of Bigorre.

[5] *comes*] Centulus III.

[6] *cepit*] scilicet Dominica proxima post Epiphaniam, Benedict.

A.D. 1177. et destruxit omnes malas consuetudines, quæ inductæ erant apud Sorges et apud Espurun.[1] Benedict, i. 132.

Jan. 13. Council at Northampton.

Interim rex Angliæ pater, celebrato concilio generali apud Northamtune post festum Sancti Hilarii, reddidit Roberto comiti Leicestriæ omnes terras suas citra mare et ultra, sicut eas habuit quindecim diebus ante guerram, exceptis castellis de Munsorel et de Pasci. Benedict, i. 134.

Restoration of the earls of Leicester and Chester.

Similiter Hugoni comiti Cestriæ reddidit omnes terras suas quas habuit quindecim diebus ante guerram; et Willelmo de Albeneio, filio Willelmi comitis de Arundel, dedit comitatum de Suthsexe. Benedict, i. 135. Benedict, i. 133.

Proceedings in the change of foundation at Waltham.

Et in eodem concilio Gwido decanus refutavit in manu Ricardi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi decanatum suum de Walteham,[2] et totum jus, quod ipse in ecclesia de Waltham habuit, quietum clamavit simpliciter et absolute. Similiter fecerunt canonici sæculares de Waltham de præbendis suis, resignantes eas in manu archiepiscopi, sed dominus rex dedit eis inde plenariam recompensationem, ad domini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi æstimationem. Deinde dominus rex auctoritate domini papæ instituit in eadem ecclesia de Waltham canonicos regulares de diversis domibus Angliæ sumptos, et constituit Walterum de Gaunt, canonicum sumptum de ecclesia de Oseneie, abbatem primum super congregationem illam, et magnis redditibus et domibus pulcherrimis ditavit illos. Benedict, i. 134, 135, 173, 317.

Proceedings in the change of

Eodem anno[3] idem rex expulsis sanctimonialibus de abbatia de Ambresbiri propter incontinentiam suam, Benedict, i. 135, 165.

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[1] *Espurun*] Richard returned to Poictiers by Feb. 2. Bened.

[2] Hoveden here runs together with great risk of confusion several events concerning the church of Waltham: (1.) The resignation of dean Guy to the king, which took place at the council of Northampton. (2.) The formal resignation to the archbishop at Waltham. (3.) The expulsion of the canons, which took place June 11, 1177. And (4.) the appointment of Walter of Gant, which was made in July 1184.

[3] *Eodem anno*] This circumstance is treated like the last mentioned. The nunnery was visited on the 20th of January; the nuns were removed on the 22nd of May. Thus Henry II. partly fulfilled his vow of building three monasteries in expiation of his guilt in the matter of Becket. It is uncertain what the third was. Giraldus Cambrensis suggests that it was Witham Charterhouse in Somersetshire. *De Instructione Principum*, ii. c. 7.

Benedict, i. 165. et per alias domus religiosas in arctiori custodia distributis, ipsam abbatiam de Ambesbiri dedit abbatissæ et domui de Frunt Everout in perpetuum possidendam; et misso a Frunt Everaut uno conventu sanctimonialium, Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus introduxit eas in abbatiam de Ambresbiri, xi. kalendas Junii, die Dominica, præsentibus domino rege patre, et Bartholomæo Exoniensi, et Johanne Norewicensi episcopis, et aliis multis clero et populo. Eodem die ibidem præfatus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus consecravit Guidonem Pangorensem episcopum. A.D. 1177. May 22. foundation at Amesbury. Henry at Amesbury. Consecration of the bishop of Bangor.

Benedict, i. 133. Eodem anno Philippus comes Flandriæ misit advocatum Bituniæ Robertum,[1] et Rogerum Castellanum de Curterai, ad dominum Henricum regem Angliæ patrem, significans ei quod Lodowicus rex Francorum ab eo petierat primogenitam filiarum Mathæi fratris sui comitis Boloniæ ad opus Philippi filii sui, et alteram filiam comitis Boloniæ ad opus Lodowici filii comitis Theobaldi, sed sine ejus consilio illas nemini dare voluit. Præterea idem comes petiit a rege Angliæ pecuniam, quam promiserat se daturum pro anima Mathæi comitis Boloniæ fratris sui, ad milites retinendos in defensione Jerosolimitanæ terræ. Embassy from Flanders on the marriage of Count Matthew's daughters.

Benedict, i. 136. Quibus dominus rex respondit, rem quidem bene processuram nisi in comite remanserit; et adjecit quod si comes Flandriæ vellet neptes suas, filias comitis Boloniæ, ad voluntatem et consilium ipsius maritare, et exinde facere eum securum, ipse omnia promissa, plenius et perfectius quam promiserat, impleret. Et ad audiendum inde responsum comitis misit Walterum de Constantiis vicecancellarium [2] suum, et Rannulfum de Glanvilla; in quorum præsentia idem comes Flandriæ juravit, quod prædictas neptes suas nemini maritaret, nisi de consilio et voluntate regis Angliæ patris. Agreement on the part of Count Philip not to give them in marriage without the king's consent.

Benedict, i. 269. Sed sacramento non observato, prædictus comes maritavit eas sine licentia et voluntate regis. The agreement broken.

Benedict, i. 136, 137. Eodem anno prædictus Vivianus, tituli Sancti Stephani de Cœlio Monte presbyter cardinalis et apostolicæ sede legatus, fuit die Natalis Domini in insula de Man, cum Guthredo Cardinal Vivian visits Man and goes to Ireland.

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[1] Robert of Bethune, advocate of Arras, 1145—1191.

[2] *vicecancellarium*] sigilliferum, Bened. The chancellor was Ralph of Warneville, of whom very little is heard, and who was made bishop of Lisieux in 1181. Walter of Coutances became successively bishop of Lincoln and archbishop of Rouen.

A.D. 1177. rege,[1] et post Epiphaniam transfretavit in Hyberniam, et applicuit apud Dun in Ulvestre; et cum ambularet versus Diveline secus mare, obviavit exercitui Johannis de Curci, qui injicientes in eum manum, tenuerunt; sed Johannes de Curci liberavit eum et abire permisit. Prædictus autem Johannes de Curci, ante Purificationem Sanctæ Mariæ, obsedit et cepit civitatem de Dun, quæ est caput Ulvesteræ, ubi etiam requiescunt corpora Sanctorum Patricii et Columbæ confessorum, et Sanctæ Brigidæ virginis. Quo audito Rodericus rex Ulvesteræ magnum congregavit exercitum Hybernensium, et cum prædicto Johanne commisit prælium, et Johannes de Curci, amissa exercitus sui parte magna, victoria potitus est, et devicto rege Roderico et in fugam converso, campum obtinuit, et spolia interfectorum suis distribuit. In prælio autem illo captus est episcopus de Dun,[2] quem Johannes de Curci præcepit liberari prece cardinalis.

Benedict, i. 137.

Capture and release of the legate.

John de Courcy beats the king of Ulster.

Benedict, i. 138.

Death of Hugh Bigot.

Eodem anno obiit comes Hugo Bigot, cujus thesauros dominus rex pater sibi retinuit. Benedict, i. 143.

The kings of Castile and Navarre send envoys to discuss their opposing claims, before Henry king of England.

Eodem anno Aldefonsus rex Castellæ, et Sanctius rex Navarræ avunculus ejus, post multas et magnas debellationes inter eos habitas, compromiserunt se in regem Angliæ, patrem, de controversiis et calumniis quæ inter illos erant. Venerunt itaque in Angliam ex parte regis Castellæ, et ex parte regis Navarræ, quatuor viri electi, quos fideles vocabant, missi in Angliam ad audiendum judicium curiæ regis Angliæ, et ad illud reportandum prædictis regibus Hispaniæ; scilicet Johannes episcopus de Tarenzum, et Petrus de Areiso, et Guntherus frater Templi, et Petrus de Rinoso. Præterea venerunt ex parte Aldefonsi regis Castellæ, Mathæus episcopus Palentinæ, comes Gumes, Lobdiet, Gomes Garsiæ, et Garsias Garsiæ, Petrus Petri, Gotteri Fernanzt; et ex parte Sanctii regis Navarræ, episcopus de Pampelune, Garsias Bermer, Sanctius Rimeri, Espainnol de Taissonal, Petrus Raimiri, Accenarde Chalet. Hi omnes missi erant ad allegandum et respondendum pro dominis suis.

Benedict, i. 139.

Benedict, i. 145.

Champions also are sent.

Venerunt etiam duo milites miræ probitatis et audaciæ, cum equis et armis bellicis, unus ex parte regis Castellæ, et alter ex parte regis Navarræ, ad suscipiendum duellum in curia regis Angliæ, si judicatum esset. Benedict, i. 139.

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[1] Guthred, king of Man, 1154–1187.

[2] *episcopus de Dun*] Malachi.

Benedict, i. 144. Prima igitur Dominica Quadragesimæ dominus Henricus rex Angliæ, filius Matildis imperatricis, venit Lundonias concilium generale celebraturus. Cui interfuerunt Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, Gilbertus Lundoniensis episcopus, Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, Gaufridus Eliensis episcopus, Walterus Rofensis episcopus, Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus, Robertus Herefordensis episcopus, Johannes Norewicensis episcopus, Bartholomæus Exoniensis episcopus, Rogerus Wigornensis episcopus, Johannes Cicestrensis episcopus, Christianus episcopus Candidæ Casæ, episcopus de Sancto David,[1] episcopus de Sancto Asaf,[2] episcopus de Pangor,[3] et abbates, priores, comites et barones Angliæ. Benedict, i. 145, 146. Quibus in unum convenientibus apud Westmonasterium, præcepit rex præfatis nunciis regni Hyspaniæ, ut in scripto redigerent calumnias et allegationes suas, et postea ei offerrent; ut sic per interpretationem ipse et barones sui possent intelligere calumnias et allegationes illorum, quia neque rex neque barones curiæ intellexerunt loquelam illorum. Et ad faciendum scriptum illud datæ sunt illis triduanæ induciæ. Quarta autem die protulerunt scriptum, in quo hæc continebantur:

A.D. 1177. Mar. 13. Council at London.

Adjournment for three days.

Statement of the pedigrees of the kings of Spain.

"(I.) Rex Sanctius Grossus[4] genuit hos tres filios, videlicet, "Fredinandum regem Castellæ, et Raimirum regem Aragoniæ, "et Garsiam regem Navarræ et Nazaræ. Rex Fredinandus "genuit regem Aldefonsum, qui cepit Toletum; et ipse genuit "reginam Uracham, et ipsa genuit Aldefonsum imperatorem, et "ipse genuit regem Sanctium et ipse genuit regem Aldefonsum, "qui Alienor filiam Henrici regis Angliæ duxit in uxorem.

(II.) "Rex Raimirus Aragoniæ[5] genuit regem Sanctium, et

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[1] *episcopus de Sancto David*] Peter de Leia, 1176—1198.

[2] *episcopus de Sancto Asaf*] Adam, 1175—1181.

[3] *episcopus de Pangor*] Bangor was vacant, but Guy, who was consecrated in May, may have been already elect.

[4] *Rex Sanctius Grossus*] king of Navarre, 1000—1035. His son Ferdinand I. reigned in Castile 1033—1065. Alfonso, king of Leon 1065—1109, and Castile 1072—1109; Urraca, queen of Castile and Leon 1109—1126; Alfonso VIII., the emperor, king of Castile and Leon 1126—1157; Sancho, king of Castile 1157—1158; Alfonso, son-in-law of Henry II., 1158—1214.

[5] *Rex Raimirus Aragoniæ*] The succession in Aragon is:—Ramirez I., son of Sancho of Navarre, 1035—1063; Sancho Ramirez I., 1063—1094; Pedro I., 1094—1104; Alfonso I., brother of Pedro, 1104—1134; Ramirez II., 1134—1137; Petronilla, 1137—1162; Alfonso II., 1162—1196.

A.D. 1177. Mar. 16.

Pedigrees of the kings.

"ipse genuit regem Petrum et regem Aldefonsum. Rex "Petrus decessit sine prole, cui successit frater suus rex "Aldefonsus, qui cepit Cæsaraugustam. Benedict, i. 146.

(III.) "Rex Garsias Navarræ[1] et Nazaræ genuit regem "Sanctium, qui postea occisus erat in Pennalen; et ipse genuit "Sanctium puerum, qui decessit sine prole; et ei successit rex "Aldefonsus, consanguineus patris sui, in Navarra et Nagera "usque ad Pontem Reginæ et usque Sangosa, qui cepit Tole- "tum, et eidem puero successit rex Sanctius Aragoniæ, consan- "guineus patris sui, in reliqua parte Navarræ et Pampilona."

Hoc est pactum et conventio quæ facta fuit inter Aldefonsum regem Castellæ et Sanctium regem Navarræ.

Agreement between the kings of Castile and Navarre, to refer their disputes to the arbitration of the king of England.

"Hoc est pactum et conventio quæ facta fuit inter Alde- "fonsum regem Castellæ et Sanctium regem Navarræ avun- "culum suum, de querelis videlicet quas inter se habebant, "ut judicio regis Angliæ sibi satisfacerent. Ad hæc uterque "regum tria castella in fidelitate ponit, ut judicium Henrici "regis Angliæ, filii Matildis imperatricis, soceri regis Alde- "fonsi, accipiat et compleat; et per quem steterit quo minus "fiat, subscripta castella amittat. Rex vero Aldefonsus ponit "in fidelitate Nagaram castellum Christianorum, et castel- "lum Judæorum, et Arnedo castellum Christianorum, et cas- "tellum Judæorum, et Celorigo. Similiter Sanctius rex "Navarræ in hac fidelitate ponit Stellam castellum, quod "Petrus Roderici tenet, et castellum Judæorum, et Funes, et "Maranon. Et ad hoc nuncii utriusque regis sint ante præ- "sentiam regis Angliæ in prima die præsentis Quadragesimæ, "quæ est caput Jejunii, ad hoc judicium recipiendum. Et "si forsitan nuncii cujuslibet partis morte, vel infirmitate "vel captivitate in via detenti fuerint, præcedentes nuncii "expectent eos usque triginta dies ultra diem præfixam in "curia prænominati regis Angliæ. Et qui sani remanserint "veniant ad curiam, et accipiant judicium. Et si omnes "infirmi vel capti vel mortui fuerint, nihil rex cujus fuerint "proinde amittat. Et si omnes vel aliqui nunciorum aliqua "harum trium occasionum non fuerint detenti, et ad diem "statutum ante regem Angliæ non venerint, rex cujus Benedict, i. 140.

[1] *Rex Garsias Navarræ*] The succession in Navarre is :—Garcias, son of Sancho, 1035—1054; Sancho IV., 1054—1076; Sancho V. of Aragon, 1076—1094; Pedro I. of Aragon, 1094; Alfonso I. of Aragon, 1104—1134; Garcias Ramirez, 1134—1150; Sancho VI., 1150—1194.

Benedict, i, 141.

A.D. 1177. Mar. 16. Agreement of the kings of Spain for an arbitration.

"nuncii fuerint hæc prædicta castella amittat, et hoc fiat "per bonam fidem, et sine malo ingenio. Et si forte, "quod absit, rex Angliæ interim mortuus fuerit, hoc eodem "prædicto modo nuncii isti ad regem Francorum ad hoc "judicium recipiendum pergant, et per eum sicut per regem "Angliæ hoc judicium recipiant et compleant. Sanctius igitur "rex Navarræ hæc tria Castella per militem et per portarium "suum recipiat, et donet Najaram et Celorigo P. Roderici, filio "comitis R.; et donet Arnedum D. Semenes;[1] et ipsi faciant "sibi hominium de eis. Similiter Aldefonsus rex Castellæ "hæc tria castella per militem et per portarium suum "recipiat, et donet Stellam Petro Roderici de Azagra, et "Funes S. Raimiri, et Maranon R. Martini; et ipsi faciant "sibi hominium de eis. Et si aliquis regum istorum hæc "prædicta castella militibus ea tenentibus auferre volue- "rit, et alteri dare, donet illa rex Sanctius Navarræ "Petro Roderici, vel G. Vermundi, vel S. Raimiri, vel "I. Velez, vel R. Martini, vel E. Almorav', vel S. Al- "morav', vel E. de Oriz, vel P. Raimiri, vel G. Oriz, "vel P. de Oriz. Similiter rex Aldefonsus Castellæ "donet illa comiti N., vel comiti P., vel comiti G., vel "comiti Gomerz, vel R. Guterzt, vel P. de Arazuri, vel D. "Senes, vel G. Garsiæ, vel Ordonio Garsiæ, vel G. Roderici "de Azagra, vel P. Guntez, vel F. Roderici de Agafra: "sed ipsi qui tenentes fuerint non donent hæc prædicta cas- "tella, donec illi qui recipere ea debuerint faciant hominium "de illis alteri regi, sicut supradictum est. Et in toto "quantum rex Aldefonsus tenet de rege Navarræ melioret "cum suo proprio avere, quantum voluerit et potuerit. Si-

Benedict, i. 142.

"militer rex Sanctius Navarræ melioret cum suo proprio "avere, quantum voluerit et potuerit, in toto quantum tenet "de rege Aldefonso. Et ad hoc judicium audiendum isti "reges quatuor fideles elegerunt, videlicet Johannem episco- "pum Tirasonensem, et Petrum de Areis, et Ar. de Torrela, "et Gunterum Petri de Rinoso, ut de istis duo, vel tres, "vel omnes, cum nunciis ad curiam regis Angliæ per- "gant, et querimonias utriusque regis ante eum exponant; "et auditis querelis, quos rex Angliæ causam suam primitus "dicere mandaverit, dicant. Et per verbum horum fidelium, "qui hoc judicium a rege Angliæ audierint, uterque regum "supradictam convenientiam, prout in hac carta continetur, "attendant et compleant; et milites, qui de prædictis castellis "hominium fecerunt, secundum dictum horum fidelium hoc

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[1] *D. Semenes*] alicui de comitibus suæ dominationis, Savile.

A.D. 1177. Mar. 16. Agreement of the kings of Spain for an arbitration.

Benedict, i. 142.

" pactum præfatum regibus attendant et compleant per bonam " fidem et sine malo ingenio. Insuper vero ambo reges præ- " dicti, unusquisque per fidem suam, firmaverunt et statuerunt " treugas bonas et salvas, de hominibus et castellis et terris " et de omnibus aliis rebus, usque ad septem annos; et ut fir- " miter teneantur, Sanctius rex Navarræ ponit Ergum in fide- " litate, et rex Aldefonsus ponit Calagunam. Et si exercitus " cujuslibet horum regum, cum eo vel sine eo, regnum alte- " rius intraverit, ille qui hoc fecerit prædictum castrum perdat. " Et si forte aliquis vassallus horum regum istas treugas in " regno alterius vi vel forte castellum acceperit, rex cujus " ille vassallus fuerit, infra quadraginta dies suum cas- " tellum alteri regi reddat; quod si non fecerit, miles ille, qui " castrum quod in fidelitatem positum est tenuerit, regi con- " querenti prædictum castrum donet, et teneat illud in pignore, " donec suum castellum recuperet. Et si aliquis horum reg- " norum, qui non sit vassallus istorum regum, aliquo casu in " regno alterius castellum acceperit, ambo reges cum gente " sua super eum veniant et obsideant, et donec sit captum de " eo non recedant. Statuerunt etiam ut omnes vassalli utrius- " que regis, qui ex quo ista guerra incepit hæreditates ami- " serunt, eas ex integro recuperent, sicut erant tenentes die " qua eas perdiderunt, et pro male facto vel judicio, quod hac- " tenus fecissent, eas non perdant, nec infra istos septem annos " pro aliqua querimonia ulli respondeant. Et si deinceps de " novo querimonia aliqua vel judicium inter eos ortum fuerit, " ad medianetum veniant, et secundum quod ibi judicatum " fuerit sibi satisfaciant. Et omnes homines utriusque regni " securi de regno ad regnum eant et redeant, exceptis notis " homicidis. Et si aliquis istorum regum hæreditates, sicut " supradictum est, reddere noluerit, prædictum castrum alteri " regi reddat, et teneat illud in pignore, donec hæreditates " et totum quantum de illis exegerit recuperet. Et omnes " vassalli utriusque regis sint infra istas treugas cum homini- " bus, castellis, hæreditatibus, et etiam cum omnibus aliis rebus " quas habuerint, in qualicunque terra fuerint: et hæc omnia " supradicta teneantur et serventur per bonam fidem, et sine " malo ingenio. Et rex Aldefonsus[1] Aragoniæ sit in istis " treugis, si ei placuerit; et si forte sibi non placuerit in illis " esse, tamen treugæ, ut supradictum est, firmiter inter hos " reges præfatos teneantur. Facta carta inter Nararas et " Lucronium, Æra M°CC°X°IV°.,[2] viii°. kalendas Septembris."

Benedict, i. 143.

Dated, Logroño, Aug. 25, 1176.

[1] Alfonso II., 1162—1196.

[2] *M°CC°X°IV°.*] Of the Spanish computation, from B.C. 38.

Item alia carta pacis et concordiæ inter regem Castellæ et regem Navarræ. A.D. 1177. Mar. 16.

Benedict, i. 149, 150

" Hæc est carta pacis et concordiæ quæ fuit facta inter " regem Aldefonsum de Castella, et regem Sanctium de " Navarra, in abbatia quæ vocatur Siterium. Placuit utri- " que regum ut fieret pax et concordia inter eos per decem " annos, et facta est, et placuit ut hoc juramento firmarent, " et jurarent ipsi et barones utriusque super altare et super " quatuor evangelia, ut tenerent prædictam concordiam et " treugas, per fidem et sine malo ingenio et sine fraude, per " decem annos, et istæ treugæ factæ fuere de corporibus, " et pecoribus, de facultatibus et castellis, per fidem et sine " fraude et malo ingenio: et si aliquis regum vel baronum " istas treugas fregerit, et infra quadraginta dies clamorem " factum non emendaverit, sit perjurus et alevoso. Facta " carta Æra M°CC°V.,[2] mense Octobrio."

Copy of the treaty of peace between Castile and Navarre, dated Oct. 1167.

Ut autem hæ supradictæ cartæ pacis et concordiæ inter prædictos reges Castellæ et Navarræ lectæ essent coram rege Angliæ et baronibus suis, homines qui pro rege Castellæ loquebantur, hujusmodi sermone usi sunt;

The Castilians state their case.

Calumnia regis Castellæ.

Benedict, i. 147.

" In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen. In " nomine Domini rex Aldefonsus Castellæ et Toleti conquer- " itur, et petit a rege Sanctio Navarræ, avunculo suo, sibi " fieri restitutionem de Logronio, de Athlena, de Navaret, " quod est citra Ribarovia, et de Agoscio, de Abtol, de " Arresa, de Alava, cum suis mercatis, scilicet de Estivalez " et de Dunna, et omni jure suo de terra quæ dicitur " Durango; quæ omnia rex Aldefonsus bonæ memoriæ, qui " Toletum de potestate Saracenorum liberavit, jure hæredi- " tario possedit, et post mortem ejus filia ejus regina " Uracha simili jure possedit; qua mortua filius ejus, imper- " ator Aldefonsus bonæ memoriæ, similiter jure hæreditario " possedit; et post mortem imperatoris rex Sanctius filius " ejus sine placito jure hæreditario possedit; et post mortem

The claim of the king of Castile.

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[1] This treaty appears in Benedict as part of the king of Navarre's claim.

[2] *M°CC°V°.*] A.D. 1167.

[3] *In . . . Amen*] om. Benedict.

A.D. 1177. Mar. 16. Claim of the king of Castile.

"regis Sanctii filius ejus, dominus noster rex Aldefonsus, similiter prædicta omnia jure hæreditario possedit; quousque hæc omnia jam dictus rex Navarræ prædicto regi Castellæ, nepoti suo, orphano, pupillo et innocenti, filio amici et domini sui, et non de his requisito, abstulit et violenter detinet. Conqueritur etiam, et petit restitutionem sibi fieri a prænominato rege Navarræ, de Roba, quam injuste detinet. Imperator enim adquisivit eam a rege Saracenorum, qui dicebatur Zafadola,[1] et dimisit eam filio suo regi Sanctio, qui eam post mortem imperatoris toto tempore vitæ suæ in pace possedit. Quo mortuo, dominus noster rex Aldefonsus, filius ejus, jure hæreditario in pace possedit, quousque Sanctius Ramirez de Perola eam amisit, qui tenebat eam secundum consuetudinem Hyspaniæ de manu Petri Ortiz; qui Petrus Ortiz tenebat eam secundum eandem consuetudinem a domino nostro rege Aldefonso. Petit etiam fructus quos percepit sæpedictus rex Navarræ, de Logronio et de omnibus aliis prænominatis, a tempore invasionis, et damna quæ intulit terræ ejus eam deprædando et comburendo, quorum omnium summam æstimamus fere centum millia marcarum auri. Præterea petit Pontem Reginæ et Sangossa, et totam terram quæ est ab his duabus villis usque ad flumen Iberi; quam terram bonæ memoriæ rex Aldefonsus,[2] avus imperatoris, habuit et in pace possedit; et per eum secundum consuetudinem Hyspaniæ consanguineus ejus rex Sanctius Arragonensis; et eo mortuo filius ejus rex Petrus, et post mortem regis Petri frater ejus rex Aldefonsus Arragonensis, similiter sicut consanguinei et amici tenuerunt. Petit etiam medietatem Tudelæ, ex causa maternæ successionis, quam comes Dalperg[3] donavit reginæ Margaretæ sobrinæ suæ, quæ uxor fuit regis Garsiæ, et aviæ ejusdem regis Aldefonsi, cum jam dicta Tudela nullo modo pertinet ad Navarram."

Benedict, i. 147.

Benedict, i. 148.

Et cum episcopus Palentinæ, et comes Gumes, et alii nuncii regis Castellæ hæc et his similia scripto et verbo protulissent,

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[1] *Zafadola*] Ahmed Seif-ed-daulah Benhoud, the last king of Saragossa.

[2] *Aldefonsus*] Alfonso VI. of Leon and Castile.

[3] *comes Dalperg*] Rotrou II., count of Perche (de Pertico), uncle of Margaret the wife of Garcias Ramirez IV. of Navarre; and great uncle of king Sancho the claimant. See his exploits in Ordericus Vitalis, xiii. 4. Margaret was also grandmother to Alfonso the counter-claimant, whose mother Blanche was sister of Sancho, and daughter of Garcias Ramirez and Margaret. Another of her daughters, Margaret, was wife of William the Bad, king of Sicily.

Benedict, i. 148. finem dicendi fecerunt. Tunc surrexerunt episcopus Pampelunæ et alii nuncii regis Navarræ, et nihil eorum quæ ab adversariis suis proponebantur contradicentes, scriptum quoddam, in quo petitiones et calumniæ et allegationes suæ scribebantur, protulerunt in hac forma. A.D. 1177. Mar. 16. The envoys of Navarre reply.

Calumnia regis Navarræ.

Claim of the king of Navarre.

"Petit Sanctius rex Navarræ Cudeio monasterium, montem "de Oca, vallem Sancti Vincentii, vallem de Oliacasto, Cin-"govilas, Montem Nigrum, Sera Alba, usque Agredam. "Hæc omnia petit, et quicquid est infra hæc versus Navar-"ram, et istius terræ petit universos fructus a tempore quo "obiit rex Sanctius [1] de Penalen. Hæc omnia ad regnum "suum spectantia possedit et habuit in pace et quiete abavus "hujus regis Sanctii, Garsias scilicet rex Navarræ et Nageræ; "et proavus ejus per violentiam fuit expulsus ab hoc regno, "propter imbecillitatem suam, per Aldefonsum [2] regem Cas-"tellæ, consanguineum suum. Procedente autem tempore "rex Garsias, nepos ejus et pater hujus, inclytæ memoriæ, "divina voluntate et fide naturalium hominum suorum ex-"hibita, recuperavit regnum suum, licet non integrum, et "quod restat adhuc petit filius ejus Sanctius nunc rex "Navarræ. Præterea petit hæc, quæ imperator [3] abstulit "regi Garsiæ patri suo per vim; scilicet Nageram castellum "Christianorum et Judæorum, Granion, Pancorvo, Belforazt, "Cereso monasterium, Celorigo, Bilibio, Medria, Veguera, "Clauvero, Verbea, Lantaron. Hæc autem repetit et sibi "restitui postulat, quia pater suus rex Garsias jure hære-"ditario ea possidebat, et imperator sibi abstulit. Conque-"ritur etiam de Belforazt, quod imperator reddiderat regi "Garsiæ patri suo, et, eo mortuo, idem imperator abstulit "illud Sanctio nunc regi Navarræ, tunc habenti et in pace "possidenti, tanquam suam propriam hæreditatem. Præterea "petit sibi restitui ab Aldefonso rege Castellæ, possessionem "castellorum novissime sibi ablatorum, cum fructibus inde "perceptis, et quicquid habiturus esset si non esset inde "ejectus. Sunt autem nomina castellorum hæc; Kel, Ocon,

Benedict, i. 194.

[1] Sancho IV. of Navarre.

[2] *Aldefonsum*] Alfonso VI. king of Castile, 1072–1109.

[3] *imperator*] Alfonso VIII. of Castile and Leon, 1126–1157.

A.D. 1177. Mar. 16. Claim of the king of Navarre.

" Pazungos, Granion, Cereso, Valorcanas, Trepeana, Milier, " Amihugo, Haiago,[1] Miranda, Sancta Agathea, Salinas, Portela, Malvezin, Legiun et castrum quod tenet Godin. " Hæc autem petit hac ratione, quia habuit et possedit pro " suo, et sine ordine judiciario ejectus est, et idcirco querela " sua debet procedere, quia ultima est violentia, et prius " debet purgari: et etiam altera pars a jure suo cecidit, si " quod habuit.[2] Et hoc parati sumus docere per supradictam " cartam, in qua continentur treugæ decem annorum; quia " Sanctius rex Navarræ queritur, et verum est, quod Aldefonsus rex Castellæ scriptæ conventionis sit læsus.[3] Est " autem læsus infra decem annos illos in ablatione istorum " castellorum, Kel, Legiun, Malvezin, Portela. Præterea " petit rex Navarræ sibi restitui a rege Castellæ usque ad " summam centum marcarum argenti, rege Sanctio hodie in " Navarra regnante, satisfactionem regi Aldefonso offerente, " de omnibus querelis suis, secundum arbitrium baronum " utriusque, vel serenissimi regis Angliæ: et confidenter dicimus, quod ista et his similia, infra talem conventionem " et tales treugas perpetrata, debent prius restitui antequam " ad alium causæ perveniatur articulum: quoniam hoc habet " lex, hoc habet consuetudo, hoc habet canon, hoc habent " omnia jura. Hæc quæ dicta sunt manifestata sunt littera, " sed plenius et copiosius manifestabuntur lingua."

Benedict, i. 149.

Benedict, i. 150.

Henry takes an oath of the envoys to accept his decision.

Cumque præfati nuncii regis Navarræ hæc et his similia proferrent, et nuncii regis Castellæ nihil eorum quæ ab aliis proposita fuerant contradicerent; Henricus rex Angliæ, filius Matildis imperatricis, prolatis coram omni populo sanctis Evangeliis, fecit prænominatos nuncios regis Castellæ et regis Navarræ jurare ante sententiam prolatam, quod domini eorum, videlicet rex Castellæ et rex Navarræ judicium suum tam de restitutionibus quam de treugis reciperent, et firmiter observarent, et nisi fecerint, quod ipsi corpora sua redderent in manum et potestatem suam.

Benedict, i. 151.

Deliberation of the court and decision.

His itaque peractis, comites et barones regalis curiæ Angliæ adjudicaverunt plenariam, utrique parti supradictorum, quæ in jure petita fuerant, fieri restitutionem. Unde rex Angliæ in hac forma scripsit supradictis regibus Hispaniæ;

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[1] *Hiago*] om. Benedict.

[2] *habuit*] Here the treaty of truce is put in by Benedict.

[3] *quia—sit*] qua de re Sanctius queritur, quia verum est quod Aldefonsus rex Castellæ præscriptæ conventionis promissum læsit. Savile with MS. C.

Carta Henrici regis Angliæ, filii Matildis imperatricis, de judicio in curia sua facto inter Aldefonsum regem Castellæ, et Sanctium regem Navarræ. A.D. 1177. March 16.

Benedict, i. 151, 152.

"Henricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, et dux Normanniæ et "Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, carissimis amicis suis, "Aldefonso regi Castellæ, et Sanctio regi Navarræ, salutem. "Sicut ex litterarum vestrarum tenore, et fidelium vestrorum, "Johannis episcopi Tirasonensis, Petri de Areis, Gunteri, Petri "de Rinoso, relatione, et nunciorum vestrorum, episcopi Palen"tinæ, comitis Gumes, Lobdiez, Gomes Garsiæ, Garsi Garsi, "Petri Petri, Gotteri Fernanz, episcopi Pampelunæ, Garsiæ "Bermer, Sanctii Rimiri, Espaignol de Taissonal, Petri Rai"miri, Ascenar de Chalez, assertione cognovimus, placuit "utrique vestrum querimonias inter vos habitas, super quibus"dam castellis et terris cum earum terminis et pertinentiis, "judicio nostro terminari. Nos vero fidelibus et nunciis vestris "ea qua decuit veneratione susceptis, pacem inter vos honori "Dei, et toti Christianitati plurimum profuturam attendentes, "Divinæ pietatis et communis utilitatis intuitu, negotium hoc "in nos suscepimus. Fidelibus itaque a vobis communiter "electis, et procuratoribus et advocatis causarum vestrarum "in præsentia nostra, et episcoporum et comitum et baronum "nostrorum constitutis, petitiones et allegationes utriusque "partis diligenter audivimus et intelleximus. Proponebant "siquidem ii, quibus causa Aldefonsi regis Castellæ commissa "fuerat, Sanctium regem Navarræ memorato regi Castellæ, "dum adhuc pupillus esset et orphanus, castella et terras, "scilicet Logronium, Navarret, Antlena, Aptol, Agoseio, cum "omnibus terminis et pertinentiis suis, quæ pater suus die "qua decessit, et ipse post aliquot annis quiete possederat, "injuste et violenter abstulisse. Unde et eorum sibi fieri "restitutionem postulabant.

Sentence of adjudication.

Statement of the claims of Castile.

"Illi vero, quibus causa Sanctii regis Navarræ commissa "fuerat, nihil eorum quæ ab aliis proposita fuerant contra"dicentes, asserebant, Aldefonsum præfatum regem Castellæ "Sanctio prænominato regi Navarræ, castella, scilicet Legiun, "Portol, et castellum quod tenet Godin, per guerram et injuste "abstulisse: et parte altera in nullo contradicente sibi, eorum "sibi fieri restitutionem pari petebant instantia.

The claims of the king of Navarre.

"Præterea in scripto vestro continebatur communi, vos tre"vias inter vos usque in septennium fide interposita firmasse, "et hoc ipsum nuncii vestri in jure palam sunt protestati.

Statement of the seven years' truce.

A.D. 1177. March 16.

The deliberation of the court.

"Habito igitur cum episcopis, comitibus et baronibus nostris "cum deliberatione consilio, pacem inter vos ad fidem Chris- "tianorum propagandam, et ad inimicorum Christi confusionem "necessariam fore considerantes; plenam etiam tam ex scriptis "vestris, quam nunciorum assertionibus fiduciam concipientes, "quod in pace firmanda et conservanda consilio nostro et "præcepto parebitis; ante judicii pronunciationem super præ- "scriptis querelis et treviis, mandamus vobis per nuncios "vestros et consulimus et præcipimus, et adhuc etiam præ- "senti scripto mandamus, ut pacem inter vos firmetis, et in "perpetuum fideliter observetis. Super querelis vero præ- "taxatis de castellis et terris cum omnibus terminis et per- "tinentiis suis hinc inde violenter et injuste ablatis, cum nihil "contra violentiam utrinque objectam a parte alterutra alteri "responderetur, nec quicquam quo minus restitutiones, quas "petebant, faciendæ essent allegaretur, plenariam utrique parti "supradictorum, quæ in jure petita erant fieri restitutionem "adjudicavimus. Adjunximus etiam ex judicio trevias præ- "fatas inter vos, ut prædictum est, fide firmatas, sicut ex "scripto vestro et nunciorum vestrorum publica confessione in "jure facta nobis constitit, usque ad constitutum inter vos "terminum inviolabiliter observandas.

Benedict, i. 153.

The king's award.

Payment of 3,000 maravedis to be made by Alfonso to Sancho.

"Volumus etiam et præcipimus pro bono pacis, ut rex Alde- "fonsus, dilectus filius noster, donet Sanctio regi Navarræ, "avunculo suo, singulis annis usque ad decennium, tria millia "marabotinorum, ad tres terminos in anno Burgis recipienda, "scilicet ad [finem] quatuor primorum mensium post præ- "dictam restitutionem utrinque factam mille marabotinorum, "et ad finem quatuor mensium proximo sequentium mille "marabotinorum, et ad finem quatuor mensium tertio sequen- "tium mille marabotinorum. Ita ut singulis de decem annis "sequentibus prædictam restitutionem solvantur tria millia "marabotinorum, ad eosdem terminos et in loco prænominato, "Sanctio regi Navarræ.

Oaths taken.

"Præterea nuncii utriusque firmiter juraverunt ante sententiæ "pronunciationem, vos prædictum judicium nostrum tam de "restitutionibus quam de treviis firmiter observaturos. Et "nisi feceritis, quod corpora sua reddent in manum nostram "et potestatem. Testibus his, Ricardo archiepiscopo Cantua- "riensi, Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo, Gaufrido Elyensi epi- "scopo, Rogero Wigornensi episcopo, Bartholomæo Exoniensi "episcopo, Gilberto Lundoniensi episcopo, Waltero Rofensi "episcopo, Reginaldo Bathoniensi episcopo, Johanne Nore- "wicensi episcopo, Johanne Cicestrensi episcopo, Roberto "Herefordensi episcopo, episcopo de Sancto David, magistro

Benedict, i. 154.

Names of the witnesses.

Benedict, i. 154. "Ada episcopo de Sancto Asapf, episcopo de Pangor, Chris- A.D. 1177. March 16.
"tiano episcopo Candidæ Casæ, et Gaufrido filio regis comite "Britanniæ, Willelmo comite Albemarliæ, Roberto comite "Leicestriæ, Willelmo de Mandevile comite de Exexe, Wil-"lelmo[1] comite Gloucestriæ, Willelmo de Arundel comite de "Suthsexe, Hugone comite Cestriæ; et de baronibus Angliæ "Ricardo de Luci, Willelmo de Vesci, Henrico de Laci, Odonel "de Umframvile, Roberto de Vals, Rogero de Mubrai, Roberto "de Stutevile, Philippo de Kimbe, Rogero Bigot, et aliis "multis tam clericis quam laicis."

Murder of the brother of the earl of Ferrers.

In eodem concilio frater comitis de Fereres nocte interfectus fuit Lundoniis, et extra hospitium suum projectus in luto platearum, pro quo facto dominus rex multos de civibus Lundoniæ cepit: inter quos quidam nobilis et dives Benedict, i. 155. captus fuit, nomine Johannes senex; qui cum per judicium aquæ se mundare non posset, obtulit domino regi quingentas libras[2] argenti pro vita habenda. Sed quia ipse judicio aquæ perierat, noluit rex denarios illos recipere, sed præcepit eum suspendi in patibulo.

Punishment of Johannes Senex.

Benedict, i. 269. Eodem anno[3] Philippus comes Flandriæ, contra sacramentum quod fecerat regi Angliæ, maritavit primogenitam filiam fratris sui comitis Boloniæ duci de Saringes; quæ relicto duce de Saringes nupsit comiti de Sancto Paulo; et postea relicto comite de Sancto Paulo nupsit comiti Reginaldo de Dammartin, et ipse cepit cum illa comitatum Boloniæ. Et alteram filiam comitis Boloniæ dedit in uxorem Henrico duci de Luvein.

Marriages of the daughters of count Matthew of Boulogne.

Benedict, i. 158, 130. Eodem anno[4] venit in Angliam prædictus comes Flandriæ, ad loquendum cum rege Angliæ, et accepta ab eo licentia

The count of Flanders takes leave,

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[1] *Willelmo*] Benedict has here wrongly *Roberto*.

[2] *libras*] marcas, Benedict.

[3] *Eodem anno*] These marriages are placed by Benedict under the year 1180. The notice of Hoveden in its present form was drawn up after the year 1191, when the countess Ida married Reginald of Dammartin. See vol. i., Preface, p. lviii. Ida was married first to Gerard III., count of Guelders (Bened. i. 269), and in 1183 or 1184 to Berchthold of Zähringen. Henry, the husband of the second sister, Matilda, did not become duke until 1190: this marriage is recorded by Ralph de Diceto in 1179, c. 604.

[4] *Eodem anno*] The following details of the Crusade are taken by Hoveden, chiefly, from the second version of Benedict. They do not appear in the MS. Julius A. xi., from which the earlier text of that chronicle is derived, and probably had not arrived in England at the time it was drawn up. Hoveden uses almost exactly the words of

A.D. 1177. And goes on crusade.

peregrinandi, ipse et Willelmus de Mandevile comes de Excxe, et multi barones et milites de diversis regionibus, signo crucis signati Jerosolimam profecti sunt. Et associatis sibi fratribus Templi et Hospitalis, et Raimundo[1] principe Antiochiæ, et fere omnibus militibus terræ Jerosolimitanæ, obsederunt Harang castellum paganorum. Ubi cum per mensem in obsidione morati essent, et pene illud suffodissent, per consilium Templariorum acceperunt pecuniam magnam a paganis, et dimiserunt eos imperfecto negotio. Et abeuntibus illis in crastino, magna pars castelli, quod obsederant, cecidit; et cum ipsi domum redirent, non invenerunt de pecunia, quam de paganis receperant, præter cuprum et aurichalcum. Interim Saladinus rex Babiloniæ, associatis sibi regibus et principibus paganorum, cum plusquam quingentis millibus militum et peditum intravit terram Christianorum, et non longe a sancta civitate Jerusalem sua fixerunt tentoria. Quo audito Templarii et Hospitalares, et milites regis Jerusalem, qui ad civitatem custodiendam remanserant, exierunt obviam paganis cum plebe urbis armata, episcopo de Bethleem[2] lignum Dominicæ crucis præferente, et audacter fecerunt impetum in paganos, et longius ire coegerunt. O summa virtus Altissimi! Christiani, cum non essent plusquam decem[3] millia virorum pugnantium victoriam habuerunt de quingentis millibus paganorum per virtutem Altissimi: visum enim erat paganis, quod militia cœlestis exercitus quasi per scalam descenderet in similitudinem armatorum militum, et congressum cum illis faceret in adjutorium Christianorum. Cujus impetum pagani sustinere non valentes, versi sunt in fugam, et Christiani secuti sunt eos in ore gladii, et interfecerunt ex illis plusquam centum millia, et multos ceperunt. Sed Saladinus per cursarios suos evasit: multos tamen de nepotibus et consanguineis suis et principibus exercitus sui in prælio illo amisit.

Benedict, i. 130.

Siege of Harenc.

Benedict, i. 131.

Fraud of the pagans.

Saladin invades Palestine.

Benedict, i. 130.

Victory of the Christians in the plains of Ramlah.

Benedict, i. 130.

Præterea ad confusionem paganorum, et Christianæ fidei confirmationem, visum erat paganis, quod summi-

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the older writer, although not in the same order, but the paragraph *Præterea, &c.* is new.

[1] *Raimundo*] The common mistake for Reginaldo. Raymond of Poictiers was the first husband of the princess Constantia. Reginald of Châtillon, her second husband, bears the title of prince of Antioch; but his stepson, Bohemond III., was the reigning prince at this time.

[2] *episcopus de Bethlehem*] Albert (W. Tyr. xxi. 22).

[3] *decem*] viginti, Benedict.

tas ligni Dominicæ crucis, quod episcopus Bethleemiticus gestabat, cœlum attingebat, et quod brachia illius totum amplexabantur orbem. Et inde exterriti fugerunt. A.D. 1177. Nov. 25. Signs and wonders.

Benedict, i. 131. Christiani autem gloriosa potiti victoria cum gaudio reversi sunt in Jerusalem, et repleverunt terram spoliis interfectorum. Factum est autem prælium hoc ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri Jesu Christi anno gratiæ M°C°LXX°VII°., in planitie de Rames, vii. kalendas Decembris, festo Sanctæ Katerinæ virginis et martyris.

Eodem anno Christiani firmaverunt[1] castellum fortissimum in terra Saladini, ad Vadum Jacobi, ultra fluvium Jordanis; sed Saladinus illud per vim cepit: in cujus captione summus magister[2] Hospitalis Jerusalem captus fuit, et in terram Saladini ductus, fame periit. Fort at Jacob's Ford, built and captured.

Benedict, i. 160. Eodem anno[3] dominus rex Angliæ pater tradidit Willelmo de Stutevile castellum de Rokesburc in custodia: et Rogero de Stutevile Castellum Puellarum in custodia: et Willelmo de Nevile castellum de Norham in custodia: et Rogero Eboracensi archiepiscopo castellum de Scartheburc: et Gaufrido de Nevile castellum de Berewic in custodia: et Rogero de Coniers turrim de Dunelmo in custodia; quam rex ab Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo abstulit, quoniam ficte servierat ei in guerra sua; et ideo dedit ei episcopus duo millia marcarum argenti pro amore suo habendo, et ut castella sua starent, et ut rex daret Henrico de Puteaco,[4] filio suo, manerium regium de Wicthtun cum pertinentiis suis. May. The king commits the castles to his own officers. Benedict, i. 161. Benedict, i. 160. Benedict, i. 161.

Benedict, i. 162. Deinde[5] venit rex Oxeneford, et in generali concilio ibidem celebrato constituit Johannem filium suum regem in Hybernia, concessione et confirmatione Alexandri summi pontificis. In a council at Oxford, he makes John king of Ireland.

Et in eodem concilio venerunt ad regem Resus filius Griphini regulus de Suthwales, et David filius Owain regulus

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[1] *firmaverunt*] This event is dated by William of Tyre (xxi. 26) in October 1178, and the capture of the castle of Jacob's Ford in April 1179 (xxi. 30).

[2] *summus magister*] Joubert of Syria. (?)

[3] *Eodem anno*] at the council of Geddington, May 2.

[4] *Henrico de Puteaco*] son of bishop Hugh, by his wife Alicia de Percy. His brother Hugh was chancellor to Lewis VII. Henry had the vill of Yokeflete in Howdenshire given him by his father. *Scr. Dun.* iii. p. lxiv.

[5] *Deinde*] in May.

A.D. 1177. May. He receives the homage of the Welsh princes at Oxford.

de Northwales, qui sororem[1] ejusdem regis Angliæ in uxorem duxerat, et Cadewalanus regulus de Delvain, et Owanus de Keviliau, et Griffinus de Brunfeld, et Madacus filius Geruetcog, et alii multi de nobilioribus Galliæ, et omnes devenerunt homines regis Angliæ patris, et fidelitatem ei contra omnes homines, et pacem sibi et regno suo servandam juraverunt. In eodem autem concilio dedit dominus rex Angliæ prædicto Reso filio Griffini terram de Meronith, et David filio Owain terram de Ellesmare. Benedict, i. 162.

He bestows Meath on Hugh de Lacy; Cork on Robert Fitz-Stephen and Miles de Cogham; and Limerick on Herbert Fitz-Herbert and others.

Deditque dominus rex Hugoni de Lasci, ut supradictum est, in Hybernia totam Midam cum pertinentiis suis pro servitio c. militum, tenendam de ipso et Johanne filio suo, et cartam suam ei inde fecit. Deditque ibidem Roberto filio Stephani et Miloni de Cogham regnum de Corch, pro servitio lx. militum, tenendum de ipso et Johanne filio suo, excepta civitate de Corch cum uno cantredo, quem dominus rex sibi et hæredibus suis retinuit. Deditque ibidem Hereberto filio Hereberti, et Willelmo fratri comitis Reginaldi,[2] et Joslano de la Pumerai nepoti eorum, regnum de Limeric, pro servitio lx. militum, tenendum de ipso et Johanne filio suo; excepta civitate de Limeric cum uno cantredo, quem dominus rex sibi et hæredibus suis retinuit. Benedict, i. 163.

He gives Wexford to William Fitz-Aldelm;

Tradidit autem dominus rex Willelmo filio Aldelini, dapifero suo, civitatem Wescfordiæ in custodia cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; et statuit hæc subscripta in posterum pertinenda ad servitium Wesefordiæ; Herkelou cum pertinentiis suis, Glascarric cum pertinentiis suis; et terram Gilberti de Boisrohard, Fernegwinal cum pertinentiis suis, Fernes cum pertinentiis suis; et totam terram Hervei inter Weseforde et aquam de Waterforde; servitium Reimundi de Druua; servitium de Frodrenelan; servitium Uthmorthi de Leghlin; tenementum etiam Machtaloe cum pertinentiis suis; et Leis terram Gaufridi de Costentin cum pertinentiis suis; et totam terram Otueldi. Benedict, i. 164.

Waterford to Robert le Poer.

Tradidit etiam ibidem dominus rex Roberto le Poer marescallo suo in custodia civitatem Waterfordiæ cum omnibus pertinentiis suis: et statuit hæc subscripta in posterum pertinenda ad servitium Waterfordiæ; totam terram quæ est inter Waterforde et aquam quæ est ultra Lismore, et totam terram de Oiseric cum pertinentiis suis.

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[1] *sororem*] Emma. See R. de Diceto, 585.

[2] Earl of Cornwall, son of Henry I.

Benedict, i. 164.

A.D. 1177. May. He gives Dublin to Hugh de Lacy.

Tradidit etiam ibidem dominus rex Hugoni de Laci civitatem Diveliniæ cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in custodia: et statuit hæc subscripta in posterum pertinenda ad servitium Diveliniæ, totam terram de Offelana cum pertinentiis suis, et totam terram de Offalaia cum pertinentiis suis, et Kildaran cum pertinentiis suis, et Wikichelou cum pertinentiis suis, et servitium de Mida, et servitium quatuor militum, quod Robertus Poer debet de castello suo de Dunavet.

Benedict, i. 165.

Postquam autem dominus rex apud Oxeneford in prædicto modo terras Hiberniæ et earum servitia divisisset, fecit omnes quibus earundem custodias commiserat homines suos et Johannis filii sui devenire, et jurare eis ligantias et fidelitates de terris Hyberniæ.

Benedict, i. 166.

He bestows the abbeys of Kirkby and Peterborough.

Et in eodem concilio[1] dedit dominus rex Ricardo priori de Kirkebi abbatiam de Witebi; et Benedicto[2] priori ecclesiæ Sanctæ Trinitatis, Cantuariæ, abbatiam de Burgo; et Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus benedixit eum in abbatem.

Cardinal Vivian holds a council at Edinburgh.

Eodem anno prædictus Vivianus, presbyter cardinalis et apostolicæ sedis legatus, peracta legatione sua in Hybernia, rediit in Angliam, et per conductum domini regis rediit in Scotiam, et celebrato concilio apud Castellum Puellarum, suspendit a pontificali officio Christianum episcopum Candidæ Casæ, quia ad concilium suum venire noluit. Sed episcopus Candidæ Casæ suspensionem illam non tenuit, septus munimine Rogeri Eboracensis archiepiscopi, cujus suffraganeus ipse erat.

Benedict, i. 172.

June. At Marlborough the king gives Limerick to Philip de Breuse.

Deinde[3] venit dominus rex usque Merleberge, ubi rex dedit Philippo de Breusa totum regnum de Limeric pro servitio sexaginta militum, tenendum de ipso et de Johanne filio suo. Nam Herbertus et Willelmus fratres Reginaldi comitis Cornubiæ, et Joslanus de la Pumerai nepos eorum, regnum illud habere noluerunt, eo quod nondum perquisitum erat.

Benedict, i. 173.

Nam occiso a regalibus rege Monoculo,[4] qui rex erat de Limeric et homo regis Angliæ inde fuerat, quidam de progenie illius, vir potens et fortis, regnum de Limeric

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[1] *in eodem concilio*] May 29, at Winchester. Benedict.

[2] Benedict, prior of Canterbury 1175 to 1177; abbot of Peterborough 1177 to 1193; whose name is borne by the "Gesta "Henrici II."

[3] *Deinde*] after June 3. Bened. i. 172.

[4] *Monoculo*] Tigernach o Rourk, king of Meath.

A.D. 1177. June. State of Ireland. invasit, cepit, et potenter rexit, nullam subjectionem faciens regi Angliæ; nec suis obedire voluit propter infidelitatem eorum, et mala quæ faciebant populo Hyberniæ sine merito. Rex vero Corcensis et alii multi divites Hyberniæ insurrexerunt in regem Angliæ et suos: et erant novissima eorum pejora prioribus, et se mutuo interfecerunt. Benedict, i. 173.

June 25. Relics of S. Amphibalus discovered. Eodem anno relliquiæ Sancti Amphibali sociorumque ejus divina revelatione inventæ sunt, et usque ad Sanctum Albanum translatæ sunt septimo kalendas Julii, Sabbato. Benedict, i. 175, 176.

Queen Margaret's confinement. Eodem anno[1] Margareta, uxor regis filii, prægnans ad patrem suum regem Franciæ abiit, et Parisius veniens peperit filium abortivum. Dicebant tamen Franci quod filius ille regis natus fuit vivus, et baptizatus, et Willelmus vocatus. Benedict, i. 177.

June 19. Shower of blood. Eodem anno, decimo tertio kalendas Julii, pluit in insula Vectæ sanguineus imber fere per duas horas integras, ita quod linei panni qui per sepes suspensi fuerant, sic rore illo sanguineo aspersi fuerunt, ac si essent in sanguine mersi.

The relics of S. Petrock stolen from Bodmin, Eodem anno Martinus canonicus regularis ecclesiæ de Bomine furtive asportavit corpus Sancti Petroci, et fugiens secum detulit in Britanniam ad abbatiam Sancti Mevenni. Benedict, i. 178. Quo comperto Rogerus prior ecclesiæ de Bomine, cum saniore parte capituli sui, adiit regem Angliæ patrem, et adversus eum effecit, quod præcipiendo mandavit abbati et conventui Sancti Mevenni, ut sine dilatione redderent corpus beati Petroci Rogero priori de Bomine: et nisi fecerint, præcepit rex Rollando de Dinant, justitiario Britanniæ, ut corpus illud sanctum vi tolleret et prædicto priori de Bomine traderet. Quo audito abbas et conventus Sancti Mevenni, ecclesiæ suæ præcaventes indemnitati, et non audentes regiæ resistere voluntati, corpus illud reddiderunt sine aliqua diminutione Rogero priori de Bomine, jurantes super sancta Evangelia, et super sanctorum relliquias, quod ipsum idem corpus, et non alternatum, cum omni integritate reddiderunt. Benedict, i. 179. restored at the king's command.

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[1] "circa clausum Pentecosten," June 19, Bened. i. 177. Benedict adopts the French story.

Benedict, i. 181, 182. Eodem anno dominus rex Angliæ pater reddidit Bartholomæo Exoniensi episcopo capellariam de Boseham, et eum inde capellanum suum constituit, annuente et consentiente Arnulfo Lexoviensi episcopo, cui rex capellariam illam injuste dederat. Prædictus enim Lexoviensis episcopus, pœnitentia ductus, dedit præfato Exoniensi episcopo et ecclesiæ suæ litteras resignationis patentes super præfata capellaria de Boseham, quieta ab ipso et successoribus suis in perpetuum. Et dominus rex pater fecit cartam redditionis et confirmationis suæ, Exoniensi ecclesiæ super capellaria de Boseham, coram Ricardo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et Gaufrido Eliensi episcopo, et Johanne Cicestrensi episcopo, et aliis multis testibus. A.D. 1177. (July 12.) The king gives Bosham to the bishop of Exeter, on the resignation of the bishop of Lisieux.

Benedict, i. 182. Eodem anno dominus rex pater dedit licentiam Judæis terræ suæ habendi cœmeterium in unaquaque civitate Angliæ extra muros civitatum, ubi possent rationabiliter et in competenti loco emere ad sepeliendum mortuos suos; prius enim omnes Judæi mortui Lundonias ferebantur sepeliendi. The Jews allowed to have cemeteries in England.

Pax facta inter Alexandrum papam et Fredericum Romanorum imperatorem.

Benedict, i. 183. [1] Eodem anno, Divina miseratione, Alexander papa et Fredericus Romanorum imperator, facti sunt amici Venetiæ in Rivo Alto, deleto schismate, quod jam fere octodecim annis duraverat in ecclesia Romana. Huic vero paci et concordiæ interfuerunt ex parte domini papæ, Peace between pope and emperor.

Hymbaldus [2] episcopus Ostiensis cardinalis,
Willelmus de Pavia,[3] episcopus Portuensis, cardinalis,
Walterus [4] episcopus Albanensis, cardinalis,
Conradus [5] episcopus Savinæ, cardinalis,

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[1] The following details are found not only in Benedict, but in Gervase's Chronicle and in some other places, being derived in almost the same words from the papal letters which immediately follow.

[2] Hubaldus, afterwards pope Lucius III.

[3] *Willelmus de Pavia*] who as cardinal of Pavia had been legate to Henry II. in 1166–7.

[4] *Walterus*] 1154–1177.

[5] *Conradus*] of Wittelsbach, archbishop of Mentz and bishop of Sabina from 1165. MS. C. sums up the rest of the names, " et alii archiepiscopi, episcopi, et inferio- " ris gradus cardinales numero vi- " ginti."

A.D. 1177. Names of the pope's supporters. Benedict, i. 183, 184.

Manfridus[1] episcopus Palestrinus, cardinalis,
Johannes[2] Neapolis, presbyter cardinalis,
Theodinus,[3] presbyter cardinalis,
Albertus, presbyter cardinalis,
Petrus[4] de Bona, presbyter cardinalis,
Bosus,[5] presbyter cardinalis,
Vivianus,[6] presbyter cardinalis,
Herenbrandus,[7] presbyter cardinalis,
Jacinctus,[8] diaconus cardinalis,
Herdizun,[9] diaconus cardinalis,
Chinche Chapel,[10] diaconus cardinalis,
Laborandus,[11] diaconus cardinalis,
Hugeszun,[12] diaconus cardinalis,
Reinerus[13] diaconus cardinalis,
Archiepiscopus de Viane,[14]
Archiepiscopus Bituricensis,
Archiepiscopus de Melan,
Archiepiscopus de Ravenne.

Envoys of the king of Sicily.

Archiepiscopus de Salerne, et comes Rogerus de Andre ex parte Willelmi regis Siciliæ.[15]

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[1] Mainfridus, cardinal bishop of Præneste.

[2] *Johannes*] See p. 27 above.

[3] *Theodinus*] legate to Henry II. in 1172 : cardinal priest of S. Vitalis.

[4] *Petrus*] de Bono, cardinal priest of S. Mary in Aquiro.

[5] *Bosus*] Boso, cardinal priest of S. Pudentiana.

[6] *Vivianus*] om. Benedict. Clearly Hoveden is mistaken in this point, for cardinal Vivian was, as we have just seen, in Scotland at this very time.

[7] *Herenbrandus*] Hildebrand, of the Basilica of the Twelve Apostles.

[8] Jacinctus, cardinal deacon of S. Mary in Cosmedin, 1144–1191, afterwards Celestine III.

[9] Herdizun] Ardicio, cardinal deacon of S. Theodore.

[10] Apparently Cinthius, cardinal deacon of S. Adrian.

[11] Laborandus, cardinal deacon of S. Mary in Porticu.

[12] Uguccione Pierleoni, cardinal deacon of S. Angelo : legate in England in 1175.

[13] Rainerius, cardinal deacon of S. George ad Velum Aureum.

[14] The remaining prelates on the pope's side are, the archbishop of Vienne, Guarin de Girardo, archbishop of Bourges, 1175–1180 ; Algisius of Milan, and Gerard of Ravenna.

[15] The representatives of William the Good, were Romuald, archbishop of Salerno, the historian ; count Roger of Andria, Pontius bishop of Clermont, Hugh abbot of Bonneval, and Turri, brother of the Chartreuse.

Ex parte Frederici Romanorum imperatoris interfuerunt præscriptæ paci viri subscripti. A.D. 1177.

Benedict, i. 184.

Supporters of the emperor.

Archiepiscopus de Madeburc, Philippus Coloniensis archiepiscopus, Christianus Maguntinus archiepiscopus, archiepiscopus de Besencun, archiepiscopus de Treves, electus de Wermeise, prothonotarius imperatoris, comes Henricus de Dice, Marchio Albertus, et multi alii.[1]

Benedict, i. 185.

July 24.

The emperor comes to S. Nicolas of Lido, and there renounces the schism; he proceeds to Venice and meets the pope.

Congregatis itaque illis in civitate Venetiæ, nono kalendas Augusti, in vigilia beati Jacobi apostoli, præfatus imperator, sicut prius tractatum fuerat et dispositum, venit ad ecclesiam beati Nicholai, quæ per unum milliare a Venetiis distat, et ibi tam ipse quam archiepiscopi, episcopi, et alii principes Theutonici regni, abrenunciantes schismati, per episcopos et cardinales, quos dominus papa ad eos absolvendos miserat, absolutionis beneficium accipere meruerunt. Deinde venerunt Venetias, et ibi ante ecclesiam Beati Marci, prædictus imperator domino papæ, sicut summo pontifici, omnem obedientiam et reverentiam humiliter exhibuit, et recepto ab eo pacis osculo, eum devote dextravit, et cum magna devotione usque ad altare in ecclesiam introduxit. Sequenti vero die, in festo Sancti Jacobi, feria secunda, præfatus imperator venit obviam domino papæ extra ecclesiam Sancti Marci, et dextero latere ejus devote suscepto, eum in ecclesiam introduxit. Et peractis missarum solemniis eum usque ad ipsius ecclesiæ portam dextravit; et cum dominus papa palefridum suum ascenderet, prædictus imperator tenuit ei stapham, et omnem honorem et reverentiam exhibuit, quam prædecessores ejus prædecessoribus suis exhibere consueverunt.

July 25.

He attends the pope at S. Mark's.

Degradation of the antipope and of those ordained by antipopes.

In hoc vero concilio Johannes abbas de Struma, qui vocatus fuerat papa Calixtus, qui etiam tertius et ultimus schismatis hujus antipapa exstiterat, degradatus est; et ab ipso imperatore, et ab omnibus principibus ecclesiasticis et sæcularibus dejectus est et reprobatus. Similiter omnes archiepiscopi, et episcopi, et abbates Teutonici regni, qui ab eo vel ab aliis

Benedict, i. 186.

[1] The imperial representatives are Wichmann, archbishop of Magdeburg, 1153—1192; Philip of Heinsberg, archbishop of Cologne, 1167—1191; Christian, archbishop of Mentz, 1166—1183, the imperialist opponent of Conrad of Wittelsbach; Eberhard, archbishop of Besançon, 1171—1179; Arnulf of Treves, 1169—1183; Conrad of Steinberg, elect of Worms, 1171, bishop 1178—1192; Guorwinus, prothonotary to the emperor (Rom. Salern. ap. Muratori, *Script.* vii., 224); Henry count of Dietz; and Albert, son of Albert the Bear, margrave of Brandenburg.

A.D. 1177. July 25.

antipapis, prædecessoribus suis, videlicet ab Octoviano qui papa Victor vocabatur, vel a Guidone de Creme, qui papa Paschalis vocabatur, ordinati fuerant, degradati sunt. Et altaria, quæ ab ipsis sive ab ordinatis suis dedicata erant, demolita sunt. Benedict, i. 186.

Conrad of Sabina made archbishop of Salzburg.

In hoc autem concilio Coenredus frater consobrinus prædicti imperatoris, recepit a manu Alexandri papæ archiepiscopatum Sanceburgæ, et legatiam totius Teutonici regni in vita sua habendam. Iste vero Conredus, cum electus esset tempore schismatis ad archiepiscopatum Maguntinum, noluit ab Octoviano antipapa consecrari; sed malens inter Catholicos pro nomine Christi pauper vivere, quam inter schismaticos divitiis et transitoriis abundare, venit usque Senonem civitatem ad Alexandrum papam: a quo benigne susceptus factus est episcopus cardinalis de episcopatu Savinæ. Et Christianus imperatoris cancellarius successit ei in archiepiscopatu Maguntino, et pallium suscepit a Guidone de Crema: quod quia ab eo receperat, propriis manibus suis combussit Venetiæ in Rivo Alto, in palatio patriarchæ, coram Alexandro papa et cardinalibus universis, et a domino papa absolutus est; et remansit archiepiscopus Maguntinus, et pallium ab Alexandro recepit. Benedict, i. 187.

Christian the chancellor succeeds him as archbishop of Mentz.

Epistola Alexandri papæ ad Ricardum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et ad suffraganeos suos de pace ecclesiæ reddita.

August 6. The pope announces to the archbishop of Canterbury the peace made at Venice.

"Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus "fratribus Ricardo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et suffraganeis "ejus, et dilectis filiis abbatibus specialiter ad Romanam "ecclesiam pertinentibus in archiepiscopatu Cantuariensi con-"stitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Immensas "laudes et gratias agimus Omnipotenti Deo, Qui licet navem "Petri diu permisisset procellosa maris tempestate quassari, "nunc tandem imperavit ventis et mari, et facta est tran-"quillitas magna, ita ut pacatis maris sævientis fluctibus, "prædicta navis ad portum quietis reducta sit et salutis. "Sane carissimus in Christo filius noster Fredericus, illustris "Romanorum imperator, proximo præterito die Dominico ante "festum beati Jacobi, cum principibus ecclesiasticis et sæcu-"laribus Teutonici regni, cum multa devotione venit Vene-"tiam ad præsentiam nostram; et ibi, coram innumera mul-"titudine virorum ac mulierum altis vocibus resonantium "laudes Altissimo, nobis sicut summo pontifici omnem re-

Benedict, i. 188.

" verentiam et honorem exhibuit. Et in festo beati Jacobi " nobis, ad preces ejus, Beati Marci ecclesiam adeuntibus pro " celebrandis missarum solemniis, obviam venit: et finita missa, " quam a nobis licet indignis reverenter audivit, nobis omnem " honorem exhibuit, quem prædecessores ejus nostris consue- " verunt antecessoribus exhibere. In kalendis vero instantis " mensis Augusti, præfatus imperator, ubi erat numerosa " hominum multitudo, in anima sua jurare fecit, et principes " sui, quos præsentes habebat, tam ecclesiastici quam sæcu- " lares, præstito juramento firmaverunt, quod pacem ecclesiæ " perpetuo, et pacem carissimi in Christo filii nostri Willelmi, " illustris Siciliæ regis, usque ad quindecim annos, et treu- " gam Longobardorum a prædictis kalendis Augusti usque " ad sex annos, sicut pax et treuga ipsa disposita est et " tractata, et in scriptis redacta, illæsam debeat et illibatam " servare. Sicut autem idem imperator nos in catholicum " papam et spiritualem patrem recepit, ita nos eum in catho- " licum imperatorem, et uxorem ejus in catholicam impera- " tricem, et filium ipsorum in catholicum regem recepimus. " Agite itaque gratias Creatori nostro, Qui sponsam Suam " sacrosanctam ecclesiam Sua miseratione respexit, et ei post " multas persecutiones, quibus graviter pressa est et attrita, " per Suam gratiam plenam pacem reddidit et quietem. Data " Venetiæ in Rivo Alto, octavo idus Augusti."

A.D. 1177. August 6. The meeting of the emperor and pope.

Threefold peace established.

Mutual recognition of pope and emperor.

Epistola Alexandri papæ ad Rogerum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, et Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, de pace facta inter ipsum et imperatorem.

July 26. The pope announces to the archbishop of York the peace of Venice.

" Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus " fratribus Rogero Eboracensi archiepiscopo, apostolicæ sedis " legato, et Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo, salutem et aposto- " licam benedictionem. Exigunt gratissimæ devotionis obse- " quia, quæ nobis et ecclesiæ tam devote quam laudabiliter " exhibuisse noscimini, ut felices successus ecclesiæ vobis " sicut specialibus et devotis ecclesiæ filiis spiritualibus descri- " bamus, cum dignum sit et conveniens et honestum, ut quos " ita habuimus in nostra devotione firmos et stabiles, de " prosperitate nostra et ipsius ecclesiæ reddamus hilares et " gaudentes. Agite itaque una nobiscum gratias Omnipotenti " Deo Qui habitat in altissimis, et humilia respicit de super- " nis, de Cujus munere venit, ut sponsa Sua sacrosancta " ecclesia, diu et graviter procellosis fluctibus et validissima " tempestate quassata, nunc tandem portum salutis attigerit,

Benedict, i. 189.

A.D. 1177. July 26.

Oaths interchanged, July 21.

" et pacatis sævientibus[1] procellis, debita et desiderata tran- Benedict, i. 189.
" quillitate lætetur. Sane duodecimo kalendas instantis mensis
" Augusti, de mandato carissimi in Christo filii nostri Frederici,
" illustris Romanorum imperatoris, filius Marchionis Alberti,
" vir nobilis, magnus et potens, et camerarius ipsius impera-
" toris, præsentibus principibus ecclesiasticis et etiam sæcula-
" ribus Teutonici regni, publice in anima ejus, in præsentia
" nostra, coram innumerosa hominum multitudine, præstitit,
" tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis, juramentum; quod postquam
" idem imperator veniret Venetias, omni quæstione et contra-
" dictione sopita, pacem ecclesiæ, sicut per fratres nostros et
" principes suos disposita est et tractata, et pacem carissimi in
" Christo filii nostri Willelmi, illustris Siciliæ regis, usque ad
" quindecim annos, et treugam Longobardorum usque ad sex
" annos, in anima sua, et etiam a principibus suis faceret,
" sicut in scripto pacis et treugæ continetur, juramento
" firmari. Et principes Teutonici regni, videlicet, venerabiles
" fratres nostri Madeburgensis, Coloniensis, et Christianus
" dictus Maguntinus archiepiscopi, et quidam alii in anima
" sua pro se jurare fecerunt. Nono vero kalendas Augusti præ-
" fatus imperator, sicut tractatum fuerat et dispositum, venit ad
" ecclesiam Beati Nicholai, quæ per unum milliare distat a
" Venetiis: et ibi tam ipse quam archiepiscopi, episcopi, et
" alii principes Teutonici regni, abrenunciantes schismati, per
" fratres nostros episcopos et cardinales de mandato nostro,
" præsentibus quibusdam aliis, absolutionis beneficium me-
" ruerunt. Deinde venerunt Venetias, et ibi ante ecclesiam
" Beati Marci prædictus imperator, innumera multitudine
" virorum et mulierum præsente, et alta voce reddente gratias
" et laudes Altissimo, nobis sicut summo pontifici obedientiam
" et reverentiam humiliter et reverenter exhibuit; et recepto
" a nobis pacis osculo nos devote dextravit, et cum reveren-
" tia, qua decuit, et devotione, usque ad altare in ecclesiam
" introduxit. Sequenti vero die, in festo Beati Jacobi, ab
" eodem imperatore rogati, ad prædictam ecclesiam Sancti
" Marci solemnia celebraturi missarum accessimus; et nobis
" illuc venientibus, præfatus imperator extra ecclesiam obviam
" venit, et dextro latere nostro devote suscepto, nos in eccle-
" siam introduxit, et peractis missarum solemniis nos usque Benedict. i. 190.
" ad ipsius ecclesiæ portam dextravit, et cum ascenderemus
" palefridum nostrum ibi paratum, stafam tenuit, et omnem
" honorem et reverentiam nobis exhibuit, quam prædecessores
" ejus nostris consueverunt antecessoribus exhibere. Erit itaque

The emperor arrived, July 24.

He attended the pope at S. Mark's on July 25, and held his stirrup.

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[1] *sævientibus*] sævientis, Benedict.

Benedict, i. 190. "sollicitudinis vestræ nobis et ecclesiæ in prosperis successibus congaudere, et effectum pacis aliis devotis ecclesiæ "filiis aperire, ut hi quos zelus domus Domini tangit, de "pacis munere divinitus dato, in Domino gaudeant et exultent. Data Venetiæ in Rivo Alto, septimo kalendas Augusti." A.D. 1177. July 26.

Benedict, i. 190. Eodem anno,[1] Petrus, tituli Sancti Chrysogoni presbyter cardinalis, apostolicæ sedis legatus, quondam Meldensis ecclesiæ electus, venit in Franciam, et ab Alexandro papa in mandatis recepit, quod tota Normannia, et omnes terræ regis Angliæ cismarinæ et transmarinæ, sub interdicto ponerentur, nisi ipse permiserit Ricardum filium suum, comitem Pictaviæ, ducere in uxorem Alesiam filiam Lodowici regis Franciæ, quam ipse rex Angliæ jam diu, et ultra quam inter eos convenerat, in sua custodia retinuerat. Quod cum regi Angliæ constaret, appellavit ad præsentiam domini papæ, pro seipso et pro terris suis, et mox transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam, et habito colloquio inter ipsum et regem Franciæ apud Yveri, undecimo kalendas Octobris, coram prædicto cardinali et magnatibus utriusque regni, rex Angliæ pater per suos fidem dedit, et in animam suam jurare fecit, quod Ricardus filius ejus, comes Pictaviæ, prædictam Alais in uxorem duceret, si rex Franciæ, pater puellæ, dederit præfato Ricardo comiti Pictaviæ civitatem Bituricensem, cum pertinentiis suis, in maritagium cum filia sua, sicut conventio inter illos inde facta exigit; et Henrico regi filio suo totum Vougesin Francigenum, videlicet, totam terram quæ est inter Gisorz et Punteise, quam ipse promiserat se daturum illi in maritagium cum filia sua. Sed quia rex Franciæ hæc dare noluit, rex Angliæ non permisit Ricardum filium suum prædictam Alais in uxorem ducere. Tamen in eodem colloquio, consilio cardinalis et principum utriusque regni, facta est amicitia et finalis concordia inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ in hunc modum:

Sept. 21.

Peter, cardinal of S. Chrysogonus, threatens Henry with an interdict, if he will not allow Richard's marriage to take place.

Benedict, i. 181.

Benedict, i. 190.

Conference at Yvry.

Benedict, i. 191.

Marriage provision for Richard and Alesia.

Benedict, i. 168.

Failure of this negotiation.

Peace concluded.

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[1] Hoveden gathers up here the notices of this negotiation scattered in three passages of the older writer, Peter, cardinal priest of S. Chrysogonus, 1173—1179. Peter's instructions were given as early as May 21, 1176, and renewed Apr. 30, 1177. See Bouquet, xv. 954, 955.

A.D. 1177. Sept. 21.

Hæc est pax et finalis concordia facta inter Lodowicum regem Franciæ et Henricum regem Angliæ in colloquio apud Yveri.[1]

Peace of Yvry.

"Sciant omnes tam præsentes quam futuri, quod ego Lodo-"wicus Dei gratia rex Francorum, et ego Henricus eadem "gratia rex Angliæ, volumus ad omnium tam præsentium "quam futurorum notitiam pervenire, nos, Deo inspirante, "promisisse et jurasse, quod simul ibimus in servitium Chris-"tianitatis, et crucem suscipiemus ituri Jerosolimam, sicut "in scripto de susceptione crucis inter nos facto continetur. "Volumus etiam quod omnes sciant, quod sic sumus et a "modo volumus esse amici, quod uterque nostrum alteri "conservabit vitam et membra et terrenum honorem suum "contra omnes homines pro posse suo. Et si quæcunque "persona alterutri nostrum malum facere præsumpserit, ego "Henricus juvabo Lodowicum regem Franciæ, dominum meum, "contra omnes homines pro posse meo. Et ego Lodowicus "juvabo Henricum regem Angliæ contra omnes homines pro "posse meo, sicut hominem et fidelem meum, salva fide "quam debemus hominibus nostris, quam diu ipsi fidem "nobis servabunt. Et neuter nostrum a modo retinebit ini-"micum alterius in terra sua, ex quo requisitus inde fuerit. "Et ut inter nos a modo tollatur omnis materia discordiæ, "concessimus ad invicem, quod de terris et possessionibus "et aliis rebus, quas quisque nostrum modo possidet, alter "adversus alterum inde nihil a modo petet, excepto eo de "Alvernia unde contentio inter nos est, et excepto feodo de "Castro Radulfi, et exceptis minutis feodis et divisis terra-"rum nostrarum de Berria, si homines nostri aliquid inde "interceperint inter se vel adversus alterum nostrum. Si "autem super his, quæ superius excepta sunt, per nosmet "ipsos convenire non poterimus: ego Lodowicus rex Franco-"rum elegi tres episcopos, Claremontensem,[2] Nivernensem,[3] "Trecernensem;[4] et tres barones, comitem Theobaldum,[5] et "comitem Robertum,[6] et Petrum de Curtenei,[7] fratres meos.

Benedict, i. 191.

The kings become friends and agree to go on crusade.

Benedict, i. 192.

The questions about Auvergne, Châteauroux, and Berry, reserved for arbitration.

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[1] This treaty will be found also in Gervase, c. 1442; and in Giraldus Cambrensis *De Instructione Principum*, ii. 5.

[2] *Claremontensem*] Pontius, bishop of Clermont in Auvergne.

[3] *Nivernensem*] Bernard.

[4] *Trecernensem*] Trecensem. (?)

[5] *Theobaldum*] count of Blois.

[6] *Robertum*] count of Dreux.

[7] *Petrum de Curtenai*] afterwards count of Nevers.

Benedict, i. 192.

A.D. 1177. Sept. 21.

The king of England nominates his arbitrators.

" Et ego Henricus rex Angliæ elegi tres episcopos, Willelmum " Cenomanensem, Petrum Petragorensem, et Robertum Nam- " netensem; et tres barones, Mauricium de Croum, Willel- " mum Maingot, et Petrum de Monte Rabel ex parte mea; " qui inquisita diligenter hinc et inde veritate, tam per se " ipsos quam per juramenta [hominum] illarum terrarum, præ- " dicti episcopi in verbo veritatis asseverabunt, et laici jura- " bunt, quod quæcunque cognoverint de jure cujusque nostrum " esse, hoc inter nos dicent, et nos eorum dicto bona fide firmi- " ter stabimus. Si vero omnes illi episcopi, quos ego Lodowi- " cus elegi, interesse non poterunt, nihilominus stabimus dicto " illorum duorum, qui intererunt. Et si omnes barones ex " parte mea nominati non interfuerint, pro eo non remanebit " quin stemus dicto aliorum duorum qui interfuerint. Et " similiter erit de illis quos ego rex Henricus elegi tam de " episcopis quam de baronibus. Juravimus etiam quod nul- " lum malum faciemus eis propter hoc, quod veritatem inde " dixerint. Et si forte, quod Deus avertat, inter nos de terris " nostris aliqua querela a modo oriatur, per eosdem bona " fide, et sine malo ingenio, sine dilatione terminetur. Si " autem aliqua prædictarum personarum interim mortua fue- " rit, altera loco ipsius substituatur. Si vero alteruter nos- " trum ante susceptionem crucis, iter peregrinationis arripere " voluerit, alter qui remanebit, terram illius qui in pere- " grinatione erit, et homines, sicut sua propria et dominica " fideliter custodiet et manutenebit. Postquam vero Deo " volente crucem susceperimus, homines nostros qui nobiscum " ibunt faciemus jurare, quod si alteruter nostrum in via " decesserit, quod Deus avertat, ita illi, qui superstes erit, " fideliter servient, sicut servirent domino suo si vivus esset, " quamdiu in terra Jerosolimitana morari voluerint. Pecu- " niam vero defuncti habebit vivus ad faciendum servitium " Christianitatis, præter partem illam quam ante iter suum " certis locis et certis personis dandam decreverit. Et si " uterque nostrum decesserit, eligemus, si Deus nobis spa- " tium indulserit, de probis et fidelibus hominibus nostris, " quibus committetur pecunia utriusque nostrum ad facien- " dum servitium Christianitatis, et qui ducent et regent " homines nostros. Antequam etiam iter arripiamus post sus- " ceptam crucem, faciemus illos jurare, quos custodes et " gubernatores constituemus terrarum nostrarum, quod ipsi " bona fide cum omni posse suo, si necesse fuerit, sese ad " invicem juvabunt ad defendendum terras nostras, cum ab " invicem requisiti fuerint, quod illi, quos ego Henricus rex

Each king to guard the other's kingdom in his absence.

Benedict, i. 193.

If either die, the survivor is to command his forces and dispose of his treasure.

Provision in case both should die.

Guardians to be appointed to govern both kingdoms during the Crusade, with strict injunctions

A.D. 1177. Sept. 21. to peace and mutual protection.

"Angliæ præfecero ad gubernandum terras meas cum omni "posse suo juvabunt ad defendendum terras Lodowici regis "Franciæ domini mei, quemadmodum terras meas defende-"rent si civitas mea Rothomagi obsessa esset. Et eodem "modo, quod illi quos ego Lodowicus rex Franciæ præfe-"cero ad gubernandum terras meas, cum omni posse suo "juvabunt ad defendendum terras Henrici regis Angliæ, "quemadmodum terras meas defenderent, si civitas mea "Parisius obsessa esset. Volo etiam quod mercatores et "omnes homines, tam clerici quam laici, de terra sua, cum "omnibus rebus suis securi sint et pacem habeant per omnes "terras meas. Et ego Henricus rex Angliæ similiter volo "quod mercatores et omnes homines, tam clerici quam "laici, de terra regis Franciæ domini mei, cum omnibus "rebus suis, securi sint et pacem habeant per omnes terras "meas. Hæc autem suprascripta nos firmiter observaturos "promisimus et juravimus, in præsentia venerabilis Petri "tituli Sancti Chrysogoni presbyteri cardinalis, apostolicæ "sedis legati, et in præsentia Ricardi Wintoniensis episcopi, "et Johannis Carnotensis episcopi, et Henrici Bajocensis "episcopi, et Frogerii Sagiensis episcopi, et Ægidii Ebroi-"censis episcopi, et Henrici regis, Henrici regis Angliæ filii, "et comitis Theobaldi, et comitis Roberti, et Petri de Curte-"nai, et comitis Symonis Ebroicensis, et Willelmi de Humez, "et multorum aliorum tam clericorum quam laicorum."

Benedict, i. 193.

The subjects of each king are to be safe in the dominions of the other.

Benedict, i. 194.

Henry II. goes to Verneuil, and there, at the request of the Bons Hommes of Grandmont, makes a statute against the seizure of the goods of vassals for the debts of their lords.

Finito colloquio, Henricus rex Angliæ pater venit Vernolium, et ibidem intuitu Divini amoris, et prece Bonorum hominum de Grandi-monte motus, statuit coram Ricardo Wintoniensi episcopo, et Henrico Bajocensi episcopo, et Ægidio Ebroicensi episcopo, et Frogero Sagiensi episcopo; et coram Symone comite Ebroicensi, et Roberto comite Leicestriæ, et coram multis aliis comitibus et baronibus regni sui, ne quis pro debito domini res hominis capere præsumat, nisi homo ejusdem debiti debitor aut plegius exstiterit; sed redditus, quos homines reddere debent dominis suis, reddantur creditori dominorum suorum et non dominis. Cæteræ vero res hominum propriæ sint in pace, neque eas pro dominorum debitis liceat cuique namtire. Hoc statutum et consuetudinem hanc statuit dominus rex, et teneri præcepit in omnibus villis suis et ubique in potestate sua, scilicet in Normannia, et Aquitannia, et Andegavia, et Cenomannia, et Turonica, et Britannia generale et ratum. Et ut hoc statutum firmiter teneatur et ratum permaneat, scripto commendari, et sigilli sui auctoritate confirmari fecit.

Benedict, i. 195.

Eodem anno, quinto kalendas Octobris, feria tertia, Gaufridus nepos Rogeri Eboracensis archiepiscopi, præpositus Beverlaci, cancellarius regis Angliæ filii, et magister Robertus Magnus, et alii multi numero trecenti viri ac mulieres, in una eademque navi transfretantes de Anglia in Normanniam, perierunt in mari prope Sanctum Walericum, in costera de Pontif.[1]

A.D. 1177. Sept. 27. Geoffrey provost of Beverley lost at sea.

Deinde dominus rex Angliæ pater profectus in Berriam cum exercitu magno, cepit castrum Radulfi. Et cum processisset inde versus Castre, dominus oppidi illius venit obviam illi, et reddidit ei filiam Radulfi de Dolis, quam rex dedit Baldewino de Revers cum honore castelli Radulfi.

Henry II. takes Châteauroux.

Benedict, i. 196.

Deinde dominus rex Angliæ pater perrexit ad Grandemmontem, et Albertus[2] comes Marchiæ venit illuc obviam ei, et coram archiepiscopo Burdegalensi,[3] Johanne Pictavensi episcopo, et pluribus aliis tam clericis quam laicis, vendidit præfato regi Angliæ totum comitatum Marchiæ pro quindecim millibus libris Andegavensium, et pro viginti mulis, et pro viginti palefridis, et carta sua confirmavit.

December. He buys the county of La Marche, at Grandmont.

Benedict, i. 197.

Carta Audeberti comitis Marchiæ hæc est facta de venditione comitatus sui, quam fecit Henrico regi Angliæ patri.

"Notum sit tam præsentibus quam futuris, quod ego Audebertus comes Marchiæ, mortuo filio meo, quem solum habebam hæredem, devotus propriæ voluntatis arbitrio, quia Deo voveram in perpetuum deservire, vendidi totam terram meam, et quicquid me jure hæreditario contingebat, domino meo Henrico illustri Anglorum regi, nullo penitus reclamante, immo nullo penitus existente qui de jure posset reclamare, pro quindecim millibus librarum Andegavensis

Sale of the county of La Marche.

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[1] With the record of this event the earlier MS. of Benedict (Cotton Julius A. xi.) ends; and at the same point Walter of Coventry's copy of the same chronicle.

[2] *Albertus*] Audebert V., count of La Marche, 1150—1180.

[3] *Burdegalensi*] William Templier.

A.D. 1177. December. Sale of the county of La Marche.

"monetæ, mihi in integrum apud Grandem-montem persolutis, "et pro viginti mulis, et pro viginti palefridis. Firmavi "autem fide mea corporaliter præstita, in manu Willelmi "Burdegalensis archiepiscopi, me domino regi et hæredi suo "Pictaviæ, vel cuicunque donaverit eam, prædictam terram "gwarantizaturum, bona fide et sine malo ingenio, contra omnes "homines: et in tota vita mea me nihil facturum, neque "maritagio neque alio quocunque modo, quo minus prædicta "venditio inconcussa permaneret. Ne autem hæc mea ven- "ditio solemniter celebrata aliqua posset in posterum malig- "nitate divelli, eam sigillo meo munivi. Actum publice anno "ab Incarnatione Domini M°C°LXX°VII°., mense Decembri, apud "Grandem-montem, præsentibus archiepiscopo Burdegalensi, "et Johanne Pictavensi episcopo, et pluribus aliis." Benedict, i. 197.

Henry II. receives the homages of La Marche.

His itaque gestis apud Grandem-montem, dominus rex Angliæ pater recepit homagia et fidelitates et ligantias de baronibus et militibus comitatus Marchiæ; et Audebertus dictus comes Marchiæ recessit inde cum supradicta pecunia sibi a rege Angliæ tradita.

Flood in the parts of Holland, Jan. 7.

Eodem anno factum est diluvium magnum in Holland, ruptis fossatis marinis, et diluit fere omnem substantiam illius provinciæ, et homines multos submersit, vii. idus Januarii.[1]

Roger abbot elect of St. Augustine's, failing to obtain benediction from the archbishop,

Interim electus[2] abbas ecclesiæ Sancti Augustini Cantuariæ, sæpe et multum sollicitavit, per seipsum et alios honestos viros intercessores, Ricardum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, ut ipse veniret ad ecclesiam Sancti Augustini ad benedicendum eum in abbatem. Cui archiepiscopus respondit, se non debere illuc venire ad benedicendum illum, sed quod ille potius deberet venire ad metropolitanam Cantuariæ ecclesiam pro bene- Benedict, i. 208.

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[1] *Eodem . . . . Januarii*] This notice appears also in Walter of Coventry, who does not begin regularly to copy Hoveden until 1181. It is mentioned also, but not in the same words, in the Peterborough Chronicle, ad 1178, ed. Giles, 103; and by Ralph de Diceto, who ascribes to it the destruction of the sea-wall, c. 599.

[2] *electus*] A blank for the name in A. Roger of Lurdingden, abbot 1176—1212. He was elected in 1175; received the benediction from the pope in the Lateran Council of 1179. This letter belongs to the year 1178.

Benedict, i. 208. dictione sua recipienda. Et propter hanc controversiam prædictus electus appellavit ad præsentiam domini papæ, et in propria persona Romam profectus est, et ab Alexandro summo pontifice hujusmodi litteras impetravit: A.D. 1177. obtains a papal letter.

Epistola Alexandri papæ pro electo ecclesiæ Sancti Augustini Cantuariæ.

Benedict, i. 208. W. Thorne, c. 1823. Elmham, p. 423.

A.D. 1178. April 17. The pope considering the obstinacy of the archbishop of Canterbury and the expenses of the abbot elect, commits the benediction to Roger bishop of Worcester.

"Alexander episcopus servus servorum Dei, venerabili " fratri Rogero Wigornensi episcopo, salutem et apostolicam " benedictionem. Cum venerabili fratri nostro Ricardo Can- " tuariensi archiepiscopo, apostolicæ sedis legato, olim dederi- " mus in mandatis, ut dilecto filio nostro, electo Sancti Augus- " tini, in monasterio suo, quod ad jurisdictionem Romanæ " ecclesiæ nullo mediante pertinet, munus benedictionis non " differret aliquatenus impertiri; ex eo quod archiepiscopus " hoc exsequi recusavit, de jure potuissemus eidem electo be- " nedictionem ipsam per nos, vel etiam per alium, qui nobis " non ita de facili contradiceret, exhibere. Volentes autem " in eo adhuc obedientiæ virtutem plenius experiri, post " longam disceptationem, quam idem archiepiscopus in præ- " sentia nostra per nuncios suos contra ipsum electum super " controversia benedictionis habuit, quæ de communi fratrum " nostrorum consilio per diffinitivam sententiam ita decisa " est; quod Cantuariensis archiepiscopus ipsum et successores " suos in monasterio Sancti Augustini absque exactione obe- " dientiæ, contradictione postposita benedicat, ex consueta et " abundanti sedis apostolicæ benignitate, eundem electum pro " munere benedictionis ad memoratum archiepiscopum duxi- " mus remittendum. Attendentes igitur labores et expensas, " quas idem monasterium super hoc jam longo tempore sus- " tinuit, fraternitati tuæ per apostolica scripta præcipiendo " mandamus, et in virtute obedientiæ injungimus, quatenus, " si memoratus archiepiscopus infra terminum nostris litteris " constitutum eundem electum, sicut a nobis diffinitum est, " benedicere distulerit, tu nostra fretus auctoritate, omni " excusatione, contradictione et appellatione cessante, quam " citius super hoc fueris requisitus, id efficere non moreris, " nullo decreto nostro vel alterius, quo præceptum sit appel- " lationi deferendum, impediente, nullis etiam litteris obstan- " tibus a nobis impetratis vel impetrandis, nulla exceptione, " quo minus vel tardius mandatum nostrum adimpleas, resis- " tente. Data Laterani, xv. kalendas Madii."

Benedict, i. 209.

A.D. 1178. The archbishop visits S. Augustine's in the absence of the abbot elect, and appeals to the pope.

Quod cum prædictus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus audisset, statuit se ad monasterium Sancti Augustini venturum ad prædictum electum benedicendum secundum formam apostolici mandati. Quadam vero die dum prædictus electus pro negotiis domus suæ in alia provincia iter ageret, venit ipse archiepiscopus cum clericis et laicis quampluribus ad monasterium Sancti Augustini, asserens se illuc advenisse ad prædictum electum benedicendum, et illo non invento, appellavit ad dominum papam pro se et ecclesiæ suæ dignitate. Unde factum est, quod electus ille Romam profectus ab Alexandro papa munus benedictionis recepit. Benedict, i. 209.

Annus XX^mus IIII^tus regni regis Henrici, filii Matildis imperatricis.

A.D. 1178. The king keeps Christmas 1177-8 at Angers. He is anxious to return to England.

Anno gratiæ M°C°LXX°VIII°., qui erat annus xx^mus iv^tus regni regis Henrici, filii Matildis imperatricis, idem Henricus fuit die Natalis Domini apud Andegavim civitatem. Eodem anno desiderio magno desideravit rex Angliæ pater redire in Angliam, et missis nunciis suis ad Lodowicum regem Francorum, impetravit ab eo litteras protectionis in hunc modum: Benedict, i. 198.

Litteræ Lodowici regis Francorum de protectione sua.

Lewis VII. undertakes the protection of Henry's foreign dominions.

"Lodowicus rex Francorum, omnibus ad quos præsentes "litteræ pervenerint, salutem. Noverit universitas vestra, "quod nos recepimus in custodiam nostram totam terram "Henrici regis Angliæ carissimi fratris nostri, in cismarinis "partibus sitam, si contigerit eum in Angliam transfretare, "vel peregre proficisci, ita quod quando baillivi sui de terra "transmarina nos requisierint, nos bona fide et sine malo in"genio eis consilium et auxilium præstabimus ad ejusdem "terræ defensionem et protectionem. Actum apud Vicenas."

Henry II. and Lewis VII. take measures against the heretics.

Interim Ariana hæresis, quæ, ut supra dictum est, damnata erat in provincia Tolosana, jam revivixerat; quod cum ad aures regis Franciæ et regis Angliæ perveniret, zelo Christianæ fidei accensi statuerunt, quod illuc irent in propriis personis, ut prædictos hæreticos prorsus a finibus illis eliminarent. Elapso deinde aliquantulo tem- Benedict, i. 199.

Benedict, i. 199. — A.D. 1178.

poris spatio, videbatur eis plus posse proficere, si viros sapientes illuc misissent, qui hæreticos illos prædicatione et doctrina ad fidem Christianam converterent, quam si ipsi in propriis personis illuc ire properassent. Dictum enim erat eis,

They determine to send preachers into the county of Toulouse: Peter cardinal of S. Chrysogonus, the archbishops of Bourges and Narbonne; the bishops of Poictiers and Bath, and the abbot of Clairvaux.

Claudian, xv. 384.

"Vindictam mandasse sat est; plus nominis horror
"Quam tuus ensis aget: minuit præsentia famam."

Miserunt ergo illuc Petrum tituli Sancti Chrysogoni presbyterum cardinalem, apostolicæ sedis legatum, et Bituricensem et Narbonensem archiepiscopos, et Reginaldum Batoniensem, et Johannem Pictavensem episcopos, et Henricum abbatem Clarevallensem,[1] et alios multos viros ecclesiasticos, ut prædicatione sua hæreticos illos ad fidem Christianam converterent, vel rationibus probabilibus illos esse hæreticos manifestarent, et a liminibus sanctæ matris ecclesiæ, et fidelium consortio sequestrarent. Qui cum venissent oraverunt pro ipsis, ut acciperent Spiritum Sanctum: nondum enim in quenquam illorum venerat. Præterea prædicti reges elegerunt Raimundum[2] comitem Tolosanum, et vicecomitem[3] de Turena, et Raimundum de Castro Novo, et alios viros potentes, et præceperunt, quod ipsi prædicto cardinali et sociis suis in fide Christi assisterent, et hæreticos illos a finibus illis virtute potenti expellerent.

The count of Toulouse, the viscount of Turenne, and Raymond of Châteauneuf to assist with the secular arm.

Cum igitur prædictus cardinalis et cæteri viri catholici Tolosam essent ingressi, invenerunt ibi quendam divitem duo castella habentem, unum infra civitatem, et aliud extra muros civitatis, qui ante illorum adventum se hæreticæ pravitatis sectatorem confitebatur. Sed jam præ timore exterritus sectam illam execrabilem velare cupiens, Christianissimum se esse simulabat. Quod cum cardinali innotuit, præcepit prædictum divitem sibi præsentari. Qui cum venisset ut fidem suam confiteretur, in omnibus articulis inventus est fidei Christianæ contrarius. Et ideo a prædicto cardinali et episcopis qui cum eo erant manifestus hæreticus judicatus est, et condemnatus. Et ab illis præceptum est, ut res illius confiscarentur, et turres ejus, quas proceras et pulcherrimas habuit, demolirentur.

Benedict, i. 200.

Condemnation of the chief protector of the heretics.

[1] Henry, abbot of Clairvaux, afterwards cardinal bishop of Albano.

[2] *Raimundum*] Raymond V., 1148—1194.

[3] *vicecomitem*] Raymond II., 1143—1190.

A.D. 1178. Penance of the great heretic. Videns ergo se damnatum, et res suas confiscari, venit ad cardinalem et ad socios suos episcopos, et ad eorum pedes prostratus veniam postulavit, et injuncta sibi pœnitentia, nudus ducitur [et] flagellatur per plateas et vicos civitatis. Deinde juravit se Jerosolimam iturum, et ibidem in Dei servitio per triennium moram facturum, et si post triennium domum rediret, possessiones suæ redderentur ei; ita tamen quod turres suæ caderent in testimonium hæreticæ pravitatis, et ipse daret domino suo comiti Tolosano quingentas libras argenti. Benedict, i. 200.

Repentance of the humbler sort. His ita gestis, multi hæretici, timentes ne simili modo tractarentur, venerunt ad cardinalem et ad socios suos, et secreto confessi errorem suum, et veniam postulantes, misericordiam consecuti sunt.

The preachers of heresy summoned before the cardinal. Inter hæc pervenit ad aures illorum quod quidam falsi fratres, Raimundus videlicet,[1] et Bernardus Raimundi, et quidam alii hæresiarchæ, transfigurantes se in angelos lucis, cum sint Sathanæ, et Christianæ fidei contraria prædicantes, multorum animas falsa prædicatione sua decipiebant, et secum traxerant ad inferos. Qui[2] cum invitati fuissent, ut ad præsentiam cardinalis sociorumque ejus venirent, ut fidem suam confiterentur, responderunt se ad illorum præsentiam venturos, si eundi et redeundi haberent securitatem. Data itaque eis securitate eundi et redeundi, venerunt coram prædicto cardinali et episcopis, et comitibus et baronibus, et clero et populo qui aderant, et in medium protulerunt quandam cartam in qua fidei suæ articulos conscripserant. Quam cum prolixius perlegissent, quædam verba videbantur in ea suspecta existere, et, nisi plenius exponerentur, hæresim quam prædicaverant possent velare. Cumque unus illorum articulos illos conscriptos exponere et Latine loqui vellet, vix duo verba conjungere potuit, utpote qui linguam Latinam penitus ignoravit. Tunc necesse fuit cardinalem illum et episcopos illis condescendere, et propter illorum imperitiam vulgarem habere sermonem. Itaque de articulis fidei Christianæ examinati, responderunt super omnibus articulis fidei ita sane et circumspecte, ac si Christianissimi essent. Quod cum comes Tolosæ, et cæteri qui prius audierant ipsos Christianæ fidei contraria prædicasse, audissent, vehementi admiratione commoti et Christianæ fidei zelo succensi surrexerunt, et eos plane in caput suum mentitos fuisse manifestius convi- Benedict, i. 201, 202. Below, pp. 155, 156, 157. They produce their confession. They are examined by the cardinal, and answer rightly.

[1] *videlicet*] de Bauniaco, or Bauviaco, Benedict.

[2] This account is abridged, almost in the same words, from the letter of the cardinal which follows.

Benedict, i. 235. Below, p. 158.

A.D. 1178.

Evidence is heard against them: as to the two principles, and the sacraments.

cerunt; dicentes,[1] se audisse a quibusdam illorum, quod duo dii existerent, alter bonus et alter malus: bonus, qui invisibilia tantum et ea quæ mutari aut corrumpi non possunt fecisset; malus qui cœlum, terram, hominem, et alia visibilia condidisset. Alii autem affirmaverunt, se in illorum prædicatione audisse, Corpus Christi non confici per ministerium sacerdotis indigni, aut aliquibus criminibus irretiti. Alii autem dicebant, se audisse ab eis in prædicatione sua virum cum uxore non posse salvari si alter alteri debitum reddat. Alii autem dicebant, se ab eis audisse baptismum parvulis non prodesse, et alias quamplures contra Deum et sanctam ecclesiam atque catholicam fidem blasphemias protulisse, quas pro abominabili earum enormitate tacere utilius est quam referre.

Benedict, i. 204. Below, p. 157.

They deny the charges, and profess catholic doctrine on these questions and others.

Hæretici autem illi hæc contra dicebant, illos falsum dixisse adversus eos testimonium. Dicebant enim publice coram prædicto cardinali et episcopis et universis astantibus, et confitebantur et firmiter asseruerunt, quod unus Deus altissimus omnia visibilia et invisibilia condidisset; et penitus denegabant duo esse principia. Confessi sunt etiam, quod sacerdos sive bonus sive malus, justus vel injustus, et talis etiam quem adulterum aut alias criminosum indubitanter esse scirent, Corpus et Sanguinem Christi posset conficere, et per ministerium hujusmodi sacerdotis, et virtutem divinorum verborum quæ a Domino prolata sunt, panis et vinum in Corpus et Sanguinem Christi vere transubstantiabantur.[2] Asseruerunt quoque quod parvuli vel adulti nostro baptismate baptizati salvantur; et nullus sine eodem baptismo potest salvari; omnino inficiantes se aliud baptisma aut manus impositionem, sicut eis imponebatur, habere. Affirmaverunt nihilominus, quod vir et mulier matrimonio copulati, si aliud peccatum non impediat, licet carnaliter alter alteri debitum reddat, propter bonum matrimonii excusati salvantur, et propter hoc nunquam damnantur. Archiepiscopos præterea et episcopos, presbyteros, monachos, canonicos, heremitas, Templarios et Hospitalarios affirmaverunt esse salvandos. Dignum quoque et justum esse dicebant, ut ecclesias, in honorem Dei et sanctorum fundatas, cum summa devotione visitantes adirent, et sacerdotibus et aliis earum

On marriage;

on the salvation of the prelates and clergy;

on churches;

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[1] *dicentes*] Hoveden adds this description of the errors of the heretics to the account given by his predecessor. It is, however, like the preceding relation, abridged from the letter of the cardinal of S. Chrysogonus.

[2] *transubstantiabantur*] transibant, Benedict.

A.D. 1178. Their profession on alms.

ministris honorem et reverentiam exhibentes primitias et decimas eis deberent solvere, et de omnibus parochialibus devote et fideliter respondere. Eleemosynam etiam tam ecclesiis quam pauperibus, nec non et omni petenti[1] esse tribuendas, inter cætera laudabiliter asserebant; hæc omnia licet prius dicerentur negasse, juxta sanum intellectum se intelligere asserentes: prædictus cardinalis et episcopi præceperunt, quod ipsi jurassent, se ita corde credere, sicut ore confitebantur.

Benedict, i. 204. Below, pp. 157, 158.

The commissioners demand an oath.

The heretics deny the lawfulness of oaths.

Ipsi vero, sicut homines tortæ mentis et intentionis obliquæ, tandem hæresim noluerunt relinquere, ubi crassum et sopitum[2] intellectum eorum alicujus auctoritatis superficies videbatur juvare, occasione verbi illius, quod Dominus in Evangelio dixisse legitur: "Nolite omnino jurare, et sit "sermo vester Est, est, Non, non," dicentes se non debere jurare, cum ipse Dominus sæpe jurasse legatur, sicut scriptum est, "Juravit Dominus et non pœnitebit Eum." Et alibi, "Per Memetipsum juravi, dicit Dominus." Et apostolus, "Omnis controversiæ finis est juramentum." Cæterum ipsi tanquam viri idiotæ, non intelligentes scripturas, in laqueum, quem absconderant, ceciderunt. Quia cum prius juramentum tanquam rem execrabilem et a Domino prohibitam abhorrerent, in ipsa confessionis suæ carta jurasse convicti sunt, cum dixerint, "In veritate, quæ Deus est, ita credimus, et dicimus "quod hæc est fides nostra;" nescientes quod Veritatem et Verbum Dei in testimonium veræ assertionis adducere proculdubio sit jurare: sicut de apostolo legimus cum dixerit: "Hæc enim vobis dicimus in verbo Dei;" et alibi, "Testis "est mihi Deus:" et alia similia comprobant, quæ ab illis, qui Divinas scripturas intelligunt et legerunt possunt facilius inveniri. Cum igitur a multis et sufficientibus testibus fuissent convicti, et adhuc multi se ad ferendum contra eos testimonium præpararent; quia ecclesia consuevit redeuntibus misericordiæ gremium non negare, eos diligentius monuerunt, ut omni hæretica pravitate deposita ad fidei veritatem[3] redirent. Et quia a domino papa et a prædicto cardinali, et Bituricensi et Narbonensi archiepiscopis, et a Tolosano episcopo, propter perversam prædicationem et sectam excommunicati fuerant, ad fidem catholicam juxta formam ecclesiæ reconciliandi venirent, monuerunt. Quod cum illi in arcum pravum conversi, et mente perdita indurati, facere recusarent, prædictus cardinalis, et prænominati episcopi, in con-

Benedict, i. 205. Below, p. 159.

S. Matt. v. 34, 37.

Jerem. xlix. 13. Heb. vi. 16.

1 Thess. iv. 15. Rom. i. 9.

They are admonished to repent, but refuse.

Benedict, i. 206. Below, p. 159.

Ps. lxxviii. 57.

[1] *omni petenti*] Omnipotenti, below, p. 158.

[2] *sopitum*] supinum, Bened.

[3] *veritatem*] unitatem, Bened.

Benedict, i. 206. Below, p. 159. spectu totius populi, eos iterum accensis candelis, una cum præfato Pictavensi episcopo, et aliis religiosis viris, qui cum illis in omnibus astiterunt, excommunicatos denunciaverunt, et ipsos cum suo auctore diabolo condemnaverunt; et universis Christi fidelibus præceperunt, quatenus prædictos Raimundum et Bernardum et eorum complices, tanquam excommunicatos et Sathanæ traditos, cautius evitarent, et si quando aliud quam in audientia illorum sunt confessi, eis de cætero prædicaverint, prædicationem illorum tanquam falsam, et catholicæ atque apostolicæ fidei contrariam, respuerent, et ipsos tanquam hæreticos et antichristi præambulos a finibus eorum longius expellerent. A.D. 1178. They are excommunicated.

Benedict, i. 220. Below, p. 166. Comes autem Tolosanus, et cæteri illius provinciæ potentiores, coram omni populo præstito sacramento firmaverunt, quod a modo nec prece nec pretio favebunt hæreticis.[1] The count of Toulouse swears not to favour the heretics.

Benedict, i. 202. Unde prædictus cardinalis universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis in hac forma scripsit:

Epistola Petri tituli Sancti Chrysogoni presbyteri cardinalis, apostolicæ sedis legati.

"Petrus, Dei gratia tituli Sancti Chrysogoni presbyter cardinalis, apostolicæ sedis legatus, universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis, catholicam atque apostolicam fidem servantibus, in Domino salutem. Testante apostolo, sicut unus Deus, ita et una fides esse dinoscitur, a cujus integritate nullus potest sine periculo deviare. Cujus fundamentum, præter quod nullus aliud potest ponere, apostoli, et apostolici viri successores eorum, inspirante et docente Spiritu Sancto, sanis doctrinis tanquam vivis ex lapidibus ita firmiter et circumspecte jecerunt; quod nec sonantis impetus Aquilonis, nec impiorum machinæ, licet crebris assultibus impugnetur, illud poterunt a sua firmitate movere. Unde quamvis diebus istis quidam falsi fratres, Raimundus videlicet de Bauniaco, Bernardus Raimundi, et quidam alii hæresiarchæ transfigurantes se in angelos lucis, cum sint Sathanæ, prius Christianæ et apostolicæ fidei contraria prædicantes, multorum animas venenosa prædicatione deceperunt, et secum traxerunt ad ruinam; novissime tamen, Ille, Qui revelat mysteria, et ad confutandos seniores Israel dedit Spiritum Danieli, ad animas diabolica fraude deceptas respiciens,

Peter, cardinal of S. Chrysogonus, publishes his report of the commission. (Eph. iv. 5.)

The time arrived for the confusion of the heretics. (2 Cor. xi. 14.)

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[1] *Comes . . . . . hæreticis*] from the letter of the abbot of Clairvaux, below, p. 166.

A.D. 1178.

The heretical preachers appeared before the commissioners under promise of safe conduct.

Benedict, i. 202.

" noluit ulterius perfidiam illorum velari, nec Christianæ " fidei sinceritatem illorum prædicatione corrumpi: sed Sua " admirabili potestate, audientibus et videntibus multis, quod " prius latuerat, venenum perfidiæ detexit, in augmentum et " gloriam fidei Christianæ. Cum itaque prædicti Raimundus " et Bernardus, atque alii, venerabili fratri nostro Reginaldo " Bathoniensi episcopo, et nobilibus viris, vicecomiti de Tu- " rena et Raimundo de Castro Novo, qui de consilio nostro in " terram Rogeri[1] de Bediers pro liberatione venerabilis fratris " nostri Albanensis[2] episcopi venerant, occurrissent, et se confi- " terentur a nobili viro comite Tolosano et aliis baronibus, " qui eos in perpetuum abjuraverant, injuste tractari; cum pro " defensione fidei suæ ad præsentiam nostram se venturos " proponerent, si veniendi et redeundi securitatem haberent; " memorati episcopus et vicecomes, ne corda simplicium qui " illorum fæce erant imbuti scandalum paterentur, et diffi- " dentiæ nostræ ascriberent, si eis audientia negaretur, ex " parte nostra et prædicti comitis indulserunt, ut cum omni " securitate se conspectui nostro præsentarent, quatenus sub " nostro et venerabilis fratris nostri Pictavensis episcopi, " apostolicæ sedis legati, et aliorum discretorum virorum, et " totius populi examine audirentur; et si recte et sane crede- " rent, probarentur; et postquam a nobis examinati fuissent, " nihilominus ad propria remearent securi, ne metu vel vio- " lentia qualibet viderentur inducti ad confessionem veræ " fidei, ita tamen quod post elapsos octo dies, juxta edictum " quod exierat, nisi ad fidem nostram redirent, de terris prin- " cipum qui eos abjuraverant deberent expelli. Nos itaque " indulgentiam eis ab episcopo et vicecomite factam, quamvis " a præfato comite Tolosano, et aliis nobilibus viris, sicut " diximus, jam exierat edictum ut de terris eorum deberent " expelli, ratam habentes; eodem Pictavensi episcopo, et præ- " dicto comite Tolosano, et aliis clericis et laicis quasi tre- " centis, in ecclesia beati Stephani nobiscum pariter congre- " gatis, illis injunximus ut fidem suam nobis exponerent, et ad " catholicæ fidei veritatem redeuntes, infamiam, quam et tota " terra et ipsi pariter per damnabilem prædicationem incurre- " rant, per salutiferam confessionem veræ fidei removerent. " Ipsi vero inter alia verba, quæ hinc inde processerunt, " cartam quandam, in qua fidei suæ articulos conscripserant, " in medium protulerunt; et eam sicut prolixius scripta

Benedict, 203.

Terms of the safe conduct.

They appear in the church of S. Stephen at Toulouse, and present their confession of faith.

[1] *Rogeri*] Roger II., Trincavel, viscount of Beziers, 1167—1194.

[2] *Albanensis*] So MSS. A. B. C. It should be *Albiensem*; see below, p. 165.

Benedict, i. 203. "fuerat perlegerunt. In qua cum verba quædam deprehen- A.D. 1178.
"dissemus, quæ et suspecta videbantur existere, et nisi plenius "exponerentur hæresim, quam prædicaverant, possent velare, "quæsivimus ut Latinis verbis respondentes suam fidem "defenderent, tum quia lingua eorum non erat nobis satis "nota, tum quia evangelia et epistolæ, quibus tantummodo "fidem suam confirmare volebant, Latino eloquio noscuntur "esse scripta. Cumque id facere non auderent, utpote, qui "linguam Latinam penitus ignorabant, sicut in verbis unius "illorum apparuit, qui cum Latine vellet loqui vix duo verba "jungere potuit, et omnino defecit; necesse fuit nos illis "condescendere, et de ecclesiasticis sacramentis, propter im- "peritiam illorum, quamvis satis erat absurdum, vulgarem "habere sermonem. Illi ergo duo esse principia denegantes, "publice coram nobis et prædictis viris confessi sunt et "firmiter asseruerunt quod unus Deus altissimus omnia visi- "bilia et invisibilia condidisset; quod etiam scripturis, sicut "verum est, evangelicis atque apostolicis comprobabant. "Confessi sunt etiam, quod sacerdos noster, bonus sive "malus, justus vel injustus, et talis etiam quem adulterum, "vel alias criminosum, indubitanter esse scirent, Corpus et "Sanguinem Christi posset conficere; et per ministerium "hujusmodi sacerdotis, et virtutem Divinorum verborum quæ "a Domino prolata sunt, panis et vinum in Corpus et Sangui- "nem Christi vere transubstantiantur.[1] Asseruerunt quoque "quod parvuli vel adulti nostro baptismate baptizati salvan- "tur, et nullus sine eodem baptismo potest salvari: omnino "inficiantes se aliud baptisma, aut manus impositionem, "sicut eis imponebatur, habere. Affirmaverunt nihilominus, "quod vir et mulier matrimonio copulati, si aliud peccatum "non impediat, licet carnaliter alter alteri debitum reddat, "propter bonum matrimonii excusati salvantur; et propter "hoc nunquam damnantur. Archiepiscopos præterea et epi- "scopos, presbyteros, monachos, canonicos, heremitas, Tem- "plarios et Hospitalarios affirmaverunt esse salvandos. Dig- "num quoque et justum esse dicebant, ut ecclesias in honore "Dei atque sanctorum fundatas cum summa devotione visi- "tantes adirent; et sacerdotibus et aliis earum ministris ho- "norem et reverentiam exhibentes primitias et decimas eis "deberent solvere; et de omnibus parochialibus devote et "fideliter respondere. Eleemosynas etiam tam ecclesiis quam

They were unable to speak in Latin.

They are examined in the vulgar tongue, and make a catholic profession.

Benedict, i. 204.

On the sacraments, on marriage, on the salvation of the clergy, on the use of churches, tithes, and alms.

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[1] *transubstantiantur*] transibant, Bened.

A.D. 1178. " pauperibus, nec non et Omnipotenti[1] esse tribuendas, inter " cætera laudabiliter assserebant, hæc omnia licet prius di- " cerentur negasse, juxta nostrum sanum intellectum se intel- " ligere asserentes. Postquam autem ita a nobis examinati " fuerunt, et ea quæ diximus spontanea voluntate confessi, " ecclesiam beati Jacobi intravimus. Ubi nobiscum innumera " populi multitudo, quæ se quasi ad spectaculum præparabat, " convenit, et confessionem fidei eorum, quæ in prædicta car- " tula conscripta fuerat, vulgari sermone audivit. Porro cum " a nobis et omni populo, qui ibidem convenerat, in omni pa- " tientia et sine tumultu aliquo fuissent auditi, et ipsi sponte " finem dicendi fecissent; quia expositio suæ fidei satis lauda- " bilis et catholica videbatur, iterum ab eis audiente universo " populo quæsivimus, si corde crederent quod ore fuerant " confessi, et si aliquando in contrarium, sicut eis sæpius im- " positum fuerat, prædicassent. Illis vero respondentibus se " ita credere, et nihilominus negantibus se unquam aliter " prædicasse, nobilis vir comes Tolosensis, et multi alii clerici " et laici, qui eos audierant aliter prædicantes, vehementi ad- " miratione commoti, et Christianæ fidei zelo succensi surrex- " erunt, et eos plane in caput suum mentitos fuisse manifes- " tius convicerunt. Quidam enim constanter proposuerunt se " a quibusdam illorum audisse, quod duo dii existerent, alter " bonus et alter malus: bonus [qui] invisibilia tantum, et ea " quæ mutari aut corrumpi non possunt fecisset; malus qui " cœlum, terram, hominem, et alia visibilia condidisset. Alii " affirmaverunt se in illorum prædicatione audisse, Corpus " Christi non confici per ministerium sacerdotis indigni, aut " aliquibus criminibus irretiti. Multi similiter testati sunt, eos " prorsus negantes audisse, virum cum uxore salvari, si alter " alteri debitum reddat. Alii in faciem illis firmiter oppone- " bant, quod ab ipsis audissent baptismum parvulis non pro- " desse; et alias quamplures contra Deum et sanctam eccle- " siam et catholicam fidem blasphemias protulisse, quas pro " abominabili earum enormitate tacere maluimus quam re- " ferre. Quicquid autem illi in sua superiori confessione, " quæ satis videbatur sufficere ad salutem, si ita corde cre- " derent ad justitiam et in corde et corde dixerint, sicut ho- " mines tortæ mentis et intentionis obliquæ, tandem hæresim " noluerunt relinquere, ubi crassum et supinum eorum intel- " lectum alicujus auctoritatis superficies videbatur juvare, occa- " sione verbi illius, quod Dominus in Evangelio dixisse legitur:

Margin notes: The commissioners proceed to the Church of S. James, and hear the confession of the heretics repeated. — Benedict, i. 204. — Benedict, i. 205. — Evidence is heard as to their former preaching. — Charges brought against them.

[1] *Omnipotenti*] qu. omni petenti, as above.

Benedict, i. 205. " 'Nolite omnino jurare, et sit sermo vester, Est, est, Non, A.D. 1178.
S. Matt. v. 34, 37. " 'non;' dicentes se non debere jurare; cum ipse Dominus
" sæpe jurasse legatur, sicut scriptum est 'Juravit Dominus
Jerem. xlix. 13. " 'et cætera;' et alibi, 'Per Memetipsum juravi, dicit Do-
Heb. vi. 16. " 'minus,' et apostolus, 'Omnis controversiæ finis est jura-
" 'mentum;' et multa in hunc modum in Divinis scripturis
" legentibus sese offerant et occurrant: quibus propter illo-
" rum infirmitatem quibus aliquid suademus jurare permitti-
" mur. Cæterum ipsi tanquam viri idiotæ non intelligentes
" scripturas, in laqueum, quem absconderant, ceciderunt:
" quia cum prius juramentum tanquam rem execrabilem et
" a Domino prohibitam abhorrerent, in ipsa confessionis suæ
" carta jurasse convicti sunt, cum dixerint, 'in veritate, quæ
" 'Deus est, ita credimus, et dicimus, quod hæc est fides
" 'nostra;' nescientes quod Veritatem et Verbum Dei in tes-
" timonium nostræ assertionis adducere proculdubio sit jurare:
1 Thess. iv. 15. " sicut de apostolo legimus cum dixit; 'Hoc enim vobis
Rom. i. 9. " 'dicimus in verbo Dei;' et alibi, 'Testis est mihi Deus:'
" et alia similia comprobant, quæ ab illis qui Divinas scriptu-
Benedict, i. 206. " ras intelligunt et legerunt possunt facilius inveniri. Cum
" autem a multis et sufficientibus testibus fuissent convicti;
" et adhuc multi se ad ferendum contra eos testimonium
" præpararent; quia ecclesia consuevit redeuntibus miseri-
" cordiæ gremium non negare, eos diligentius monuimus, ut
" omni hæretica pravitate deposita, ad fidei unitatem redirent:
" et quia a domino papa, et venerabilibus fratribus nostris,
" Bituricensi et Narbonensi archiepiscopis, et a Tolosano
" episcopo, et a nobis ipsis propter perversam prædicationem
" et sectam excommunicati fuerant, ad nos juxta formam
Ps. lxxviii. 57. " ecclesiæ reconciliandi venirent. Quod cum illi in arcum
" pravum conversi, et mente perdita indurati, facere recusa-
" rent, nos in conspectu totius populi, qui jugiter acclama-
" bat, et in eos multa immanitate fremebat, eos iterum ac-
" censis candelis, una cum prædicto Pictavensi episcopo, et
" aliis religiosis viris, qui nobis in omnibus astiterunt, ex-
" communicatos denunciavimus, et ipsos cum suo auctore
" diabolo condemnavimus. Eapropter universitatem vestram
" monemus, et exhortamur in Domino, atque in remissionem
" peccatorum injungimus, quatenus prædictos Raimundum et
" Bernardum et complices eorum, tanquam excommunicatos
" et Sathanæ traditos, cautius evitetis; et si quando aliud
" quam in audientia nostra, sicut præscripsimus, sunt con-
" fessi, vobis de cætero præsumpserint prædicare, prædica-
" tionem eorum tanquam falsam, et catholicæ atque aposto-
" licæ fidei contrariam, respuatis, et ipsos, tanquam hæreticos

They refuse to swear, as doubting the lawfulness of oaths.

They are admonished to recant; and on their refusal are excommunicated.

The cardinal admonishes the faithful to avoid them.

A.D. 1178. " et antichristi præambulos, a sinceritatis vestræ consortio, " et vestris finibus longius expellatis." Benedict, i. 206.

Epistola Henrici abbatis Clarevallensis de eodem.

The abbot of Clairvaux exhorts the faithful to unite against the heretics.

"Audite, cœli, quod plangimus; sciat[1] terra gemitum cordis " nostri. Doleant vices Christi catholici Christiani, et ad " detrimenta fidei fidelis populus ingemiscat. Quique terri- " genæ et filii hominum humanæ salutis damna deplorent, et " generalis vitæ nostræ subversio ab omnibus viventibus ge- " neraliter lugeatur. Stat contra phalangas Israel novus " nostri temporis Philistæus, hæreticorum ordo, exercitus per- " versorum, qui agminibus Dei viventis irreverenter expro- " brat, et Deum majestatis in prima præsumptione blasphemat. " Quid dubitas, O David? quid trepidas, vir fidelis? sume tibi " fundam et lapidem; percutiatur protenus in fronte blasphe- " mus, et caput nequam, quod impudenter erigitur, suo tuis " manibus mucrone tollatur. Si enim in hoc certamine pars " Christi vincitur, si vel ad modicum et in puncto mater " ecclesia conculcatur, scimus pro certo causæ non deesse " meritum, sed patronum: scimus quod non negabitur ago- " nistæ nostro triumphus, si amore fidei militet pugnaturus. " Verum quia juxta Veritatis verbum, messis multa est, et " operarii pauci, si introierint audacter, Tuorum, bone Jesu, " depopulatores agrorum, parati sicut operarii subdoli, acerba " magis eradicare quam matura demetere, et Tuæ messionis " diem suis direptionibus prævenire: ubi sunt ergo agricolæ " Tui constituti super agrum fertilem et jucundum, Tuo " cruore floridum, et aspersione pii sanguinis irrigatum? Sur- " gant et opitulentur nobis, et in necessitate nos protegant, " seque ad cruentas bestias murum nobis defensionis oppo- " nant. Surgite, inquam, surgite, viri, patres, duces gen- " tium, principes populorum, abigite feras pessimas, quas vidi- " mus, quas monstramus, vel saltem vulpes parvulas effugate: " et capere quidem melius, sed ad hoc quis idoneus? Non " habent certos aditus: semitas ambulant circulares, et in " quodam fraudium suarum labyrintho monstra sævissima " reconduntur. Tanquam damula de manu diffugiunt; et " instar colubri tortuosi, quo eos plus astrinxeris, facilius ela- " buntur. Deo autem gratias, quod etsi capi nequeunt, fugari " possunt, ut cum perdiderint quod demoliebantur in nobis, " confundantur et pereant in semetipsis. Hoc autem quod sit " facile per ea quæ vidimus et tractavimus, approbamus: ut " jam a modo si factum non fuerit, non tam illorum nequi-

Benedict, i. 214. Deut. xxxii. 1. 1 Sam. xvii. 8. 1 Sam. xvii. 49. S. Matt. ix. 37. Benedict, i. 215.

[1] *sciat*] sentiat, Bened. sed et universa, MS. C.

Benedict, i. 215. " tiam quam defectus nostros, nostrorumque negligentiam " deploremus. A.D. 1178.

Visit of the commission to Toulouse.

" Contigit enim nuper ad imperium domini papæ, et hor- " tatu piissimorum principum Lodowici Francorum et Henrici " Anglorum regum, dominum Petrum apostolicæ sedis lega- " tum, virosque venerabiles Pictavensem et Bathoniensem " episcopos nosque in comitatu eorum urbem adire Tolosam, " quæ sicut erat civitas maximæ multitudinis, ita etiam dice- " batur esse mater hæresis, et caput erroris. Perreximus " ergo ad illam, ut sciremus si juxta clamorem, qui ascendit, " esset dolor ejus. Et ecce inventa est plaga ejus magna " nimis, ita ut a planta pedis usque ad verticem capitis vix " esset in ea sanitas. Vere enim tertia pars nobis nunciata " non fuerat de omnibus abominationibus suis malis, quas " civitas illa nobilis in incredulitatis suæ gremio confovebat. " Locum in ea sibi abominatio desolationis invenerat, et pro- " pheticorum similitudo reptilium in latibulis ejus domicilium " obtinebat. Ibi hæretici principabantur in populo, domina- " bantur in clero, eo quod [ut] populus sic sacerdos, et in " interitum gregis ipsa configurabatur vita pastoris. Loque- " bantur hæretici et omnes admirabantur : loquebatur catholi- " cus et dicebant, 'Quis est hic?' in stuporem et miraculum " deducentes, si esset aliquis inter eos qui de verbo fidei " auderet aliquid vel mutire.

Gen. xviii. 21. Num. xi. 33. Isa. i. 6. Dan. ix. 27. Hos. iv. 9. S. Matt. xxi. 10.

Prevalence of heresy there.

Account of the leader of the heretics, Peter Moranus.

" In tantum prævaluerat pestis in terra, quod illi sibi non " solum sacerdotes et pontifices fecerant, sed etiam evange- " listas habebant, qui, corrupta et cancellata evangelica veri- " tate, nova illis evangelia cuderent, et de corde suo nequam " recentia dogmata seducto populo prædicarent. Mentior si " non erat inter eos homo quidam ætate grandævus, rebus " locuples, ornatus fratribus et amicis, et magnus omnino " inter maximos civitatis, quem ita peccatis exigentibus dia- " bolus execaverat, ut seipsum Johannem evangelistam dice- " ret, et Verbum, Quod erat in principio apud Deum, ab alio " quodam rerum principio tanquam a Deo altero segregaret. " Hic erat in urbe illa pereuntium caput, et princeps hæreti- " corum. Qui licet tanquam laicus et idiota nil saperet, inter " eos tamen velut quidam diabolicæ sapientiæ fons perditionis " et mortis felleos latices emanabat. Conveniebant ad eum " noctibus noctuæ tenebrosæ; et ille indumento quodam ad " instar tunicæ Dalmaticæque vestitus, cum sederet inter eos " tanquam rex circumstante exercitu erat, et inerat desipien- " tium prædicator. Totam penitus urbem discipulis suis et " disciplina repleverat: quippe cui aliquis de urbe præ forti- " tudine sua resistere non audebat. In ipso quoque introitu

S. John, i. 1. Benedict, i. 216.

A.D. 1178.

Dismay of the heretics on the preaching of the commission.

" nostro tanta erat hæreticis ubique licentia, ut nos quoque Benedict, i. 216.
" per vicos et plateas recto itinere procedentes subsannarent
" verbo, digito demonstrarent, nos impostores, nos hypocritas,
" nos hæreticos conclamantes. Verum procedente tempore et
" data nobis requie diebus paucis, injunctum est uni de nobis
" verbum exhortationis assumere, et de regula veræ fidei
" coram infideli multitudine disputare. Habito autem ser-
" mone orthodoxæ prædicationis ad plebem, conterriti sunt in Isa. xxxiii. 14.
" Syon peccatores, possedit tremor hypocritas : ita ut qui
" prius obstruebant ora loquentium, jam apparere coram lo-
" quentibus non auderent. Audiens illico vel videns vulpes
" transfiguratas in talpas, ut quæ prius impune in publico
" discurrebant jam terrarum latebris, jam sese cellulis im-
" mergerent cavernosis, et plantaria sacra, quæ jam non au-
" debant in aperto commandere, intra terræ viscera corrode-
" rent et necarent. Ne autem pardus ille discolor pellis suæ
" varietate se proderet, sermonem sibi nequam callidis adin-
" ventionibus firmaverunt, ut ad nostræ confirmationis simili-
" tudinem simulandam tracti ad discussionis examen, quicquid
" nos credimus se credere mentirentur. Ex illa ergo die
" dominus legatus et nos alii, qui cum feris bestiis in aperto
" congredi putabamus, ad perscrutandos eos, quos timor et
" confusio tanquam ignobiles in ima terræ detruserat, studium
" totum convertimus et laborem, ut vel coacti prodirent in

A list of the chief heretics is drawn up.

" publicum, et abjicerent in luce opera tenebrarum. Factum
" est exinde, præcipiente legato, ut juraret episcopus, et qui-
" dam de clero, et consules civitatis, aliique civitatis viri
" fideles, quos nondum in aliquo perfidiæ fama resperserat,
" quod quoscunque vel hactenus noverant, vel nosse eos con-
" tingeret in futuro, qui essent hujus hæresis vel complices
" vel auctores, eorum nobis nomina scripto depromerent;
" nulli penitus vel amore vel pretio vel cujuspiam necessitu-
" dinis ratione parcentes. Cumque per singulos dies innumera
" multitudo in catalogum illius conscriptionis incideret, nomi-
" natus est inter alios magnus ille Petrus Moranus, quem
" Johannem evangelistam, ut supra diximus, nominabant.
" Super quo nos omnes communicato consilio decrevimus, ab Benedict, i. 217.
" illo inchoare judicium, ut turba in reliquis perfida contre-
" misceret, cum falsi evangelistæ versutiam veri evangelii

Peter Moranus is persuaded to appear before the legate.

" simplicitas condemnasset. Missis ergo apparitoribus, præ-
" cepit eum comes Sancti Ægidii, qui fideliter nobis aderat,
" accersiri. Sed ille in multitudine divitiarum suarum, et
" parentum numerositate confidens, primæ citationis edictum
" fastuosæ dilationis colludio declinavit. Altera ergo die præ-
" dictus comes, blanditiis magis quam terroribus enitens,

Benedict, i. 217. " eundem Petrum per amicos et notos leniter advocavit, et A.D. 1178.
" eum nobis tandem post difficultates plurimas veniendi, mixtis He denies that he is a
" cum terrore blanditiis, præsentavit. Tunc unus, qui loque- heretic,
" batur e nobis, taliter eum exorsus est commonere: 'Eja
" 'nunc, Petre, tui te concives accusant, quod sanæ fidei regu-
" 'lis confutatis, in Arrianæ hæresis deveneris pravitatem:
" 'immo per multiplicium errorum devia, et ducis ipse alios,
" 'et ab aliis deducaris.' Ad hæc ille de profundo suspirans,
" et tactus dolore cordis intrinsecus, se non esse hujusmodi
" est prima fronte mentitus. Et requisitus an hoc juramento and promises to
" probaret, simplici assertioni suæ tanquam fidelis viri et swear.
" illustris credi oportere contendit. Cæterum cum in exigendo
" juramento universi pariter instaremus, promisit se continuo
" juraturum, ne in hoc ipso deprehenderetur hæreticus, si
" juxta quod consuetudo illius erroris obtinuit, vitandi jura-
" menti existeret obstinatus. Mox igitur sanctorum relliquiæ
" honorabiliter efferuntur, cum tam solemni reverentia et de-
" votione susceptæ, ut et fidelis populus compungeretur ad
" lacrymas, et hæreticos, qui convenerant, latebræ potius
" quam talia spectacula delectarent. Ipsum vero Petrum, in
" cantu, quem ad invocandam Spiritus Sancti præsentiam pro-
" fusis lacrymis cantabamus, tremor evidens et pallor operuit,
" ita ut ab eo et color vultus aufugeret, et vigor animi depe-
" riret. Quomodo enim adveniente Spiritu Sancto, et in adver-
" sario Ejus spiritus remaneret? Cernere erat hominem quasi
" morbo paralytico dissolutum, nec loquelam retinuisse nec
" sensum, quamvis tantæ facundiæ fuisse diceretur ab omni-
" bus, quod omnes in dicendo sit solitus superare. Quid
" plura? Jurat infelix astantibus universis, quod de omni- He swears to speak the
" bus articulis fidei, quos requireremus ab eo, suæ creduli- truth as to
" tatis exprimeret veritatem. Res mira, et in tali spectaculo his belief.
" pia jocunditate gratissima. Apertus est liber, in quo jura-
" verat, et uno de circumstantibus religioso quodam joco
" occurrentis litteræ prænosticum perquirente, illius scripturæ
S. Matt. viii. 29. " textus occurrit: 'Quid Tibi et nobis, Jesu fili Dei? venisti
" 'ante tempus torquere nos?' Vere, Domine Jesu, nihil
" Tibi et illis, quos Pater Tuus cœlestis a Te vite vera tan-
" quam infructuosos palmites amputarat, et foras miserat, ut
" arescant. At nobis in Tuo nomine congregatis, lætitiæ mul-
" tiplicatur augmentum, et in gratiarum actione, et voce
Benedict, i. 218. " laudis, virtutis Tuæ gloria resonabat. Demum Petrus in He is examined
" virtute sacramenti simpliciter requisitus, ut de sacramento on the
" altaris suam nobis fidem sine fraude aliqua fateretur, sed Eucharist.
" quod corde non credidit ad justitiam, nec ore confessus est
" ad salutem: sed contra id, quod de omnibus mentiri decre-

A.D. 1178. He proves heretical on that point, and is imprisoned.

"verat, falsitatis suæ prodidit veritatem; et panem sanctum "vitæ æternæ sacerdotis ministerio in verbo Domini conse- "cratum, non esse Corpus Domini novo dogmate contende- "bat asserere. Tunc surrexerunt omnes eum quodammodo "lacrymis obruentes, quas et sacramentorum Christi contemp- "tus elicuit, et habita erga miserum compassio Christiana "produxit. Nec plura. Dant comiti,[1] reus et hæreticus "judicatus est: statimque sub diligenti pollicitatione paren- "tum custodiæ publicæ mancipatur. Volat facti rumor per "vicos et plateas amplissimæ civitatis. Aperiuntur ora fide- "lium, et catholicæ plebis labia in Tua, Christe, præconia "resolvuntur; velut tunc primum in eadem urbe fidei splen- "dor erumperet, et in spem salutis æternæ desperata dudum "civitas respiraret. Ex tunc ergo et deinceps verbum Dei "crescebat et multiplicabatur indies, ita ut universa urbis "facies lætior videretur, per quæ in candorem lucidæ veri- "tatis de tenebris evadebat erroris. Benedict, i. 218.

He offers to submit,

"Interea Petrus ad se reversus, et Domino respiciente "compunctus, cum se dignum penitus tam præsenti morte "cerneret quam futura; missis mediatoribus multis satisfac- "tionis quærit aditum, et conversionis pollicetur effectum, ut "posset in frugem melioris vitæ ab imminentis mortis inte- "ritu liberari. Venit, recipitur, et in conspectu sistitur po- "puli contristantis, nudo quidem corpore veteris perfidiæ

and acknowledges his fault.

"exuens pravitatem. Ibi se coram omnibus hæreticum recog- "novit, ibi dedit manus fidei, ibi renunciavit errori, præstito "coram omnibus manu decima juramento, et datis fidejusso- "ribus tam comiti ipsi quam militibus et præcipuis concivi- "bus suis, quod ad omne mandatum domini legati se subderet, "et jussionem ejus in omnibus adimpleret. Tunc indictum "est populo, ut omnes pariter ad ecclesiam Sancti Saturnini "die altera convenirent, audituri et visuri solemniter quam "pœnitentiæ formam Petrus ille susciperet observandam. "Omnes igitur sequenti die, ut fuerant prænominati,[2] conve- "nerunt, tanta utique multitudo, tam frequens, ut vix rema- "neret secus ipsa altaris cornua locus vacuus, qui domino "legato missæ solemnia celebranti sine compressione nimia

He does penance in the church of S. Saturninus.

"præberetur. Et ecce coram illa multitudine multa nimis "Petrus ille, jam noster, per ipsas ecclesiæ valvas nudus et "discalceatus adducitur, cædentibus hinc inde eum episcopo "Tolosano et abbate Sancti Saturnini, donec ad pedes legati "in ipsis altaris gradibus poneretur. Ibi in facie ecclesiæ Benedict, i. 219.

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[1] *comiti*] responso, ins. Savile, with C. | [2] *prænominati*] præmoniti, C.

Benedict, i. 219. "ecclesiasticis reconciliatus est sacramentis, abjurata omni "hæresi, et hæreticis anathematizatis ab eo. Mox autem pos- "sessionibus ejus publicatis universaliter et proscriptis, pœni- "tentia illi talis injungitur: ut infra quadraginta dies a patria "sua exulaturus abscederet, in servitio pauperum Jerosolimis "triennio moraturus. Interim vero singulis diebus Dominicis "ecclesias Tolosanæ urbis nudus et discalceatus cum discipli- "nalibus virgis jussus est circuire, ecclesiarum bona quæ "abstulerat reddere, usuras omnes quas acceperat restituere, "damna pauperum quos afflixerat resarcire, et castrum "quoddam suum, quod hæreticorum conventiculis profanarat, "ab ipsis fundamentis evertere. Deus bone, quot Tibi lacry- "mas lætitia sancta profudit, quas gratiarum actiones et "laudes populus jubilans et devotus cœlestibus choris inges- "sit, cum de cavernis perfidiæ talpa talis educitur, et in Is- "raeliticam ovem lupus rapacissimus reformatur.

A.D. 1178. The nature of his penance.

"Post hæc illo dimisso, dominus legatus ad alios manus "misit, excommunicaturus utique illos quos, in magno numero, "vel suspicio publica vel accusatio privata notaverat. Nos "autem vix tandem cum lacrymis exorta lætitia, revertendi "pro eo quod instantia capituli[1] nostros jam reditus exige- "bat, petita licentia, sub ea nobis est exceptione concessa, ut "Albiensem diocesim intraremus, commonituri principem terræ, "Rogerum videlicet de Beders, ut et Albiensem episcopum, "quem sub custodia hæreticorum in vinculis tenebat, absol- "veret, et universam terram suam, juxta præceptum domini "legati, eliminatis hæreticis emendaret. Ingredientibus ergo "nobis, una cum supradicto Bathoniensi episcopo, illam per- "ditissimam regionem, quæ velut totius sentina malitiæ totam "in se colluvionem hæresis illuc defluentis excepit, præ- "dictus Rogerus in ultimos et inaccessibiles terræ suæ fines "abscessit, tam mala conscientia profugus, quam causæ suæ "merito desperatus. Oderat enim lucem veritatis auctor "malitiæ, nec sustinere poterat nostræ collocutionis accessum, "qui totus recesserat in opera tenebrarum. Pervenimus "tamen ad quoddam munitissimum castrum ejus, quod pro- "prie ac singulariter Castri nomine incolæ nuncupabant. "Ibi habitabat uxor illius, cum militia magna, et familia "multa nimis. Omnes fere habitatores ejusdem castri, vel

The abbot proceeds into the diocese of Alby, and to seek out the viscount of Beziers.

He arrives at Castres.

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[1] *instantia capituli*] The Cistercian chapter held on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Sept. 14. It is to be remembered that these proceedings were originated by a letter of the count of Toulouse to the abbot of Citeaux and the Cistercian chapter in 1177. Gervase, c. 1441.

A.D. 1178. The place was full of heretics, but they did not molest the abbot.

"hæretici vel hæreticorum complices erant, licet sola Domini "virtute repressi, nihil contra fidem, quam prædicabamus, præ-"sumerent vel mutire. Quamvis enim essemus in manus "eorum positi, et velut in eorum quasdam potentiæ suæ "compedes, hæretica undique multitudine circumventi, verbum "tamen Domini non erat alligatum, quin eos continuis in- "vectionibus et increpationibus feriremus. Cumque videre-"mus quod nihil omnino præsumerent respondere, judicavimus "prædictum Rogerum proditorem, hæreticum, et de violata "episcopi securitate perjurum, eum tanquam publica excom-"municatione damnatum ex parte domini papæ ac prædicto-"rum regum, in præsentia conjugis militumque suorum, in "Nomine Christi confidenter diffidantes. Ecce a modo satis "apparet quam grande et evidens ostium patet principibus "Christianis, ut Christi ulciscantur injurias, ponantque de-"sertum illud quasi hortum Domini, et solitudinem ejus in "delicias Paradisi. Ne autem vel parum vel nihil fieri con-"tra illos posse causentur, sciant omnes generalem fuisse "in urbe Tolosana sententiam, quod si ista visitatio fuisset "adhuc triennio retardata, vix inveniretur in ea qui Nomen "Christi amplius invocaret. Super hæc autem omnia præ-"dictus comes Sancti Ægidii coram populo civitatis præstito "juramento firmavit, quod a modo nec prece nec pretio "favebit hæreticis."

Benedict, i. 220.

He declared the viscount a traitor and a heretic.

2 Tim. ii. 9.

Isa. li. 3.

Henry II. returns to England, and knights his son Geoffrey at Woodstock.

Benedict, i. 207.

Eodem anno rex Angliæ pater transfretavit[1] de Normannia in Angliam, et apud Wdestok fecit Gaufridum filium suum, comitem Britanniæ, militem: qui statim post susceptionem militaris officii transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam, et in confinibus Franciæ et Normanniæ militaribus exercitiis operam præstans, gaudebat se bonis militibus æquiparari. Et eo magis ac magis probitatis suæ gloriam quæsivit, quo fratres suos, Henricum videlicet regem, et Ricardum comitem Pictavis in armis militaribus plus florere cognovit. Et erat eis mens una, videlicet, plus cæteris posse in armis: scientes, quod ars bellandi, si non præluditur, cum fuerit necessaria non habetur. Nec "potest[2] athleta "magnos spiritus ad certamen afferre, qui nunquam "suggillatus est. Ille qui sanguinem suum vidit;[3] "cujus dentes crepuerunt sub pugno: ille qui supplan-

Character of his sons.

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[1] *transfretavit*] July 15, Benedict.

[2] *Nec potest . . . pugnam*] From Seneca, Epist. xiii.

[3] *vidit*] fudit, Seneca: *vidit* is however given as a various reading.

"tatus adversarium toto tulit corpore, nec projecit "animum projectus; qui quotiens cecidit, contumacior "surrexit,[1] cum magna spe descendit ad pugnam." "Multum" enim "adjicit sibi virtus lacessita:"[2] fugitiva gloria est mens subjecta terrori. Sine culpa vincitur oneris immensitate, qui ad portandam sarcinam etsi impar, tamen devotus occurrit. Bene solvuntur sudoris præmia, ubi sunt templa victoriæ.[3] A.D. 1178.

Benedict, i. 207. Visit of the archbishop of Rheims to Canterbury.

Eodem anno Willelmus Remensis archiepiscopus venit in Angliam ad Beatum Thomam Cantuariensem martyrem causa peregrinationis; cui rex Angliæ pater occurrens cum gaudio recepit, et dignis oneravit muneribus.

Benedict, i. 206, 210. Preparations for the Lateran Council.

Eodem anno Alexander papa misit legatos suos per universum orbem Romanæ ecclesiæ subditum, ad invitandum ecclesiæ prælatos, ut Romam venirent in capite jejunii anni proximo sequentis, ad solemne concilium et generale celebrandum.[4] Quotiens enim morborum violentia celeri gressu ad animæ secreta festinat, obvias manus afferre non potest salutare consilium, nisi ex collatione multorum. Venerunt igitur in Angliam duo legati, videlicet, Albertus de Suma, cui commissa erat Angliæ et Normanniæ pontificum et abbatum citatio; et Petrus de Sancta Agatha, cui commissa erat Scotiæ et Hyberniæ et insularum adjacentium episcoporum et abbatum citatio. Idem autem Petrus de Sancta Agatha pro licentia transeundi per terram regis Angliæ juravit, tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis, quod in legatione sua neque regi neque regno suo malum quæreret, et quod per eum rediret: et ita factum est. Eodem anno Alexander papa in hac forma scripsit Johanni Indorum regi:

Two legates sent to England, Scotland, and Ireland. Benedict, i. 206, 209, 210.

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[1] *surrexit*] resurrexit, Seneca.

[2] *Multum . . . . . lacessita*] Also from Seneca, Ep. xiii.

[3] *Nec potest—victoriæ*] This is omitted in C., as is also the following paragraph.

[4] The summons for the council was issued Sept. 21, 1178. Concilia, Labbe and Cossart, x. 1506.

A.D. 1177. Sept. 27.

Epistola Alexandri papæ ad Johannem regem Indorum missa.[1]

Benedict, i. 210.

The pope writes to Prester John, stating the claims of the successors of S. Peter.

" Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in " Christo filio, illustri et magnifico Indorum regi, sacerdotum[2] " sanctissimo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Apostolica " sedes, cui licet immeriti præsidemus, omnium in Christo " credentium caput est et magistra, Domino attestante, Qui " ait beato Petro, cui licet indigni successimus, 'Tu es Petrus, S. Matt. xvi. 18. " 'et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam Meam.' Hanc " siquidem petram Christus esse voluit in ecclesiæ fundamen- " tum, quam præconat nullis ventorum turbinibus nullisque " tempestatibus quatiendam. Et ideo non immerito Beatus " Petrus, super quem fundavit ecclesiam, ligandi atque sol- " vendi specialiter et præcipue inter apostolos alios meruit " accipere potestatem. Cui dictum est a Domino, 'Tibi dabo S. Matt. xvi. 19. " 'claves regni cœlorum, et portæ inferni non prævalebunt Benedict, i. 211. " 'adversus eam. Et quodcunque ligaveris super terram erit " 'ligatum et in cœlis, et quodcunque solveris super terram " 'erit solutum et in cœlis.' Audiveramus utique jampridem, " referentibus multis, et in fama communi, quomodo cum sis " Christianum nomen professus, piis velis operibus indesinen- " ter intendere, et circa ea tuum animum geras, quæ Deo " grata sunt et accepta. Sed et dilectus filius magister Phi- " lippus, medicus et familiaris noster, qui de intentione pia, " et proposito tuo, cum magnis et honorabilibus viris regni " tui se in partibus illis verbum habuisse proponit, sicut vir " providus et discretus, circumspectus et prudens, constanter " nobis et sollicite retulit, se manifestius ab his audisse, quod " tuæ voluntatis sit et propositi erudiri catholica et apostolica " disciplina, et ad hoc ferventer intendas, ut tu et terra tuæ " sublimitati commissa, nihil unquam videamini in fide vestra " tenere, quod a doctrina sedis apostolicæ dissentiat modo quo- " libet, vel discordet. Super quo sane tibi sicut carissimo " filio plurimum congaudemus, et Ei a Quo omne bonum pro- " cedit immensas gratiarum exsolvimus actiones: vota votis " et preces precibus adjungentes, ut Qui dedit tibi nomen " Christianitatis suscipere, menti tuæ per Suam ineffabilem " pietatem inspiret, quod omnino velis sapere quæ super om- " nibus articulis fidei tenere debet religio Christiana. Non " enim vere potest de Christiana professione sperare salutem,

He has heard from Philip, his physician, the praises of John, and his desire to be instructed in Catholic discipline.

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[1] See also Ralph de Diceto, c. 608.

[2] *sacerdotum sanctissimo*] om. Bened.

Benedict, i. 211. " qui eidem professioni verbo et opere non concordat: quia A.D. 1177. Sept. 27.
" non sufficit cuilibet nomine Christiano censeri, qui de se sentit
" aliud quam catholica et apostolica habeat disciplina. Juxta
S. Matt. vii. 21. " illud quod Dominus in evangelio dicit, 'Non omnis qui dicit
" 'mihi, Domine, Domine, intrabit in regnum cœlorum, sed
" 'qui facit voluntatem Patris Mei, Qui in cœlis est.'

" Illud autem nihilominus ad commendationem tuæ virtutis He has heard that John wishes to have a church in the city.
" accedit, quod, sicut prudens magister Philippus se a tuis
" asserit audisse, fluenti desiderio cuperes in urbe habere
" ecclesiam, et Jerosolimis altare aliquod, ubi viri pruden-
" tes de regno tuo manere possent, et apostolica plenius
" instrui disciplina, per quos postmodum tu et homines regni
" tui doctrinam ipsam reciperent et tenerent. Nos autem, qui
" licet insufficientibus meritis in Beati Petri cathedra positi,
Rom. i. 14. " juxta apostolum, 'Sapientibus et insipientibus, divitibus et
" 'pauperibus, nos recognoscimus debitores,' de salute tua
" et tuorum omnimodam sollicitudinem gerimus, et vos ab his
" articulis, in quibus erratis a Christiana et catholica fide,
" prompto animo, prout tenemur ex suscepti ministerio regi-
Benedict, i. 212. " minis, volumus revocare: cum Ipse Dominus beato Petro,
" quem omnium apostolorum principem fecit, dixit, 'Et tu
S. Luke, xxii. 32. " 'aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos.' Licet autem He sends Philip the physician,
" grave nimis videatur et laboriosum existere ad præsentiam
" tuam inter tot labores et varia itineris locorum discrimina,
" et inter longas et ignotas oras, quemlibet a nostro latere
" destinare, considerato tamen officii nostri debito, et tuo pro-
" posito et intentione pensata, præfatum Philippum, medicum
" et familiarem nostrum, virum utique discretum, circum-
" spectum et providum, ad tuam magnitudinem mittimus, de
" Jesu Christi misericordia confidentes, quod si volueris in eo
" proposito et intentione persistere, quam te, inspirante Do-
" mino, intelligimus concepisse, de articulis Christianæ fidei,
" in quibus tu et tui a nobis discordare videmini, in proximo
" per Dei misericordiam eruditus, nihil prorsus timere pote-
" ris, quod de errore tuam vel tuorum salutem præpediat,
" vel in vobis nomen Christianitatis offuscet. Rogamus itaque and begs John to receive him kindly and send back letters.
" excellentiam regiam, monemus, et hortamur in Domino,
" quatenus eundem Philippum, pro reverentia Beati Petri et
" nostra, sicut virum honestum, discretum et providum, et a
" nostro latere destinatum, debita benignitate recipias, et
" reverenter et devote pertractes. Et si tuæ voluntatis est
" et propositi, sicut omnino decet esse, ut erudiaris aposto-
" lica disciplina, super his quæ idem Philippus ex nostra
" tibi parte proponet, ipsum diligenter audias et exaudias;
" et personas honestas, et litteras tuo sigillo sigillatas, qui-

A.D. 1177. Sept. 27. He will then take his requests into consideration.

" bus propositum et voluntatem tuam possimus plene cog- Benedict, i. 212.
" noscere, ad nos cum ipso transmittas: quia quanto subli-
" mior et major haberis, et minus de divitiis et potentia
" tua videris inflatus, tanto libentius, tam de concessione
" ecclesiæ in urbe, quam etiam de conferendis altaribus in
" ecclesia Beati Petri et Pauli, et Jerosolimis in ecclesia
" sepulcri Domini, et in aliis quæ juste quæsieris, tuas
" curabimus petitiones admittere, et efficacius exaudire, ut-
" pote qui desiderium tuum super hoc, quod multa com-
" mendatione dignum exstitit, modis omnibus quibus secun-
" dum Deum possumus, volumus promovere, et tuam et
" tuorum animas desideramus Domino lucrifacere. Data
" Venetiæ in Rivo Alto, quinto kalendas Octobris."

A.D. 1178, after July 15. Richard takes Dax, Genzac, Marcillac, Taillebourg, Pons, and other towns.

Eodem anno Ricardus comes Pictavis venit cum exercitu magno ad Assiensem civitatem,[1] et invenit ibi comitem Bigorniæ[2] in carcere civium incarceratum, quem cives tradiderunt ei. Benedict, i. 213. Et ipse comes Bigorniæ tradidit comiti Pictavis pro liberatione sua Clarum montem et castellum de Munbrun. Deinde cepit Genzai[3] et Marcillam, et Grumvile, et Agenvile, et Tailleburc,[4] et Ponz, et omnia ista castella in terram dejecit. Et Bugrius[5] comes de Engolismo reddidit ei civitatem Engolismi, et castellum de Muntiniac; et ipse eorum mœnia subvertit.

Annus XX^mus V^tus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis.

A.D. 1179. Henry II. keeps Christmas, 1178–9, at Winchester.

Anno gratiæ M°C°LXX°IX°., qui erat annus vicesimus quintus regni regis Henrici, filii Matildis imperatricis, idem Henricus fuit in Anglia die Natalis Domini apud Wintoniam. Benedict, i. 221.

Earthquake at Oxenhall.

Infra illud Natale Domini in Anglia apud Oxenehale[6] in Benedict, 20.

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[1] *ad Assiensem civitatem*] After July 15. The whole paragraph is omitted in C.

[2] *Bigorniæ*] Centulus III.

[3] *Genzai*] "Post clausum Pascha," April 8, 1179.

[4] *Tailleburc*] May 3.

[5] *Bugrius*] "Post Pentecosten," May 20, 1179. Bugrius is Wulgrin Taillefer III., who was count from 1178—1181.

[6] *Oxenehale*] "Willelmus tenet "Oxenhall, scilicet i. carucatam et "ii. culturas de territorio de Der-"lyngtona." Boldon Buke, p. 17. The pits spoken of are now known as the Hell kettles, "the largest "about 120 feet in diameter and "from 19 to 14 feet deep." Murray's Handbook of Yorkshire, p. 211.

Benedict, i. 221. territorio de Derlingtun elevavit se terra in altum, ad similitudinem proceræ turris, et ita remansit ab hora diei nona immobilis usque ad vesperam, et tunc cecidit cum tam horribili strepitu, quod vicinos terruit omnes, et absorbuit eam tellus, et fecit ibidem puteum profundissimum, qui est ibi in testimonium rei usque in hodiernum diem. A.D. 1179.

Irish bishops apply for licence to go to Rome.

Post Natale Domini venerunt de Hybernia in Angliam Laurentius Dublinensis, et Catholicus Tuamensis, archiepiscopi, et quinque vel sex episcopi, Romam ad concilium ituri. Similiter de regno Scotiæ transierunt per Angliam episcopi et abbates quam plures. Et illi omnes tam de Hybernia quam de Scotia et aliis insulis per Angliam transeuntes, pro licentia transeundi juraverunt, quod neque regi neque regno ejus damnum quærerent.

Four English bishops only, go to the Council.

De Anglia autem quatuor episcopi tantum Romam profecti sunt: videlicet, Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, et Johannes Norewicensis episcopus, et Robertus Herefordensis episcopus, et Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus, et abbates quam plures. Episcopi autem Angliæ constanter asseruerunt, quod ad generale concilium domini papæ quatuor episcopi de Anglia tantum Romam mittendi sunt.

March. First session of the Lateran Council, March 5.

Benedict, i. 222. Congregatis itaque universis Romæ in præsentia domini papæ Alexandri, ipse papa in Lateranensi ecclesia, in eminentiori loco cum cardinalibus suis et præfectis et senatoribus et consulibus urbis constitutus, feria secunda tertiæ hebdomadæ Quadragesimæ, quæ tertio nonas Martii evenit, primum concilii sui diem celebravit. Similiter secundum concilii sui diem celebravit quarta feria sequentis hebdomadæ, quæ secundo idus Martii evenit. In quo concilio Willelmus Remensis archiepiscopus factus est presbyter cardinalis ad titulum Sanctæ Sabinæ.

Second session, March 14. Promotion of cardinals.

Benedict, i. 238. Et Henricus abbas Clarevallensis factus est episcopus cardinalis Albanensis.

Third session, March 19.

Benedict, i. 222. Et dominus papa tertium diem concilii sui celebravit secunda feria ante Dominicam in Ramis palmarum, quæ quarto decimo kalendas Aprilis evenit. In quibus hæc decreta subscripta generaliter observanda constituit:[1]

[1] MS. C. proceeds "quæ hic propter narrationem non scribuntur, sed in fine libri reperientur;" they occur at the end of 1180.

A.D. 1179. March 19.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., de Romano pontifice eligendo.[1]

Benedict, i. 222.

Decree of the Lateran Council as to the election of popes.

" Licet de vitanda discordia Romani pontificis in electione " manifeste satis a prædecessoribus nostris constituta mana- " verint: quia tamen sæpe post illa, per improbæ ambitionis " audaciam, gravem passa est scissuram ecclesia, nos etiam " ad malum hoc evitandum, de consilio fratrum nostrorum, et " sacri approbatione concilii, aliquid decernimus adjungendum. " Statuimus igitur, ut si ab inimico forte homine supersemi- " nante zizania inter cardinales de substituendo pontifice non " potuerit esse plena concordia; duabus partibus concordanti- " bus, cum tertia pars concordare noluerit, aut sibi alium " præsumpserit nominare vel ordinare; ille absque ulla ex- " ceptione ab universa ecclesia Romanus pontifex habeatur, " qui a duabus partibus electus fuerit et receptus. Si quis " autem de tertiæ partis vocatione vel nominatione confisus, " quia ratione non potest, nomen sibi usurpaverit; tam ipse, " quam qui eum receperint, excommunicationi subjaceant, et " totius sacri ordinis privatione mulctentur, ita ut viatici eis " nisi tantum in extremis communio denegetur, et, nisi resi- " puerint, cum Datan et Abiron, quos terra vivos deglutivit, " accipiant portionem. Præterea si a paucioribus aliquis quam " a duabus partibus electus fuerit ad apostolatus officium, nisi " major concordia intercesserit, nullatenus assumatur, et præ- " dictæ pœnæ subjaceat nisi humiliter voluerit abstinere. Ex " hoc tamen nullum canonicis constitutionibus præjudicium " generetur, in quibus majoris et sanioris partis debet præ- " valere sententia: quia quod eis in dubium venerit superioris " poterit judicio diffiniri. In Romana vero ecclesia spirituale " aliquid constituitur, quia non potest ad superiorem recursus " haberi."

S. Matt. xiii. 25.

Benedict, i. 223.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., qualiter prælati debeant proferre sententiam in subjectos.[2]

Hasty excommunications forbidden.

" Reprehensibilis valde consuetudo in quibusdam partibus " inolevit, ut cum fratres et coepiscopi nostri, seu etiam ar-

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[1] The proceedings of this council are in Harduin, tom. vi. part ii. col. 1671; Labbe and Cossart, x. 1507; Mansi, xxii. 213, 257; Gervase, *Chron.* c. 1446.

[2] No. vi. in Labbe and Cossart. No. xxiii. in Gervase.

Benedict, i. 223.

" chidiaconi, appellantes[1] quosdam in causis suis existimant, " nulla penitus admonitione præmissa, suspensionis et excom- " municationis in eos sententiam ferunt. Alii etiam dum " superioris sententiam et disciplinam canonicam reformidant, " sine ullo gravamine appellationem objiciunt, et defensionem " iniquitatis usurpant, quod ad præsidium innocentium dinos- " citur institutum. Quocirca [ne] vel prælati sententia valeat " gravare subjectos, vel subditi pro sola voluntate sub appel- " lationis obtentu correptionem valeant eludere prælatorum; " præsenti decreto statuimus, ut nec prælati, nisi canonica " admonitione præmissa, suspensionis vel excommunicationis " sententiam proferant in subjectos, nisi forte talis sit culpa " quæ ipso suo genere suspensionis vel excommunicationis " pœnam inducat, nec subjecti contra disciplinam ecclesiasti- " cam ante causæ ingressum in vocem appellationis erumpant. " Si vero quisquam pro sua necessitate crediderit appellandum, " competens ei ad prosequendam appellationem terminus præ- " figatur. Infra quem si forte prosequi neglexerit, libere tunc " episcopus auctoritate sua utatur. Si autem in quocunque " negotio aliquis appellaverit, et eo qui appellatus fuerit ve- " niente, qui appellaverit venire neglexerit: si proprium quid " habuerit, competentem illi recompensationem faciat expen- " sarum, ut hic saltem deterritus in gravamen alterius non " facile quis appellet. Præcipue vero, et in locis religiosis, " volumus observari, ne monachi sive quicunque religiosi, " cum pro aliquo excessu fuerint corrigendi, contra regularem " prælati sui et capituli disciplinam appellare præsumant; sed " humiliter ac devote suscipiant quod pro salute sua sciant eis " injunctum."

A.D. 1179. March 19.

The culprit is to be first admonished.

Appeals not to be made hastily.

Vexatious appeals punishable with costs.

Monks not to appeal.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., qualiter prælati debeant cum subjectis hospitare.[2]

Benedict, i. 224.

" Cum apostolus se ac suos propriis manibus decreverit " exhibendos, ut locum prædicandi auferret pseudo-apostolis, " et illis quibus prædicabat non onerosus existeret; grave " nimis et emendatione dignum esse dinoscitur, quod quidam " fratrum et coepiscoporum nostrorum ita graves in procura- " tionibus subditis suis existunt, ut pro hujusmodi causa ipsa " etiam ecclesiastica ornamenta subditi exponere compellantur, " et longi temporis victum brevis hora consumat. Quocirca

Prelates are not to be exacting in procu- rations.

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[1] *appellantes*] appellaturos, Gervase.

[2] No. iv. in Labbe and Cossart. No. xxv. in Gervase.

A.D 1179. March 19. Prelates to make visitations with small retinues; without hounds or hawks:

Benedict, i. 224.

" constituimus, quod archiepiscopi parochias visitantes, pro diversitate provinciarum et facultatibus ecclesiarum quadragesimum vel quinquagesimum evectionis numerum, episcopi vero vicesimum aut tricesimum, cardinales viginti aut viginti quinque, nequaquam excedant; archidiaconi quinque aut septem, decani constituti sub ipsis, duobus equis contenti existant. Nec cum canibus venatoriis proficiscantur, et avibus, nec sumptuosas epulas requirant, sed cum gratiarum actione recipiant quod honeste et competenter illis fuerit ministratum. Prohibemus etiam, ne subditos suos talleis et exactionibus episcopi gravare præsumant, et ita procedant, ut non quæ sua sunt, sed quæ Jesu Christi quærere videantur. Cum enim dicat apostolus, 'Non debent filii thesaurizare parentibus, sed parentes filiis,' multum longe a paterna pietate videtur, si præpositi subjectis suis graves existant, quos in cunctis necessitatibus pastoris debent more fovere. Archidiaconi vero, sive decani, nullas exactiones vel taillias in presbyteros sive clericos exercere præsumant. Sane quod de prædicto numero vectionum secundum tolerantiam dictum est, in illis locis poterit observari, in quibus ampliores fuerint redditus et ecclesiasticæ facultates. In pauperibus autem locis tantam volumus teneri mensuram, ut ex accessu majorum minores non doleant se gravari, ne sub tali indulgentia illi, qui paucioribus equis uti solebant, plurium sibi credant potestatem indultam. Sustinemus autem pro multis necessitatibus, quæ aliquotiens superveniunt, ut si manifesta et rationabilis causa extiterit, cum caritate moderatum auxilium valeant postulare."[1]

not to exact talliages.

2 Cor. xii. 14.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III. Prohibetur ne aliquid exigatur pro sacramentis, nec novi census imponantur ecclesiis, nec veteres augeantur.[2]

Sacraments not to be sold; nor money taken for inductions, burials, or marriages.

Benedict, i. 225.

" Cum in ecclesiæ corpore omnia debeant ex caritate tractari, et quod gratis receptum est, gratis debeat impendi; horribile nimis est quod in quibusdam ecclesiis locum venalitatis perhibetur habere, ita ut pro episcopis vel abbatibus seu quibuscunque personis ecclesiasticis ponendis in sede, seu introducendis presbyteris in ecclesia, nec non pro sepulturis et exequiis mortuorum, et benedictionibus nubentium, seu

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[1] *Sustinemus . . . postulare*] om. Labbe and Cossart.

[2] No. vii. in Labbe and Cossart; No. x. in Gervase.

Benedict, i. 225.

"aliis ecclesiasticis sacramentis requiratur; et non possit ille "qui indiget ista percipere, nisi manum implere curaverit "largitoris. Putant autem sibi ex hoc plures licere, quia "legem mortis de longa invaluisse consuetudine arbitrantur, "non satis, quia cupiditate excæcati sunt, attendentes, quod "tanto graviora sunt crimina, quanto diutius animum tenue-"rint alligatum. Ne igitur hoc de cætero fiat, vel pro personis "ecclesiasticis deducendis ad sedem, vel sacerdotibus insti-"tuendis, aut sepeliendis mortuis, seu in benedicendis nuben-"tibus, sive aliis sacramentis exigatur, districtius inhibemus. "Si quis autem contra hoc venire præsumpserit, portionem "cum Giezi se noverit habiturum, cujus factum turpis muneris "exactione imitatur. Prohibemus insuper, ne ab episcopis "vel abbatibus, aliisve prælatis, novi census imponantur ec-"clesiis, nec veteres augeantur, nec partem reddituum suis "usibus appropriare præsumant: sed libertatem, quam ma-"jores sibi conservari desiderant, minoribus quoque suis bona "voluntate conservent. Si quis autem aliter egerit, irritum "quod egerit habeatur."

A.D. 1179. March 19. Against sale of sacred rites.

New taxes not to be laid on churches by prelates.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III. Prohibetur ne Christiani serviant Sarracenis, et ne Christiani naufragi rebus suis spolientur.[1]

"Ita quorundam animos occupavit sæva cupiditas, ut cum "glorientur nomine Christiano, Sarracenis arma deferant, et "pares aut etiam superiores in malitia fiant eis, cum ad ex-"pugnandos Christianos eis arma et necessaria subministrant. "Sunt etiam, qui pro sua cupiditate in galeis, et piraticis "Sarracenorum navibus, regimen et curam gubernationis ex-"ercent. Tales igitur ab ecclesiæ communione præcisos, et "pro sua iniquitate excommunicationi subditos, et rerum sua-"rum per principes catholicos et consules civitatum privatione "mulctari, et capientium servos si capti fuerint, fore cense-"mus. Præcipimus etiam ut per ecclesias maritimarum ur-"bium crebra et solemnis excommunicatio in eos proferatur. "Excommunicationis pœnæ subdantur, qui Romanos aut alios "Christianos, pro negotiatione aut aliis honestis causis navigio "vectos, aut capere aut rebus suis spoliare præsumunt. Illi "etiam qui Christianos naufragium patientes, quibus secun-"dum regulam fidei auxilio esse tenentur, damnosa cupiditate "rebus suis spoliare præsumunt, nisi ablata reddiderint, ex-"communicationi se noverint subjacere."

Christians are not to serve Saracens, or to supply them with arms.

Benedict, i. 226.

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[1] No. xxiv. in Labbe and Cossart. No. xviii. in Gervase.

A.D. 1179. March 19.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III. Prohibetur ne torneamenta fiant.[1]

Benedict, i. 226.

Tournaments are forbidden,

"Felicis memoriæ papæ Innocentii et Eugenii prædecessorum nostrorum vestigiis inhærentes, detestabiles nundinas vel ferias, quas vulgo torneamenta vocant, in quibus milites ex dicto convenire solent, et ad ostentationem virium suarum et audaciæ temere congrediuntur, unde mortes hominum et pericula animarum sæpe proveniunt, fieri prohibemus. Quod si quis eorum ibi mortuus fuerit, quamvis ei pœnitentia non denegetur, ecclesiastica tamen careat sepultura."

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi, præcipit quod treugæ serventur a quarta feria post occasum solis usque ad secundam feriam post ortum solis; et ab Adventu Domini usque ad octavas Epiphaniæ, et a Septuagesima usque ad octavas Paschæ.

Truce of God to be observed.

"Treugas a quarta feria post occasum solis usque ad secundam feriam post ortum solis, et ab Adventu Domini usque ad octavas Epiphaniæ, et a Septuagesima usque ad octavas Paschæ, ab omnibus inviolabiliter observari præcipimus. Si quis autem treugam infringere tentaverit, post tertiam commonitionem si non satisfecerit, episcopus suus excommunicationis sententiam dictet, et scriptam vicinis episcopis annunciet. Episcoporum autem nullus excommunicatum in communione suscipiat, immo scripto susceptam sententiam quisque confirmet. Si quis autem hoc violare præsumpserit, ordinis sui periculo subjaceat: et quoniam funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur, præcipimus ut episcopi (Eccl. iv. 12.) ad solum Deum et salutem populi habentes respectum, omni cupiditate sopita, ad pacem firmiter tenendam mutuum in consilium et auxilium impendant, nec alicujus amore vel odio prætermittant. Quod si quis in hoc opere Dei tepidus inventus fuerit, damnum propriæ dignitatis amittat."[3]

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[1] No. xx. in Labbe and Cossart. No. xix. in Gervase.

[2] No. xxi. in Labbe and Cossart. No. xx. in Gervase.

[3] *amittat*] incurrat, C.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi, condemnat illos quos Octovianus, et Gwido, et Johannes de Struma, antipapæ ordinaverunt.[1] A.D. 1179. March 19.

Benedict, i. 227.

"Quod a prædecessore nostro felicis memoriæ papa Innocentio factum est innovantes, ordinationes ab Octoviano,[2] Gwidone,[3] hæresiarchis, nec non et Johanne Strumensi[4] qui eos secutus est, factas, et ab ordinatis ab eis, irritas esse censemus: adjicientes etiam ut qui dignitates ecclesiasticas seu beneficia per prædictos schismaticos acceperunt, careant impetratis. Alienationes etiam sive invasiones quæ per eosdem schismaticos, seu per laicos factæ sunt, de rebus ecclesiasticis, omni careant firmitate, et ad ecclesiam sine omni onere revertantur. Si quis autem contraire præsumpserit, excommunicationi se noverit subjacere. Illos autem qui sponte sacramenta de tenendo schismate præstiterunt, a sacris ordinibus et dignitatibus decernimus manere suspensos."

Ordinations by antipopes null.

Alienations by schismatics annulled.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi, quales debent esse, qui eligendi sunt ad regimen ecclesiæ.[5]

"Cum in cunctis sacris ordinibus et ecclesiasticis ministeriis, et ætatis maturitas et gravitas morum et litterarum scientia sit quærenda, multo fortius in episcopo hoc oportet inquiri, qui ad curam aliorum positus, in se ipso debet ostendere, qualiter alios oporteat in domo Domini conversare. Ea propter, ne quod a quibusdam ex necessitate temporis factum est in exemplum trahatur a posteris, præsenti decreto statuimus ut nullus in episcopum eligatur, nisi qui jam tricesimum annum ætatis egerit, et de legitimo sit matrimonio natus, qui etiam vita et scientia commendabilis demonstretur. Cum autem, qui electus fuerit, et confirmationem electionis

Persons chosen to govern the Church, to be exemplary.

Bishops to be thirty years old when chosen, and legitimate.

[1] This decree is numbered II., in the Acts as given by Labbe and Cossart. It is included in vii., in Gervase.

[2] *Octoviano*] The antipope Victor IV., 1159–1164.

[3] *Gwidone*] of Crema; Paschal III., 1164–1168.

[4] *Johanne Strumensi*] Calixtus III., 1168–1178.

[5] No. iii. in Labbe and Cossart; No. viii. in Gervase.

A.D. 1179. March 19.

Benedict, i. 227.

None to have cure of souls before he has reached his twenty-fifth year.

All beneficed persons to be ordained within canonical time.

Elections made contrary to this rule are to be punished.

"acceperit, et ecclesiasticorum bonorum administrationem "habuerit, decurso tempore de consecrandis episcopis a "canonibus definito, ad quem spectant beneficia quæ habuerat "disponendi, de his liberam obtineat facultatem. Inferiora "etiam ministeria, ut puta decanatus, archidiaconatus, et alia "quæ animarum curam habent annexam, nullus omnino "accipiat, sed nec parochialium ecclesiarum regimen, nisi "qui jam vicesimum quintum annum ætatis habuerit, et "qui scientia et moribus commendabilis existat. Cum autem "assumptus fuerit, si archidiaconus in diaconum, decanus "et reliqui admoniti, non fuerint præfixo a canonibus tem"pore in presbyteros ordinati, et ab illo removeantur officio, "et alii conferatur, qui et velit et possit illud convenienter "implere; nec prosit eis appellationis diffugium, si forte in "transgressione constitutionis istius per appellationem se "voluerint tueri. Hoc sane non solum de promovendis, sed "de iis etiam qui jam promoti sunt, si canones non obsis"tant, præcipimus observandum. Clerici sane si contra "formam istam quenquam elegerint, et eligendi potestate "tunc privatos, et ab ecclesiasticis beneficiis triennio noverint "se suspensos. Dignum est enim, ut quos Dei timor a malo "non revocat, ecclesiasticæ saltem coerceat severitas dis"ciplinæ. Episcopus autem, si aut contra hoc fecerit, aut "consenserit fieri, in conferendis prædictis officiis potestatem "suam amittat, et per capitulum, aut per metropolitanum, "si etiam capitulum concordare nequiverit, ordinetur."

Benedict, i. 228.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi, de hæreticis.[1]

The favourers of heretics are condemned.

"Sicut ait Beatus Leo, 'Licet ecclesiastica disciplina sacer"'dotali contenta judicio cruentas effugiat ultiones,' catholi"corum tamen principum constitutionibus adjuvatur, ut sæpe "quærant homines salutare remedium, dum corporale super "se metuerint evenire supplicium. Ea propter quia in Was"conia, Albegesio, et aliis locis, ita hæreticorum, quos alii "Catarros, alii Publicanos, alii Paterinos, alii aliis nominibus "vocant, invaluit damnata perversitas, ut jam non in occulto "sicut alibi nequitiam suam exerceant, sed errorem suum "publice manifestant, et ad consensum suum simplices at"trahant et infirmos: eos et defensores eorum et receptores "anathemati decernimus subjacere, et sub anathemate pro-

[1] No. xxvii. in Labbe and Cossart; No. xiv. in Gervase.

Benedict, i. 228. " hibemus, ne quis ipsos in domo vel in terra sua tenere vel " fovere, vel negotiationem cum eis exercere præsumat. Si " autem in hoc peccato decesserint, nec sub privilegiorum " nostrorum quibusque obtentu indultorum, nec sub aliqua " quacunque occasione oblatio pro eis fiat, aut inter Chris- " tianos accipiant sepulturam. De Brabanconibus et Arra- " gonensibus, Navariis, et Basclis, et Coterellis, qui tantam " in Christianos immanitatem exercent, ut nec ecclesiis nec " monasteriis deferant, nec viduis aut pupillis, nec pueris " aut senibus, nec cuilibet parcant ætati aut sexui, sed more " paganorum omnia perdant et vastent, similiter constituimus.

A.D. 1179. March 19. The cruelties of the mercenary soldiers to be punished by excommunication.

" Constituimus etiam, ut ipsi qui eos conduxerint vel tenuerint " vel foverint, vel religiones in quibus talia debacchantur, " in Dominicis et aliis diebus solennibus per ecclesias ex- " communicati publice nuncientur, et eadem omnino sententia " et pœna cum prædictis hæreticis habeantur astricti, nec ad " communionem recipiantur ecclesiæ, nisi societate illa pes- " tifera et hæresi abjuratis. Relaxatos autem se noverint a " debito fidelitatis seu hominii aut totius obsequii, dum in " tanta iniquitate permanserint, quicunque pacto illis tene- " antur annexi. Illis autem cunctisque fidelibus in remis- " sionem injungimus omnium peccatorum, ut tantis cladibus " se viriliter opponant, et contra eos armis tueantur populum

Their patrons to be excommunicated.

Benedict, i. 229. " Christianum. Confiscentur quoque bona eorum, et liberum " sit principibus hujusmodi pestilentes homines subjicere " servituti. Qui autem in vera pœnitentia ita decesserint, et " peccatorum indulgentiam et fructum mercedis æternæ se " non dubitent habituros. Nos autem de misericordia Dei, " et Beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum auctoritate con- " fisi, fidelibus Christianis qui contra eos arma susceperint, et " ad eorum sive aliorum prælatorum consilium ad eos decer- " taverint expugnandos, biennium de injuncta pœnitentia " relaxamus: aut si longiorem ibi moram habuerint, episco- " porum discretioni, quibus hujus rei cura fuerit injuncta, " committimus, ut ad eorum arbitrium secundum modum " laboris major eis indulgentia tribuatur. Illos autem qui " admonitionem episcoporum in hujusmodi parere contemp- " serint, a perceptione Corporis et Sanguinis Domini jubemus

Their goods to be confiscated, and their persons enslaved.

" esse immunes. Interim vero eos, qui ardore fidei ad ex- " pugnandum eos laborem istum assumpserint, sicut eos qui " sepulcrum Domini visitant, sub ecclesiæ defensione reci- " pimus, et ab universis inquietationibus, tam in rebus quam " in personis, statuimus manere securos. Si vero quisquam " interim eos molestare præsumpserit, per episcopum loci " excommunicationis sententia feriatur, et talis sententia ab " omnibus observetur, donec et ablata reddantur, et de illatis

Their persecutors taken under papal protection as crusaders.

A.D. 1179. March 19.

"damnis congrue satisfaciat. Episcopi vero sive presbyteri, "qui talibus forte non restiterint, officii suspensione mulc"tentur, donec misericordiam sedis apostolicæ obtineant." Benedict, i. 229.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi ut leprosi qui ad hoc facultatem habent, habeant ecclesiam et cœmeterium.[1]

Lepers to be allowed to have churches and burial grounds.

"Cum dicat apostolus Paulus abundantiorem honorem "membris inferioribus deferendum; e contra quidam quæ "sua sunt non quæ Jesu Christi quærentes, leprosis qui "cum sanis habitare non possunt, vel ad ecclesiam cum "aliis convenire, ecclesias et cœmeteria non permittunt ha"bere, nec proprii vicarii ministerium sacerdotis. Quod quia "procul a pietate Christiana esse dinoscitur, de benignitate "apostolica constituimus, ut ubicunque tot sub communi "vita fuerint congregati, quod ecclesiam cum cœmeterio sibi "constituere et proprio valeant gaudere presbytero, sine "contradictione aliqua permittantur habere. Caveant tamen "ut injuriosi veteribus ecclesiis nequaquam existant, de jure "parochiali. Quod enim pietate conceditur, ad aliorum in"juriam nolumus redundare. Statuimus etiam, ut de hortis "et nutrimentis animalium suorum decimas tribuere non "cogantur." 1 Cor. xii. 23. Phil. ii. 21.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi, ne Christiani habitent cum Judæis vel Sarracenis in domibus eorum nec eis serviant.[2]

Christians not to live with Jews or Saracens, or to take their part against Christians.

"Judæi sive Sarraceni nec sub alendorum[3] puerorum "obtentu, nec pro servitio vel aliqua qualibet causa Chris"tiana mancipia in domibus suis permittantur habere. Ex"communicentur autem, qui cum eis præsumpserint habitare. "Testimonium quoque Christianorum adversus Judæos in "omnibus causis, cum illi adversus Christianos testibus suis "utantur, recipiendum esse censemus: et anathemate decer"nimus esse feriendos, quicunque Judæos Christianis voluerint "in hac parte præferre, cum eos Christianis oporteat sub"jacere, et ab eis pro sola humanitate foveri. Si qui vero "præterea, Deo inspirante, ad fidem se converterint Chris- Benedict, i. 230.

[1] No. xxiii. in Labbe and Cossart; No. xi. in Gervase.

[2] No. xxvi. in Labbe and Cossart; No. xii. in Gervase.

[3] *alendorum*] Alexandrorum, A.

Benedict, i. 230. "tianam, a possessionibus nullatenus excludantur, cum melioris "conditionis conversos ad fidem esse oporteat, quam antea- "quam fidem susciperent habebantur. Si autem secus factum "fuerit, principibus seu potestatibus eorundem locorum sub "pœna excommunicationis injungimus, ut portionem hære- "ditatis et bonorum suorum ex integro eis faciant exhi- "beri." A.D. 1179. March 19.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi, ne monachus vel alius religiosus recipiatur sub pretio.[1]

"Monachi non sub pretio recipiantur in monasterio, non "peculium permittantur habere; non singuli per villas et "oppida sive quascunque parochiales ponantur ecclesias: sed "in majori conventu, aut cum aliquibus fratribus maneant, "nec soli inter sæculares homines spiritualium hominum con- "flictum expectent, Salomone dicente, 'Væ soli' etc. Si quis "autem exactus a sua receptione aliquid dederit, ad sacros "ordines non accedat; is autem qui eum receperit, officii sui "privatione mulctetur. Si vero peculium habuerit, nisi ab "abbate fuerit pro injuncta administratione permissum, a com- "munione removeatur altaris; et qui in extremis cum peculio "inventus fuerit, nec oblatio pro eo fiat, nec inter fratres "recipiat sepulturam. Quod etiam de diversis religiosis præ- "cipimus observari. Abbas autem qui diligenter ista non "curaverit, officii sui jacturam se noverit incursurum. Priora- "tus vero, sive obedientiæ, pretii datione nulli tradantur, "alioquin dantes et accipientes a ministerio ecclesiastico fiant "alieni. Priores vero cum in conventualibus ecclesiis fuerint "constituti, nisi pro manifesta et rationabili causa non mu- "tentur; videlicet si dilapidatores fuerint, si incontinenter "vixerint, aut tale aliquid egerint, pro quo amovendi merito "videantur, aut si etiam pro necessitate majoris officii de "consensu fratrum fuerit transferendus."

No money to be taken for the reception of a monk.

Eccl. iv. 10.

Monks to have no private property.

No payment to be made for the conferring of obediences.

Benedict, i. 231.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi, ne aliquis multas habeat ecclesias.[2]

"Quoniam nonnulli modum avaritiæ non ponentes, et di- "versas dignitates ecclesiasticas, et plures ecclesias paro- "chiales, præter sanctorum canonum instituta nituntur ad-

Pluralities restrained.

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[1] No. x. in Labbe and Cossart; No. xiii. in Gervase.

[2] No. xiii. and xiv. in Labbe and Cossart; No. iii. in Gervase.

A.D. 1179. March 19. Against pluralities. Benedict, i. 231.

"quirere, ita ut cum unum officium vix implere sufficiant, "stipendia sibi vendicent plurimorum; ne id de cætero fiat "districtius prohibemus. Cum igitur vel ecclesiasticum minis"terium committi debuerit, talis ad hoc persona quæratur, "quæ residere in loco, et causam ejus per seipsum valeat "exercere. Quod si aliter actum fuerit, et qui receperit, "quod contra sacros canones receperit, amittat; et qui dederit, "largiendi potestate privetur. [1] Et quia in tantum jam quo"rundam processit ambitio, ut non duas vel tres, sed sex aut "plures perhibeantur habere, cum nec duabus possint debitam "provisionem impendere, per fratres et coepiscopos nostros "hoc emendari præcipimus, et de multitudine canonibus "inimica, quæ dissolutionis materiam et evagationis inducit, "et certum continet periculum animarum, eorum, qui ecclesiis "deservire valeant, indigentiam sublevari. Præterea quia "in tantum laicorum quorundam processit audacia, ut episco"porum auctoritate neglecta clericos instituant in ecclesiis, "et removeant etiam cum voluerint; possessiones quoque "atque alia ecclesiastica bona pro sua plerumque voluntate "distribuant, et tam ecclesias ipsas quam homines earum "taillis et exactionibus gravare præsumant; eos siquidem "qui a modo ista commiserint, anathemate decernimus esse "feriendos. Presbyter autem sive clericus, qui ecclesiam sine "proprii episcopi auctoritate per laicos receperit, communione "privetur; et si perstiterit, a ministerio ecclesiastico et "ordine deponatur. Sane quia laici quidam ecclesiasticas "personas et ipsos etiam episcopos judicio suo stare com"pellunt; eos qui de cætero id præsumpserint a communione "fidelium decernimus segregandos. Prohibemus etiam ne "laici decimas cum animarum suarum periculo detinentes, in "alios laicos possint aliquo modo transferre. Si quis vero "receperit, et ecclesiæ non reddiderit, Christiana sepultura "privetur."

Clerks not to be instituted, or removed, or tried by laymen.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi: prohibetur ne manifestus usurarius recipiatur ad communionem altaris.[2]

Usury condemned. Benedict, i. 232.

"Quia in omnibus fere locis crimen usurarum invaluit; ut "multi negotiis prætermissis quasi licite usuras exerceant;

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[1] *Et quia*] This is made a separate enactment in the Concilia, Labbe, &c., x. 1516, No. xiv. No. xvi. in Gervase, beginning with *Præterea*, below.

[2] No. xxv. in Labbe and Cossart; No. iv. in Gervase.

Benedict, i. 232. "et qualiter utriusque Testamenti pagina condemnetur, non "attendunt: ideo constituimus, ut usurarii manifesti nec ad "communionem recipiantur altaris, nec Christianam, si in "hoc peccato decesserint, accipiant sepulturam, sed nec ob-"lationem eorum quisquam accipiat. Qui autem acceperit, "aut Christianæ tradiderit sepulturæ, et ea quæ acceperit "reddere compellatur, et donec ad arbitrium sui episcopi "satisfaciat, ab officii sui executione maneat suspensus." A.D. 1179. March 19.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi, præcipit quod, si clericus intestatus decesserit, vel bona ecclesiæ suæ aliis conferre voluerit, penes ecclesiam eadem bona remaneant.[1]

"Cum in officiis caritatis primo videamur illis obnoxii, a "quibus beneficium nos cognovimus recepisse, e contra qui-"dam clerici, cum ab ecclesiis suis multa bona perceperunt, "bona per ecclesias acquisita in alios transferre præsumunt. "Hoc igitur, quia in antiquis canonibus constat esse in-"hibitum, nos etiam nihilominus inhibemus. Indemnitati "itaque ecclesiæ providere volentes, sive intestati decesserint, "sive aliis conferre voluerint, penes ecclesias eadem bona "præcipimus remanere. Præterea quoniam quidam in qui-"busdam partibus sub pretio statuuntur, qui decani vocantur, "et pro certa quantitate pecuniæ episcopalem jurisdictionem "exercent, præsenti decreto statuimus, ut qui de cætero id "præsumpserit, officio suo privetur, et episcopus conferendi "hoc officium potestatem amittat."

The goods of clerks dying intestate belong to their churches.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi, de ordinatione ecclesiarum.[2]

"Cum in cunctis ecclesiis quod pluribus et senioribus fra-"tribus visum fuerit incunctanter debet observari, grave "nimis et dignissimum reprehensione, quod per quasdam "ecclesias pauci, quoniam non tam de ratione quam de propria "voluntate, ordinationem multorum impediunt, et ordinationem "ecclesiasticam procedere non permittunt. Quocirca præsenti "decreto statuimus, ut nisi a paucioribus et minoribus ra-
Benedict, i. 233. "tionabile aliquid fuerit ostensum, appellatione remota, præ-"valeat semper, et suum consequatur effectum, quod a majoris

The arrangements of churches not to be altered by a minority.

[1] No. xv. in Labbe and Cossart; No. v. in Gervase.

[2] No. xvi. in Labbe and Cossart; No. vi. in Gervase.

A.D. 1179. March 19. The vote of the majority to prevail.

"et senioris consilii parte fuerit constitutum. Nec constitutionem nostram impediat, si aliquis ad conservandam ecclesiæ suæ consuetudinem se juramento dicat esse constrictum. Non enim dicenda sunt juramenta sed perjuria potius, quæ contra utilitatem ecclesiasticam et sanctorum patrum veniunt instituta. Si quis autem hujusmodi consuetudines, quæ nec ratione juvantur, nec sacris congruunt institutis, jurare præsumpserit, donec condignam egerit pœnitentiam, a Dominici Corporis perceptione existat alienus." Benedict, i. 233.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi: præcipitur quod si fundatores ecclesiarum contendant de præsentatione clericorum, et infra tres menses non poterit inter eos convenire, episcopus eam ordinet.[1]

Where the patrons of a church differ as to the nomination of a rector, the majority are to prevail.

"Quoniam in quibusdam locis fundatores ecclesiarum aut hæredes eorum potestate, in quam ecclesia eos hucusque sustinuit, abutuntur; et cum in Dei ecclesia unus debeat esse qui præsit, ipsi plures sine respectu subjectionis eligere moliuntur; et cum una ecclesia unius debeat esse rectoris, pro sua defensione plurimos repræsentant. Quocirca præsenti decreto statuimus, ut si plures partes fundatorum se in contraria vota diviserint, ille præficiatur ecclesiæ qui moribus juvatur et meritis, et plurimorum eligitur et probatur assensu. Si autem hoc sine scandalo esse nequiverit, ordinet antistes ecclesiam sicut melius secundum Deum noverit ordinandam, et idipsum faciat etiamsi de jure patronatus quæstio emerserit inter aliquos, et si cui competat infra tres menses fuerit diffinitum."

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi, de pace servanda.[2]

For security of priests, religious persons, merchants and rustics.

"Innovamus etiam, ut presbyteri, clerici, monachi, conversi, peregrini, mercatores, rustici, euntes et redeuntes, et in agricultura existentes, et animalia quibus arant et quæ cætera portant in agrum, congrua securitate lætentur: nec quisquam alicubi novas rectorum exactiones, sine auc-

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[1] No. xvii. in Labbe and Cossart; No. vii. in Gervase.

[2] No. xxii. in Labbe and Cossart; No. xxvi. in Gervase.

"toritate et consensu regum et principum, statuere, aut "statutas de novo tenere, aut veteres attentare aliquo modo "præsumant. Si quis autem contra hoc fecerit, et commo- "nitus non destiterit, donec satisfaciat, communione careat "Christiana." A.D. 1179. March 19.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi: prohibetur ne ecclesiastica beneficia alicui permittantur, antequam vacent.[1]

Benedict, i. 233, 234.

"Nulla ecclesiastica beneficia, seu etiam ministeria, vel "ecclesiæ, alicui tribuantur, seu promittantur, antequam "vacent, ne desiderare quis mortem proximi videatur, in "cujus locum et beneficium se crediderit successurum. "Cum enim id etiam in ipsis gentilium legibus inveniatur "inhibitum, turpe nimis est et divini plenum animadversatione "judicii, si locum in ecclesia Dei futuræ successionis expec- "tatio habeat, quam etiam ipsi gentiles homines condemnare "curaverunt. Cum vero præbendas, ecclesias, seu quælibet "officia in aliqua ecclesia vacare contigerit, vel si etiam "modo vacant, non diu maneant in suspenso, sed infra sex "menses personis, quæ digne administrare valeant, confe- "rantur. Si autem episcopus, ubi ad eum spectaverit, con- "ferre distulit, per capitulum ordinetur. Quod si ad capi- "tulum electio pertinuerit, et infra præscriptum terminum "hoc non fecerit, episcopus secundum Deum hoc cum re- "ligiosorum virorum consilio exsequatur. Aut si omnes forte "neglexerint, metropolitanus de episcopis secundum Deum "absque illorum contradictione disponat."

No benefices are to be given or promised before they are vacant.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi, ne aliquis ordinetur sine certo titulo.[2]

"Episcopus si aliquem sine certo titulo, de quo necessaria "vitæ percipiat, in diaconem vel presbyterum ordinaverit, "tamdiu ei necessaria subministret, donec in aliqua ei ec- "clesia convenientia stipendia militiæ clericalis assignet, "nisi talis forte ordinatus exstiterit, qui de sua vel paterna "hæreditate subsidium vitæ possit habere."

Bishops to maintain those whom they have ordained without title.

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[1] No. viii. in Labbe and Cossart; No. ix. in Gervase.

[2] No. v. in Labbe and Cossart; included in No. ix. in Gervase.

A.D. 1179. March 19.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi, ne clerici in sacris ordinibus constituti focarias habeant.[1]

Clerks not to keep women.

"Clerici in sacris ordinibus constituti, qui mulierculas in domibus suis sub incontinentiæ nota tenuerint, aut abjiciant eas et continenter vivant, aut beneficio et officio fiant ecclesiastico alieni. Quicunque in incontinentia illa, quæ contra naturam est, propter quam ira Dei venit in filios diffidentiæ, et quinque civitates igne consumpsit, deprehensi fuerint laborare: si clerici fuerint, ejiciantur a clero, vel ad agendam pœnitentiam in monasterio retrudantur; si laici, excommunicationi subdantur, et a cœtu fidelium fiant penitus alieni. Monasteria præterea sanctimonalium si quisquam clericus sine manifesta et necessaria causa frequentare præsumpserit, per episcopum arceatur, et si non destiterit a beneficio ecclesiastico reddatur immunis." Benedict, i. 234.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi, ne laici imponant ecclesiis onera.[2]

Laymen not to impose burdens on churches.

"Non minus pro illorum peccato qui faciunt, quam pro illorum detrimento qui sustinent, grave nimis esse dinoscitur, quod in diversis partibus mundi rectores et consules civitatum, nec non et alii qui potestatem videntur habere, tot ecclesiis onera frequenter imponunt, et ita gravibus eas et crebris exactionibus premunt, ut deterioris conditionis sub eis sacerdotium factum videatur, quam sub Pharaone fuerit, qui Dominicæ legis notitiam non habebat. Ille quidem omnibus aliis servituti subditis, sacerdotes suos et possessiones eorum in pristina libertate dimisit, et de publico eis alimoniam ministravit; isti vero universa fere onera sua imponunt ecclesiis, et tot angariis ipsum affligunt, ut illud ei, quod Jeremias deplorat, competere videatur, 'Princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo.' Sive quidem fossata seu expeditiones, seu alia quælibet sibi arbitrentur agenda, de bonis ecclesiarum, clericorum, et pauperum, Christi usibus deputatis, cuncta volunt fere complere. Jurisdictionem etiam et auctoritatem episcoporum et aliorum prælatorum ita evacu- Benedict, i. 235. Lam. i. 1.

[1] No. xi. in Labbe and Cossart; No. xxiv. in Gervase.

[2] No. xix. in Labbe and Cossart; No. xv. in Gervase.

Benedict, i. 235. "ant, ut nil potestatis ei videatur in suis hominibus remanisse. A.D. 1179. March 19.
"Super quo dolendum pro ecclesiis, dolendum est nihilominus "et pro ipsis, qui timorem Dei, ecclesiastici ordinis reveren- "tiam, videntur penitus abjecisse. Quocirca sub anathematis "districtione severius prohibemus, ne talia de cætero atten- "tare præsumant, nisi episcopus vel clericus tantam necessi- "tatem et utilitatem inspexerit, ut absque coactione ad rele- "vandas communes necessitates, ubi laicorum non suppetant "facultates, subsidia per ecclesias existiment conferenda. Si "autem consules aut alii de cætero ista commiserint, et com- "moniti forte desistere noluerint, tam ipsi quam fautores "eorum excommunicationi se noverint subjacere, nec commu- "nioni fidelium reddantur, nisi satisfactionem fecerint compe- "tentem."

Pain of excommunication.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi, ut prælati provideant magistris scholarum necessaria.[1]

"Quoniam ecclesia Dei et in his quæ spectant ad subsidium "corporis, et in his quæ ad profectum perveniunt animarum, "indigentibus sicut pia mater providere tenetur, ne pauperi- "bus, qui parentum opibus juvari non possunt, legendi et "proficiendi opportunitas subtrahatur, per unamquamque ca- "thedralem ecclesiam magistro, qui clericos ejusdem ecclesiæ, "et scholares pauperes gratis doceat, competens aliquod be- "neficium præbeatur, quo docentis necessitas sublevetur, et "discentibus via pateat ad doctrinam: et in aliis quoque ec- "clesiis restituatur, seu monasteriis, si retroactis temporibus "aliquid in iis fuerat deputatum. Pro licentia vero docendi "nullus omnino pretium exigat, vel sub obtentu alicujus con- "suetudinis ab his qui docent aliquid quærat, nec docere "quemquam expetita licentia, qui sit idoneus interdicat. Qui "vero contra hoc venire præsumpserit, ab ecclesiastico fiat "beneficio alienus. Dignum quippe esse videtur, ut in ec- "clesia Dei fructus laboris sui non habeat, qui cupiditate "animi, dum vendit docendi licentiam, ecclesiasticum profec- "tum nititur impedire."

Schoolmasters to be provided in cathedrals and monasteries.

Benedict, i. 236.

[1] No. xviii. in Labbe and Cossart; No. xxii. in Gervase.

A.D. 1179. March 19.

Decretum Alexandri papæ III., in concilio suo Lateranensi, ne clerici in sacris ordinibus constituti præsumant sæculares procurationes suscipere.[1]

Clerks in Holy Orders not to undertake secular offices.

"Clerici in subdiaconatu et supra, et in minoribus quoque "ordinibus, si stipendiis ecclesiasticis sustentantur, coram sæ-"culari judice advocati in negotiis forensibus esse non præsu-"mant, nisi propriam vel ecclesiæ suæ causam fuerint pro-"secuti, aut pro miserabilibus forte personis, qui proprias "causas administrare non possunt; sed nec procuratores "villarum, aut jurisdictiones etiam sæculares sub aliquibus "principibus et sæcularibus viris, ut justitiarii eorum fiant, "clericorum quisquam exercere præsumat. Si quis autem "adversus hoc venire tentaverit, quia contra doctrinam apo-"stoli dicentis, 'nemo militans Deo implicat se sæcularibus "'negotiis,' sæculariter agit, ab ecclesiastico fiat ministerio "alienus, pro eo quod officio clericali neglecto, fluctibus sæ-"culi, ut placeat potentibus, se immergit. Districtius autem "decernimus puniendum, si religiosorum quisquam aliquid "prædictorum ausus fuerit attentare."

Benedict, i. 236.

2 Tim. ii. 4.

Decretum Alexandri papæ, in concilio suo Lateranensi, ne Templares vel Hospitalares, nisi semel in anno, veniant ad ecclesiam interdictam causa prædicandi, et tunc non præsumant corpora interdictorum sepelire.[2]

Templars and Hospitallers not to make wanton use of their privileges.

"Cum et plantare sacram religionem et plantatam fovere "modis omnibus debeamus, nunquam hoc melius exsequamur, "quam si nutrire quæ recta sunt, et corrigere quæ profectum "veritatis impediunt, commissa nobis a Deo auctoritate cen-"semus. Fratrum autem et coepiscoporum nostrorum vehe-"menti conquestione comperimus, quod fratres Templi et "Hospitalis, alii quoque religiosæ professionis, indulta sibi ab "apostolica sede privilegia excedentes, contra episcopalem "auctoritatem multa præsumunt, quæ et scandalum faciunt in "populo Dei, et grave pariunt periculum animarum. Propo-"suerunt enim quod ecclesias recipiunt de manibus laicorum; "excommunicatos et interdictos ad ecclesiastica sacramenta "et sepulturam admittunt in ecclesiis suis, præter eorum

Benedict, i. 237.

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[1] No. xii. in Labbe and Cossart; No. xvii. in Gervase.

[2] No. ix. in Labbe and Cossart; No. xxi. in Gervase.

Benedict, i. 237. "conscientiam; et instituant et amoveant sacerdotes; et A.D. 1179. March 19.
"fratribus eorum ad eleemosynas quærendas euntibus, cum
"indultum sit eis ut in eorum adventu semel in anno aperi-
"antur ecclesiæ, atque in eis divina celebrentur officia,
"lures ex eis de una sive de pluribus domibus ad interdic-
"tum locum sæpius accedentes, et indulgentiam privile-
"giorum in celebrandis officiis abutuntur, et tunc mortuos
"apud prædictas ecclesias sepelire præsumunt; occasione
"quoque fraternitatum, quas in pluribus locis faciunt, robur
"episcopalis auctoritatis enervant, dum contra eorum senten-
"tiam sub aliquorum privilegiorum obtentu munire cunctos
"intendunt, qui ad eorum fraternitatem voluerint se conferre.

Charges made against them.

"In his autem, quia non tam de majorum conscientia vel
"consilio, quam de minorum indiscretione quorundam exce-
"ditur, et removenda ea in quibus excedunt, et quæ dubita-
"tionem faciunt decernimus declaranda.

The excesses are not to be attributed to the whole body.

"Ecclesias sane et
"decimas de manu laicorum sine consensu episcoporum tam
"illos quam quoscunque alios religiosos recipere prohibemus,
"dimissis etiam quas contra tenorem istum moderno tempore
"receperint. Excommunicatos et nominatim interdictos tam
"ab illis quam ab omnibus aliis juxta episcoporum sententiam
"statuimus evitandos. In ecclesiis suis quæ ad eos pleno
"jure non pertinent instituendos presbyteros episcopis repræ-
"sentent, ut eis quidem de plebis cura respondeant, ipsis vero
"pro rebus temporalibus rationem exhibeant competentem.
"Institutos autem inconsultis episcopis non audeant removere.
"Si vero Templarii sive Hospitalarii ad ecclesiam interdictam
"venerint, non nisi semel in anno ad ecclesiasticum officium
"admittantur, nec tunc ibi sepeliant corpora interdictorum.
"De fraternitatibus autem hoc constituimus, ut si non se
"prædictis fratribus omnino reddiderint, sed in proprietatibus
"suis duxerint remanendum, propter hoc ab episcoporum sen-
"tentia nullatenus eximantur, sed potestatem suam sicut in
"alios parochianos suos exerceant, cum pro suis excessibus
"fuerint corrigendi. Quod autem de prædictis fratribus dic-
"tum est, ab aliis quoque religiosis, qui præsumptione sua
"viam præripiunt, et contra canonicas eorum sententias et
"tenorem privilegiorum nostrorum venire præsumunt, præci-
Benedict, i. 238. "pimus observari. Si autem contra institutum hoc venerint;
"et ecclesiæ in quibus ista præsumpserint, subjaceant inter-
"dicto, et quod egerint irritum et vacuum habeatur."

Prohibitions against these excesses.

His itaque decretis promulgatis, et ab universo clero et populo circumstante receptis, episcopi et cæteri viri ecclesiastici, qui convenerant, cum munere benedictionis licentiam repatriandi accipere meruerunt.

The Council breaks up.

A.D. 1179. March 11. The younger king returns to England. Retirement of Richard de Lucy.

Eodem anno rex Angliæ filius rediit de Normannia in Angliam in medio Quadragesimæ, et ad Pascha sequens ipse et rex pater suus fuerunt Wintoniæ. Et post Pascha Ricardus de Luci,[1] justitiarius Angliæ, relicta justitiaria potestate, factus est canonicus regularis in abbatia sua de Lenes, quam ipse in fundo suo fecerat, et bonis multis ditaverat; et paulo post ibidem obiit. Benedict, i. 238.

Redistribution of the circuits of the judges.

Quo defuncto, dominus rex pater, magno celebrato concilio, apud Windeshores, communi consilio archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, comitum et baronum, coram rege filio suo, divisit Angliam in quatuor partes; et unicunque partium præfecit viros sapientes ad faciendam justitiam in terra, in hunc modum;[2]

Names of the judges.

Ricardus episcopus Wintoniæ.[3] Ricardus thesaurarius regis.[4] Nicholaus filius Toroldi. Thomas Basset.[5] Robertus de Witefeld.[6]	Suthamtesire. Wilte sire. Gloucestresire. Dorsete. Somersete. Devoniarum. Cornubia. Berkesire. Oxenefordsire.
Gaufridus Eliensis episcopus.[7] Nicholaus capellanus regis.[8]	Cantebrigesire. Huntedunesire. Northamtesire. Leicestresire.

Benedict, i. 239.

[1] Richard de Lucy died in July, Gervase, c. 1456. This council must have been held before Whitsuntide, Bened. i. 240.

[2] "sicut et antea fecerat, sed non "eosdem justitiarios. Rannulfum "tamen de Glanvilla præfecit Ew-"erwicsyre justitiæ gubernacula "tenentem, antiquarum consuetu-"dinum eo tempore peritissimum." MS., omitting the list. Each commission included two clerks, chaplains of the king. The three bishops at the head of the three first commissions are called by Ralph de Diceto *Archijustitiarii*: the fourth not having a bishop, has Rannulf Glanvill, who next year was made chief justice. But the other three members were not necessarily laymen.

[3] Richard of Ilchester, the old minister of the Exchequer.

[4] Richard Fitz Neal; afterwards bishop of London.

[5] Sheriff of Oxfordshire, 1163; justice, 1175.

[6] Sheriff of Oxfordshire, 1182—1184.

[7] Geoffrey Ridel, 1174—1189.

[8] Probably the dean of S. Julian's at Le Mans, and afterwards bishop there.

Benedict, i. 239.

A.D. 1179. Names of the judges.

Gilebertus Pipardus.[1]
Reginaldus de Wisbec, clericus regis.
Gaufridus Hosee.[2]

Warewichsiro.
Wirecestresire.
Herefordsire in Wallia.
Stafordesire.
Salopessire.

Johannes episcopus Nortwicensis.[3]
Hugo Murdac, clericus regis.[4]
Michael Belet.[5]
Ricardus del Pec.[6]
Radulfus Brito.[7]

Norfulche.
Suthfolche.
Essexe.
Hertfordsire.
Midelsex.
Kent.
Surreia.
Sudsexe.
Bukinghamsire.
Bedefordsire.

Godefridus de Luci.[8]
Johannes Cumin.[9]
Hugo de Gaerst.[10]
Rannulfus de Glanvilla.[11]
Willelmus de Bendinghes.[12]
Alanus de Furnellis.[13]

Isti sex sunt justitiæ in curia regis constituti ad audiendum clamores populi : et eis assignatæ erant subscriptæ provinciæ.
Notinghamsire.
Derebisire.
Euerwicsire.
Northumberlande.
Westmerilande.
Cumberlande.
Inter Rible et Meresee.
Loncastre.

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[1] Sheriff of Essex and Herts, 1168 — 1170 ; Hereford, 1172 — 1174 ; justice, 1176.

[2] Sheriff of Oxfordshire, 1180, 1181.

[3] John of Oxford, dean of Salisbury, 1164—1175 ; bishop of Norwich, 1175—1200.

[4] Hugo Murdac, baron of the Exchequer in 1184.

[5] Michael Belet, sheriff of Worcestershire, 1176 — 1181, 1184 ; Wilts, 1180 — 1182 ; tallager in 1177 ; justice in 1178.

[6] Ricardus del Pec, archdeacon of Salop.

[7] Radulfus Brito ; acted as tallager in 1177.

[8] Godefridus de Luci, archdeacon of Richmond ; bishop of Winchester in 1189.

[9] Johannes Cumin, justice in 1169 ; archbishop of Dublin in 1183.

[10] Glaestre in Benedict ; but *Gaerst* on the Roll of the Exchequer.

[11] R. Glanvill, justice, 1175 ; chief justice, 1180.

[12] Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset, 1183—1184.

[13] Sheriff of Oxfordshire, 1184, 1185 ; Cornwall, 1181—1184.

A.D. 1179. Geoffrey ravages the Leonois. Henry the younger returns to Normandy.

Eodem anno [1] Gaufridus comes Britanniæ, præcepto regis patris sui, transfretavit de Anglia in Britanniam; et congregato exercitu devastavit terram Guiomarii de Leuns,[2] et eum ad deditionem coegit. Benedict, i. 239.

Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ filius rediit de Anglia in Normanniam. Benedict, i. 240.

Marriage of Alexius with Agnes of France.

Eodem anno Lodowicus rex Francorum Constantinopolim misit Agnetem filiam suam quam Ala uxor sua, regina Francorum, soror Willelmi Remensis archiepiscopi, soror etiam Henrici et Theobaldi et Stephani comitum, ei pepererat, maritandam Alexi [3] filio Manuelis imperatoris Constantinopolitani. Benedict, i. 239.

Sickness of Philip of France.

Eodem anno Philippus filius Lodowici regis Francorum, et prædictæ Alæ reginæ, ægrotavit usque ad mortem; unde pater suus plurimum condoluit, et Divina revelatione in somnis admonitus, ut devota peregrinatione adiret Beatum Thomam Cantuariensem martyrem, si vellet filium suum pristinæ sanitati restitui. Unde factum est quod Lodowicus rex Francorum, missis legatis ad Henricum regem Angliæ patrem, quæsivit licentiam et securitatem veniendi in Angliam; et sine impedimento redire quæsivit, et obtinuit. Rex igitur Francorum fiduciam habens in Domino, contra multorum consilium, iter arripuit versus Angliam. Et assumens secum Philippum comitem Flandriæ, et Baldwinum comitem de Ginnes,[4] et Henricum ducem de Luvain,[5] et comitem Willelmum de Mandevile, et advocatum Betuniæ,[6] et alios barones de regno Franciæ, pervenit usque Witsand, et inde transfretavit in Angliam, et applicuit apud Dovre xi. kalendas Septembris, feria quarta. Cui rex Angliæ pater in littore maris occurrens suscepit cum magno gaudio et honore, sicut carissimum dominum et amicum suum, et omnia ne- Benedict, i. 240. Benedict, i. 241.

Lewis VII. warned to make the Canterbury pilgrimage.

His visit to England.

[1] *Eodem anno*] "statim post "Pascha," April 1, Bened. i. 239.

[2] Guiomar, viscount of the Leonois.

[3] Emperor, 1180—1183.

[4] Baldwin II., count of Guines, 1169—1206.

[5] Henry the Warrior, count of Louvain, son of Godfrey duke of Lothier.

[6] Robert of Bethune, advocate of Arras.

Benedict, i. 241. cessaria sibi et hominibus suis honorifice ministravit. A.D. 1179.
Et in crastino, videlicet vigilia beati Bartholomæi apostoli, Aug. 23. Lewis's visit to Canterbury, and benefactions there. duxit eum Cantuariam usque ad tumbam Sancti Thomæ martyris. Quo cum venissent, Lodovicus rex Francorum obtulit super tumbam beati Thomæ martyris unam cuppam de auro valde magnam et pretiosam, et ad usus monachorum ibidem Deo servientium centum modios vini in perpetuum, singulis annis recipiendos apud Peissi in Francia ad omnimodam impensam regis Franciæ. Præterea concessit eis, quod quæcunque de cætero emerentur in regno Franciæ ad proprios usus illorum, quieta sint de teonneo et omnibus aliis consuetudinibus et exigentiis. Et hæc omnia fecit eis confirmari carta sua, quam ipsi receperunt de manu Hugonis de Benedict, i. 242. Puteaco cancellarii regis Franciæ, filii Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi.[1] Tertio autem die sequenti, rex Franciæ et sui, qui cum eo venerant, rege Anglorum eos reducente, reversi sunt ad Dovre, et in crastino, videlicet septimo kalendas He returns to France Aug. 26. Septembris, die Dominica, rex Franciæ cum suis transfretavit de Anglia in Flandriam, et applicuit apud Witsand. Interim Philippus filius ejus, meritis et precibus beati Thomæ martyris pristinam adeptus est sanitatem.

Prima coronatio Philippi regis Franciæ.

Quo audito rex Franciæ, magno fluctuans gaudio, Nov. 1. Philip's coronation at Rheims. publico præcepit edicto, ut omnes principes regni sui, ecclesiastici et sæculares, convenirent Remis in capite kalendarum Novembrium ad coronationem Philippi filii sui. Quibus congregatis, Willelmus Remensis archiepiscopus præfatum Philippum, filium Alæ sororis suæ, jam quintum decimum annum ætatis suæ agentem, coronavit et in regem unxit Remis, in ecclesia sedis pontificalis, die solemnitatis Omnium Sanctorum, ministrantibus ei in illo officio Willelmo[2] Turonensi, et Bituricensi,[3] et Senonensi[4] archiepiscopis,

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[1] He attests charters of Philip, as chancellor, from 1180—1185.

[2] *Willelmo*] Properly Bartholomew of Vendome.

[3] *Bituricensi*] Guarin de Girardo.

[4] *Senonensi*] Guy de Noyers.

A.D. 1179. Nov. 1. The younger Henry takes part in the ceremony.

et fere omnibus episcopis regni. Henricus autem rex Angliæ filius, in progressione a thalamo usque in ecclesiam ipso die coronationis, ibat ante illum gestans coronam auream, de jure ducatus Normanniæ, qua prædictus Philippus coronandus erat. Et Philippus comes Flandriæ præibat, ferens ante illum gladium regni. Alii vero duces, comites et barones præibant et sequebantur, diversi diversis deputati obsequiis, prout res exigebat. Sed Lodowicus rex pater ejus, senio et morbo laborans paralytico, coronationi illius interesse non potuit. Nam cum ab Anglia rediret, et ad Beatum Dionysium iter arriperet, subito percussus frigore, incidit in paralysim, et usum dexteræ partis corporis sui amisit.

Benedict, i. 242.

Benedict, i. 243.

Illness of king Lewis.

Death of the bishop of Worcester and the count of Aumâle.

Eodem anno obiit Rogerus Wigornensis episcopus[1] apud Turonim, et ibi sepultus est.

Eodem anno obiit Willelmus comes Albemarliæ,[2] et sepultus est in abbatia sua de Tornetun.

The Tuscans conspire to seize the archbishop of Mentz.

Eodem anno Tuschani et Pisani, et homines de Luca, et cives de Pistura, et cives de Florentia, et homines de Valle Arnæ, et Hugelinus de Valle Spolitæ concilium fecerunt, ut dolo caperent Christianum Maguntinum archiepiscopum, Frederici Romanorum imperatoris cancellarium; qui, post pacem factam inter dominum papam et prædictum imperatorem apud Venetiam in Rivo Alto, remanserat in Tuscana, et eos gravibus vexationibus ad inopiam redegerat. Facta itaque conventione, convenerunt Conradum filium Willelmi[3] Marchais de Monte Ferato, ut eum dolo caperet: ipse enim præfatum cancellarium odio habebat, sed jam cum eo pacem fecerat. Ad instigationem itaque cæterorum, et Manuelis imperatoris mandato, qui ei multas promisit divitiarum facultates, si præfatum cancellarium cepisset, Conradus venit in manu forti ad

Conrad of Montferrat assists them.

Benedict, i. 244.

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[1] Son of earl Robert of Gloucester; died August 9, 1179.

[2] William le Groos, count of Aumâle and earl of Holderness, 1127—1180; son of count Stephen, the competitor of William Rufus. His daughter Hawisia married William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, who bore the title of count of Aumâle until his death in 1189; and after his death, Baldwin of Bethune, and thirdly William de Fortibus. Thornton abbey, in Holderness, was founded by William, who died August 20, 1180. Chron. de Melsa, 99, 100; Mon. Angl. vi. 326.

[3] *Willelmi*] Marquis of Montferrat, 1140 to 1188. Conrad was subsequently lord of Tyre, and the evil genius of the third Crusade.

Benedict, i. 244.

civitatem de Camerin, ubi cancellarius ille cum paucis suorum convenerat, et Conradus injectis in eum manibus tenuit, et in compedibus missum secum duxit, et incarceravit eum primo in castello quod vocatur Sanctus Flavianus: secundo incarceravit eum in Roca Venais: tertio incarceravit eum apud Eghependant, et tradidit eum Bonefacio [1] fratri suo in custodia, et ipse Conradus profectus est ad Manuelem imperatorem Constantinopolitanum, cujus admonitione ipse ceperat prædictum cancellarium.

A.D. 1179. (Sept.) He is taken and imprisoned.

Conrad goes to Constantinople:

Et non ausus domum redire propter injuriam quam fecerat Frederico Romanorum imperatori de captione cancellarii sui, remansit cum Manuele Constantinopolitano imperatore, et unam de neptibus illius imperatoris in uxorem duxit.[2] Quo audito, Bonefacius frater ejus, qui prædictum Christianum Maguntinum archiepiscopum, Frederici Romanorum imperatoris cancellarium, in carcere tenuit, cepit de eo duodecim millia perperorum, et permisit eum abire.[3]

and marries there.

Release of the archbishop.

Benedict, i. 250.

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[1] *Bonefacio*] The hero of the fourth Crusade, afterwards king of Thessalonica.

[2] This is an important variation from the story of the older chronicler, who expressly says (B.P. i. 261,) that Conrad was married after the accession of Isaac Angelus to Theodora Angela, the emperor's sister, which is the true account. Du Cange, *Fam. Byz.*, 203. Under the year 1187 below, she is called the niece of Isaac Angelus. Perhaps Hoveden confounded Manuel Comnenus with Isaac Angelus, or more probably he was puzzled by the adventures of the sons of William of Montferrat, four of whom were concerned with the history of Constantinople and the East: William married Sibylla of Jerusalem, afterwards wife of Guy of Lusignan; Reiner married, in 1179 or 1180, Maria Comnena, the daughter of the emperor Manuel, who declared him Cæsar, and gave him the "Honour" of Thessalonica; Boniface, the hero of the fourth Crusade, married Margaret of Hungary, widow of Isaac Angelus, in 1204, after the close of Hoveden's History, and became *king* of Thessalonica. Du Cange, 187, 204. The confusion is probably between Reiner and Conrad.

[3] *eum abire*] eodem anno, ins. A. B. followed by a blank column.

A.D. 1180.

Annus xxvi^tus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis.

Henry keeps Christmas 1179–1180, at Nottingham.

Anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo octogesimo, qui erat annus vicesimus sextus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex fuit in Anglia die Natalis Domini apud Notingham: cui festo interfuit Willelmus rex Scottorum.

Benedict, i. 244.

Philip of France persecutes his relations.

Eodem anno Philippus rex Francorum, videns quod pater suus morbo laboraret paralytico, adhæsit in omnibus consilio Philippi comitis Flandriæ. Cujus consilio tyrannidem cœpit exercere in populo, et omnes quos noverat patri suo fuisse familiares, sprevit et odio habuit; et matrem suam adeo persequebatur, quod a dominatione sua expulit; et Willelmum Remensem archiepiscopum, et comitem Theobaldum et comitem Stephanum,[1] avunculos suos, graviter persequebatur. Quorum prece Henricus rex Angliæ filius transfretavit in Angliam, et indicavit patri suo excessus et inopportunitates [2] quas Philippus rex Franciæ faciebat matri suæ et avunculis suis per consilium comitis Flandriæ. Quo audito, rex Angliæ pater et rex Angliæ filius transfretaverunt in Normanniam ante Pascha. Venerunt ergo ad eos in Normanniam præfata regina Francorum, et cum ea comes Theobaldus, et comes Stephanus frater ejus, et alii quamplures viri nobiles de regno Franciæ. Et datis Regi Angliæ patri obsidibus, et præstitis sacramentis quod a consilio suo non recederent, adhæserunt ei. Quo facto rex Angliæ pater magnum congregavit exercitum de terris suis cismarinis et transmarinis, habens in proposito quod post Pascha intraret hostiliter terram regis Franciæ, in vindictam injuriarum quas ille novus rex Franciæ fecerat matri suæ et avunculis suis.

Benedict, i. 245.

The two Henries go over to France before Easter.

Henry II. undertakes to invade France.

Secunda coronatio Philippi regis Franciæ.

Philip's marriage.

Post Pascha vero Philippus rex Franciæ duxit in uxorem filiam [3] comitis de Hanou, neptem Philippi comitis Flandriæ,

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[1] *Stephanum*] count of Sancerre, 1152—1191.

[2] *inopportunitates*] importunitates, C.

[3] Isabella daughter of Baldwin V. count of Hainault, by Margaret, sister of Philip count of Flanders.

Benedict, i. 245. filiam sororis suæ; cui idem comes Flandriæ dedit in maritagio cum nepte sua totam terram de Vermundeis usque ad aquam de Lis.[1] Deinde statuit Philippus rex Franciæ, quod ipse et uxor ejus coronarentur die Pentecostes apud Senonem civitatem: sed per consilium comitis Flandriæ anticipavit terminum illum, et fecit se et uxorem suam coronari die Ascensionis apud Sanctum Dionysium ab archiepiscopo Senonensi. Quod cum Willelmo Remensi archiepiscopo constaret, indignatus est vehementer, et Alexandro summo pontifici conquestus est de transgressione Senonensis archiepiscopi, qui contra jus et dignitatem Remensis ecclesiæ regem Franciæ præsumpserat coronare.

A.D. 1180. The count of Flanders gives him Vermandois. Benedict, i. 246. He is crowned with his wife at S. Denys, May 29.

Deinde Philippus rex Franciæ, et Henricus rex Angliæ pater, convenerunt ad colloquium inter Gisortium et Trie. In quo colloquio rex Angliæ, nunc blandis nunc asperis, effecit versus regem Franciæ, quod ipse, contra consilium comitis Flandriæ et Roberti Clement,[2] omnem malitiam et indignationem, quas in animo adversus matrem et avunculos suos conceperat, remisit eis, et eos in debitam familiaritatem recepit; statuens quod singulis diebus solveret matri suæ septem libras Parisiorum ad quotidianum victum, et post decessum patris sui redderet ei dotalium suum plenarium et integrum, retentis sibi castellis et munitionibus.

Conference between Henry and Philip; (June 28, R. Diceto, 610,) and reconciliation of all parties.

In eodem colloquio rex Angliæ pater, ad abundantem cautelam, recepit homagium Philippi comitis Flandriæ, coram Philippo rege Franciæ; et pro homagio illo concessit ei mille marcas argenti singulis annis recipiendas Lundoniis ad scaccarium; ita tamen quod in recompensatione illarum mille marcarum comes Flandriæ inveniet singulis annis quingentos milites in obsequium regis Angliæ per spatium quadraginta dierum, quando summonitns inde fuerit.

Philip of Flanders does homage to Henry. Benedict, i. 247.

Lodowicus rex Francorum obiit.

Benedict, 250. Eodem anno Lodowicus rex Francorum obiit Parisius, mense Septembris, xiv. kalendas Octobris, feria quinta, et sepultus est in abbatia de Barbiaus. Deinde Philippus rex Franciæ, et Henricus rex Angliæ pater, convenerunt ad colloquium inter Gisorcium et Trie, ubi pacem et con-

Sept. 18. Lewis VII. dies.

[1] *aquam de Lis*] "usque ad "Los," Benedict, i. 245; "aquam "quæ vocatur Lis." ibid. p. 286.

[2] *Roberti Clement*] lord of Metz in the Gâtinois, father of Alberic the marshall of Philip II.

A.D. 1180. Confirmation of the alliance between Henry and Philip.

cordiam, fide et sacramentis hinc inde confirmatam, inter eos fecerunt in hunc modum: Benedict, i. 247, 250.

Concordia facta inter Philippum regem Francorum et Henricum regem Anglorum patrem; hæc est:—

The two Kings renew the treaty of Yvry;

"Ego Philippus Dei gratia rex Francorum, et ego Henricus eadem gratia rex Anglorum, volumus ad omnium tam præsentium quam futurorum pervenire notitiam, quod fœdus et amicitiam, fide media[1] et sacramento innovavimus, quam dominus meus Lodowicus rex Francorum et ego Henricus firmaveramus[2] inter nos coram Yveri, in præsentia Petri tituli Sancti Chrysogoni presbyteri cardinalis, apostolicæ sedis legati, et Ricardi Wintoniensis episcopi, et aliorum plurimorum episcoporum, comitum et baronum qui aderant; videlicet, quod sic sumus et a modo volumus esse amici, quod uterque nostrum alteri observabit vitam et membra et terrenum honorem suum contra omnes homines pro posse suo. Et si quæcunque persona alteri nostrum malum facere præsumpserit, ego Henricus juvabo Philippum regem Franciæ dominum meum contra omnes homines pro posse meo. Et ego Philippus juvabo Henricum regem Angliæ contra omnes homines pro posse meo, sicut hominem et fidelem meum, salva fide quam debemus hominibus nostris, quamdiu ipsi nobis fidem servabunt. Et neuter nostrum a modo retinebit inimicum alterius in terra sua, ex quo inde requisitus fuerit. Et ut inter nos tollatur a modo omnis materia discordiæ, concessimus ad invicem, quod de terris et possessionibus, et omnibus aliis rebus, quas modo habemus, alter adversus alterum nihil a modo petet, excepto eo de Alvernia unde contentio inter nos est, et excepto feodo de Castro Radulfi, et exceptis minutis feodis et divisis terrarum nostrarum de Berri, si homines nostri aliquid interceperint inter se vel adversus alterum nostrum. Si autem super his quæ superius excepta sunt per nosmetipsos convenire non poterimus, ego Philippus rex Francorum elegi tres episcopos, Claremontensem, Nivernensem, Trecensem; et tres barones, comitem Theobaldum, et comitem Robertum, et Petrum de Curtena, patruos meos: et ego Henricus rex Angliæ elegi tres episcopos, Willelmum Cenomannensem, Petrum Petragoricensem, Robertum Nam-

Benedict, i. 247. — for mutual assistance, — and peace, Auvergne and Châteauroux being referred to arbitration. — Benedict, i. 248. — Names of the arbitrators.

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[1] *media*] mediantibus, C.

[2] The peace of Yvry in 1177; *see* above, p. 144. The treaty in the text was made June 28, (R. de Diceto, 610,) and confirmed after the death of Lewis. *Ben. Pet.*, i. 247, 250.

Benedict, i. 248.

A.D. 1180.

Renewal of the treaty of Yvry.

" netensem; et tres barones, Mauricium de Croum, Willelmum " Maingot, Petrum de Monte Rabel, ex parte mea, qui in- " quisita veritate hinc inde, tam per seipsos quam per jura- " menta hominum terrarum illarum, prædicti episcopi in " verbo veritatis asserent, et laici jurabunt, quod quicquid " cognoverint de jure alterius nostrum esse, hoc inter nos " dicent, et nos eorum dicto bona fide firmiter stabimus. Si " vero omnes illi episcopi quos ego Philippus elegi interesse " non poterunt, nihilominus stabimus dicto illorum duorum " qui intererunt; et si omnes barones ex parte mea nominati " non intererunt, pro eo non remanebit, quin stemus dicto " illorum duorum qui intererunt. Et similiter de illis quos " ego Henricus elegi, tam de Episcopis quam de baronibus. " Juravimus etiam quod nullum malum faciemus eis propter " hoc, quod veritatem dixerint. Et si forte, quod Deus avertat, " inter nos de terris nostris aliqua querela oriatur, per " eosdem bona fide, et sine malo ingenio, sine dilatione ter- " minetur. Si autem aliqua prædictarum personarum interim " mortua fuerit, altera loco ipsius substituatur. Si vero alter " nostrum iter peregrinationis arripere voluerit, alter qui " remanebit, terram illius qui in peregrinatione erit, et " homines, sicut sua propria et dominica fideliter custodiet " et manutenebit, et defendet contra omnes homines, sicut " ego Philippus defenderem civitatem meam Parisius, si esset " obsessa, et sicut ego Henricus defenderem civitatem meam " Rothomagi si esset obsessa. Ego etiam Philippus volo, quod " mercatores et omnes tam clerici quam laici de terra Henrici " regis Angliæ, cum omnibus rebus suis securi sint, et habeant " pacem per omnes terras meas. Et ego Henricus similiter " volo, quod mercatores et omnes homines tam clerici quam " laici de terra domini mei regis Franciæ, securi sint et " pacem habeant per omnes terras meas. Hæc autem omnia " supradicta nos observaturos et fide et sacramento pro- " misimus. Juraverunt etiam de præcepto nostro homines " nostri post nos, quod bona fide consulent nos ad observan- " dum quod juravimus, nec consilium præstabunt quo minus " observetur."

Provisions in view of a crusade.

Confirmation by the vassals of both kings.

Benedict, i. 249.

History of Henry the Lion.

Eodem anno Fredericus Romanorum imperator expulit a regno suo Henricum ducem Saxoniæ; cujus expulsionis causa hæc est. In primis[1] itaque notandum est,

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[1] *In primis, &c.*] Leibnitz, *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium*, i. 876, dismisses this piece of information as "fabula." The story as given in the text differs altogether from that of Benedict; and certainly contains some particulars which are untrue.

A.D. 1180. Ten princes keep the gates of Cologne;

quod decem principes constituti sunt custodes portarum civitatis Coloniæ, quorum nomina hæc sunt:

Dux de Lemburc.[1]
Dux Saxoniæ.
Dux de Saringes.
Dux de Saxlande.
Dux de Luvain.
Comes de Wilch.
Comes de Loo.
Comes de Gerle.
Comes Palatinus de Reno.
Comes de .[2]

and have pensions from the church of S. Peter.

Et hi decem sunt homines archiepiscopi Coloniæ, et habent singulis annis de mensa Sancti Petri Coloniæ duo millia marcarum argenti in retributione custodiarum suarum. Præterea archiepiscopus Coloniæ multos habet redditus, maximos autem in ducatu Saxoniæ, quos Henricus dux Saxoniæ, gener Henrici regis Angliæ, injuste occupavit, et occupatos detinuit.

Quarrels of Henry the Lion with the archbishop of Cologne and with the emperor.

Unde Reginaldus[3] Coloniensis archiepiscopus conquestus est domino suo Frederico Romanorum imperatori. Præterea ipse imperator calumniatus est præfatum ducem de perjurio, de fide læsa, de læsione majestatis imperialis, et eum citari fecit, ut veniret in curiam suam, satisfacturus tam sibi quam archiepiscopo Coloniensi. Venit igitur, data ei securitate veniendi et redeundi. Et cum multa objicerentur ei de fide læsa, de perjurio, de læsione majestatis imperii, et de

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[1] Of these names, Lemburc, Saxonia, Saringes, Luvain, and Comes Palatinus, speak for themselves; Wilch is no doubt miswritten for *Julich*, or *Gulich;* Loo is Loos, or Loss; Gerle is Guelders; Saxland may be a misunderstanding of *Elsass:* for the last name Leibnitz proposes Arensberg; for Wilch, *Wieth;* and for Gerle, *Cleve.*

[2] Blank in A. B. and D.; Laumual, C.; Larmual, Savile.

[3] Reginald of Dassel, archbishop of Cologne, died in 1167. The enemy of Henry the Lion was Philip of Heinsberg, archbishop from 1167—1191, in whose favour Westphalia and Angria, wrested from Henry, were erected into a duchy and attached to the see of Cologne.

A.D. 1180. Henry is condemned to forfeit his duchy.

injuriis archiepiscopo Coloniensi illatis; et cum ipse ad objecta cum consilio suorum respondere deberet, ascendit equos suos, et abiit, nullo dato responso; et imperator petiit de illo sibi fieri judicium; et judicatum est illum demeruisse ducatum suum,[1] et data est licentia archiepiscopo Coloniensi intrandi cum exercitu terram ducis Saxoniæ, in vindictam injuriarum quas dux ei fecerat. Et ipse imperator cum magno exercitu intravit terram ducis Saxoniæ, et eam devastavit ferro, flamma, fame, et ad tantam ducem illum coegit inopiam, quod ipse posuit se in misericordiam imperatoris, et abjuravit terram suam per septem annos in misericordiam imperatoris, et exulans venit ad Henricum regem Angliæ patrem uxoris suæ.

Devastation of Saxony and exile of Henry for seven years.

Benedict, i. 287.

The emperor remits four years of exile.

Tamen ipse imperator postmodum, prece Alexandri summi pontificis, et Philippi regis Franciæ, et Henrici regis Angliæ, et Philippi comitis Flandriæ, relaxavit præfato duci Saxoniæ quatuor annos de injuncto sibi exilio.

Benedict, i. 250, 251.

Death of Manuel Comnenus and succession of Alexius.

Eodem anno[2] obiit Manuel Constantinoplitanus imperator, et Alexis filius ejus, qui filiam Lodowici regis Franciæ in uxorem duxerat, successit ei in imperio; qui duobus annis pacifice regnavit. Sed interim Maria mater ejus, filia Raimundi[3] principis Antiochiæ, quendam habebat amasium, qui vocabatur Græce Prothosovastos,[4] Latine vero comes Palati-

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[1] The date of the sentence of deprivation passed against Henry the Lion at Würtzburg, is January 15, 1180. The date of the division of his estates, April 13. Böhmer, *Regesta*, p. 140.

[2] Du Cange gives the dates of these events thus: death of Manuel, 1180, September 24; murder of Maria, August 27, 1183; death of Alexius, about the end of 1183; death of Andronicus, September, 1185: but there is considerable discrepancy in the authorities; and even here Hoveden differs from Benedict in placing the murder of Maria after instead of before the association of Andronicus in the imperial dignity. The story seems to have much interest for English writers. *See* R. de Diceto, 614; Will. Newb., iii. 4; Walter de Mapes, *de Nugis Curialium*, ed. Wright, p. 90.

[3] *Raimundi*] Mary was daughter of Raymond of Poictiers and Constantia of Antioch; and sister of Bohemond III.

[4] *Prothosovastos*] Alexius Comnenus Protovestiarius, and Protosevastos, son of Andronicus Sebastocrátor, son of the emperor John Comnenus; nephew therefore of Manuel. Du Cange, 182.

A.D. 1180. Attempt of the empress Mary to poison Alexius.

nus, quem prædicta imperatrix tam execrabili et vehementi amore dilexerat, quod Alexim filium ejus imperatorem morti tradere volebat, ut sic amasium suum ad summum proveheret imperii gradum. Et cum dies opportunus accidisset, dedit imperatori filio suo venenum bibere. Quo hausto, statim venenum per tenera membra diffusum, pene eum incontinenti suffocavit. At tandem per doctorum physicorum medicamenta vix evasit cum vita. Et volens sibi præcavere in posterum, misit pro Androneo [1] filio fratris Manuelis patris sui, et associavit eum sibi in regnum. Cujus consilio matrem suam cepit et incarceravit; et post longam carceris macerationem, ligatam in sacco submergi fecit in mare quod dicitur Mare Majus, anchora alligata collo ejus. Et Prothosovastos amasium matris suæ excæcavit, et testiculos illi abscidi fecit

Benedict, i. 251.

Benedict, i. 252.

He takes Andronicus for his chief counsellor and drowns his mother.

Coronation of Alexius.

Post exiguum vero temporis, videns Androneus quod plurimum placeret populo, quadam die solemni, ad argumentum veræ fidei et summæ dilectionis, portavit in humeris suis Alexim imperatorem a palatio suo usque ad ecclesiam Sanctæ Sophiæ, et eum ibi coronari fecit a Basilio,[2] ejusdem civitatis patriarcha, et juravit ei, sicut domino suo ligio, fidelitatem contra omnes homines coram omni populo.

Andronicus is admitted to a share in the empire,

Quibus perfectis, Alexis imperator tradidit prænominato Androneo potestatem exercendi omnes voluntates suas et justitias in populum. Post multum vero temporis venit Androneus ad Alexim imperatorem, dicens quod populus noluit mandatis ejus obedire, et petiit ut ipse aliquem præficeret populo cujus mandatis obediret. Cui Alexis ait, "Ego elegi te "et constitui super populum meum, et alium nescio, in "quo magis confido." Et respondens Androneus dixit, "Si vis ut regam populum tuum, fac me coronari "coram populo, ut sciat omnis populus quod ego reg-"naturus sum sub te, super omnes gentes quæ sub "dominatione tua sunt." Et imperator non intelligens quod "omnis potestas impatiens consortis erit," concessit quod petebat. Et convocatis clero et populo imperii, Alexis

Benedict, i. 253.

Lucan, Phars. i. 92.

[1] Andronicus, son of Isaac Comnenus Sebastocrator brother of the emperor John. Du Cange, 189, 190.

[2] *Basilio*] Basil was patriarch from 1183 to 1185.

Benedict, i. 253. imperator fecit se et Androneum simul coronari a prædicto patriarcha in ecclesia Sanctæ Sophiæ. A.D. 1180. and is crowned.

Parvo igitur temporis spatio elapso, alter alteri invidit, et quod uni illorum placuit, alteri displicuit. "Nulla" enim "fides" erit "regni sociis, omnisque potestas impatiens con-"sortis erit." Androneus tamen simulatam dilectionem prætendens, sub velamento dilectionis insidiabatur domino suo imperatori;[1] et ipse nihil horum cogitans minus sibi præcavebat. "Nullus namque perniciosior hostis est, quam "familiaris inimicus." Nacta igitur opportunitate temporis et loci, Androneus per consilium Basilii patriarchæ Alexim imperatorem dominum suum morti tradidit, et Agnetem filiam regis Franciæ, uxorem suam, sibi in uxorem accepit; et tyrannidem exercebat in populum, et non tantum in populum, verum etiam omnes nobiles imperii aut morti tradebat, aut oculis et testiculis privatos ab imperio fugabat.

Lucan, Pharsalia, i. 92.

Andronicus puts Alexius to death, and usurps the throne, (A.D. 1183).

Benedict, i. 254.

Erat autem in partibus illis quidam juvenis nomine Ysaac, filius sororis Manuelis imperatoris defuncti, qui cum vidisset tyrannidem quam Androneus exercebat in principes imperii, timuit eum valde: et fugiens a facie ejus magnum congregavit exercitum, et commisit prælium cum Soltano Yconii, et captus est in prælio a Rupino[2] de La Muntangne, qui venit auxiliari Soltano Yconii. Quem cum cepisset, et tradere voluisset Soltano Yconii, Soltanus noluit eum recipere, sed donavit eum Rupino. Qui cum domum rediisset, misit eum domino suo Raimundo,[3] principi Antiochiæ: quem lætus suscipiens petiit ab eo sexaginta millia bisantiorum de redemptione; et spopondit. Et missis nunciis suis ad divites insulæ de Cipre, postulavit ab eis auxilium ad redimendum se. Qui inito consilio miserunt ei xxx. millia bisantiorum, quæ ipse tradidit principi Antiochiæ, et pro residuo debiti tradidit ipse filium et filiam suam obsides. Et sic liberatus a carcere principis Antiochiæ venit in insulam de Cypre, et principes insulæ receperunt eum, et constituerunt dominum suum. Unde ipse in superbiam elatus coronam fecit sibi imperialem, et fecit se coronari et sanctum imperatorem vocari. Ad terminum autem inter illos constitutum misit ad eum princeps Antiochiæ pro residuo debiti, scilicet pro triginta millibus

Adventures of Isaac Comnenus, ending in his becoming sovereign of Cyprus.

Benedict, i. 255.

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[1] *imperatori*] quia sub favo mellis latebant venena proditionis, ins. C.

[2] *Rupino*] Rupin of the Mountain, prince of Armenia, predecessor of Leo the first king.

[3] *Raimundo*] Properly Bohemond III., 1163—1201.

A.D. 1180. The ransom of the emperor of Cyprus captured by pirates.

bisantiorum: sed imperator de Cypre noluit illa tradere nunciis principis, sed tradidit illa fratribus Templi ad defendendum[1] principi Antiochiæ. Quibus proficiscentibus occurrerunt piratæ, et abstulerunt eis memoratam pecuniam. Quod eum constaret imperatori de Cypre, dixit hoc factum fuisse per insidias principis Antiochiæ, et juravit se de cætero nunquam pecuniam illam redditurum. Unde factum est, quod filius et filia illius remanserunt per biennium obsides in manu principis Antiochiæ.[2] Qui tandem, cum vidisset quod imperator de Cypre nollet obsides suos redimere, pietate commotus permisit eos abire liberos. Benedict, i. 255.

Tyranny of Andronicus; he persecutes the family of Angelus.

Interim Androneus imperator Constantinopolitanus, consilio et auxilio Basilii patriarchæ, totius imperii monarchiam obtinuit, et diadema imperii capiti suo et uxoris suæ imposuit; et in tyrannide perseverans, quoslibet nobiles imperii, aut oculis privatos, aut aliis cæsis membris, in exilium mittebat. Inter quos erat quidam nobilis vir dictus Androneus Angelus, qui fuerat cancellarius Manuelis imperatoris, quem Græci vocabant Laucete.[3] Hunc ergo cum duobus filiis suis fecit Androneus imperator excæcari et ementulari, et fugavit a patria. Benedict, i. 256.

History of Isaac Angelus.

Præterea prædictus Androneus Angelus tertium habebat filium clericum sapientem, quem Græci nominabant Sacwice, Latini autem vocabant eum Tursakyum[4] Angelum. Hic autem ea tempestate persecutionis in Francia profectus, Parisius morabatur, et scholas frequentabat, ut in doctrinis Latinorum linguam et mores illorum disceret. Qui cum patris sui et fratrum flebiles audisset eventus, consolaturus eos citius advenit: et transitum faciens per quandam Græciæ insulam, invenit ibi quendam virum religiosum solitariæ vitæ deditum, et habentem spiritum propheticum, qui quondam exstiterat archiepiscopus in civitatem Tyri, et malens militare Deo quam

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[1] *defendendum*] deferendum, C.

[2] "Scilicet usque ad illud tem- "pus quo terra Jerusalem capta "fuit a Saladino," add. Bened.,— thus fixing the date of this transaction to the year 1185.

[3] *Laucete*] Andronicus Angelus the Logothete was the son of Constantine Angelus by Theodora Comnena, daughter of the emperor Alexius Comnenus I.

[4] *Tursakyum*] Isaac Angelus. The chronicle of Benedict is consistent in calling him Ysakius; Hoveden calls him sometimes the one and sometimes the other. Tursakius is of course Kyrios Isaac; *T* being a clerical error for *C*, common to many western writers. But the first syllable is written over an erasure in A. each time that it occurs in this episode.

Benedict, i. 256.

A.D. 1180. He visits a hermit,

sæculo, archiepiscopatum suum reliquerat, et in insula illa solus habitabat; cujus deliciæ erant radices herbarum sylvestrium, et haustus aquæ potus. Et accedens ad sanctum virum illum indicavit ei et nomen suum et genus et itineris sui causam.

who foretells that he will be emperor.

Cumque vir sanctus omnia auscultasset, in fletum prorupit, sciens pium esse flere cum flentibus et dolere cum dolentibus. Post fletum, modis omnibus quibus dolorem potuit juvenis lenire conatus est. Et ait illi, "Revertere in civitatem "Constantinopolitanam, et esto robustus, quia dabit eam Domi- "nus in manu tua, et dominaberis in ea, et eris imperator, "et ex te egredientur imperatores, qui regnabunt post te: "et ecce Basilius patriarcha et principes imperii quærunt te "ut tui sint, et habeant te pro domino et imperatore "suo. Et noli diffugere quod præparavit tibi Deus et præ- "destinavit." Credidit ergo illi Tursakius, et abiit in civitatem Constantinopolitanam pauper et mendicus; et non ausus manifestare se palam populo, quia nondum venerat hora ejus, mansit in suburbio solus cum uno solo pedite, unum solum runcinum debilem et claudum habens, et expectans expectavit promissum supradicti sancti viri. Et veniebant ad eum frequenter principes terræ et patriarcha, non palam tamen, sed in occulto, propter metum imperatoris. Imperator autem jam erat odiosus omnibus, et ipse omnes odio habebat, ipsum etiam patriarcham, qui eum promoverat, adeo persequebatur, quod contra voluntatem illius construxit ecclesiam quandam nobilem in civitate, et in ea constituit canonicos Latinos, quæ usque in hodiernum diem dicitur Latina.

Benedict, i. 257.

He returns to Constantinople and remains in hiding.

Conspiracy against Andronicus.

Andronicus consults his soothsayers, who warn him against Isaac Angelus.

Post multum vero temporis prædictus Androneus[1] imperator, male sibi conscius, per magos suos scire voluit si adhuc esset aliquis quem oporteret eum vereri. Qui responderunt ei, "Date nobis puerum innocentem ad mactandum, et inducias "triduanas, et nos indicabimus tibi quod petis." Et statim datus est eis puer innocens, quem immolaverunt dæmoniis, et in sanguine illius et intestinis per magicas artes diu inquirentes, cognoverunt per indicia quod exterminium imperii illius festinabat, et mors ejus in januis, et qui eum morti traderet prope erat, et vocabatur Tursakius Angelus. Postera autem die venerunt supradicti magi ad Androneum imperatorem, et dixerunt ei: "Nunc venerunt super te peccata "tua, quæ operabaris cum sederes pro tribunali innocentes "opprimens, et sanguinem justum sine causa damnares. Dies

[1] The account of the fall of Andronicus is given with several variations from the chronicle of Benedict.

A.D. 1180. Declaration of the soothsayers.

"enim perditionis tuæ festinant, et ecce jam prope est qui "te perdet, et imperium tuum obtinebit, et ipse vocatur Tur-"sakius Angelus. Ipse quidem te post inauditos pœnarum "cruciatus sævissima morte damnabit, et actus ejus in ore "populi celebrabitur, et ipse erit cibus narrantibus, et reg-"nabit super nos, et posteri ejus sequentur sceptrum. Malo "tuo patrem et fratres ejus oculis et aliis bonis privasti. Ille "jam in suburbio civitatis hujus est. Illum ergo diffuge, "si diffugere vales." Benedict, i. 258.

Andronicus attempts to arrest Isaac Angelus.

Cum autem cognovisset Androneus quod ille advenisset qui eum morti traderet, misit cancellarium suum cum militibus et servientibus armatis ad comprehendendum illum. Qui cum venissent ad hospitium illius, invenerunt januas clausas. Et qui præibant alta voce clamabant, "Aperite no-"bis portas, aperite; ecce cancellarius imperatoris venit:" et dixerunt, "Tursaky, exi foras." Videns tunc Tursakius quod illi januas frangerent, nisi ipse celerius exisset, sellam equo suo velociter imposuit, et ascendens in eo, accinxit sibi gladium, et aperiens portas celerius exivit, et vibrans gladium in obstantes fecit sibi viam, et irruens in cancellarium amputavit caput ejus. Cæteri autem stabant attoniti, et nemo misit in eum manum. Ipse vero per medium illorum transiens civitatem intravit, et per medium illius progrediens venit ad ecclesiam Sanctæ Sophiæ. Et invento ibi Basilio patriarcha, cecidit ad pedes ejus, et narravit ei omnia quæ illi acciderant. Et patriarcha elevans eum a terra dixit universæ plebi: "Accedite huc, et videte hominem quem elegit "Sibi Dominus regnaturum super nos: dicite ergo quid vobis "inde videtur." Et responderunt omnes, "Placet nobis "quod ille dominus noster sit, et quod ille regnet super nos, "et ut abjiciamus perfidum illum Androneum, qui nos et gen-"tem nostram destruit." Consensit ergo patriarcha voluntati plebis, quia et[1] ipse voluit, et illico consecravit illum in imperatorem. Et missa celebrata, et omnibus rite perfectis, patriarcha introduxit illum in domum suam, et fecit convivium magnum cum principibus et tribunis civitatis, erat enim dies festus, et convenit illuc multitudo plebis et seniorum.

He takes refuge in the church of S. Sophia.

He is received as emperor by the people.

Benedict i. 259.

Andronicus shuts himself up in his palace.

Interim Androneus imperator egressus fuerat a palatio suo ut videret finem Ysakii Angeli, ad quem comprehendendum miserat cancellarium suum. Qui cum audisset quod prædictus cancellarius esset interfectus, et quod Ysakius Angelus factus esset imperator, regressus est in palatium suum, et clausa est janua.

[1] *quia et*] nam hoc, Savile with C.

Benedict, i. 259.

A.D. 1180.

The fall of Andronicus. (A.D. 1185.)

Venit ergo novus imperator cum multa plebe armata, et obsedit palatium Andronei. Et ex improviso supervenit corvus quidam ingens, niger et horribilis, et sedens supra murum palatii contra faciem Andronei imperatoris, corvinam vocem in eum terribilem edidit. Quod ipse conjiciens pronosticum esse dejectionis et confusionis suæ, arcum suum arripuit et tetendit: et cum trahere in eum sagittam conaretur, fractus est arcus ejus, quem ipse ad pedes ejus projecit iratus; dicens, "Nunc scio vere quod dies perditionis meæ festinant, et ira "Dei cecidit super me." Et adhuc illo loquente, homines novi imperatoris undique per muros ascenderunt in palatium, et Androneum imperatorem ceperunt, et ligatum tradiderunt novo imperatori. Cui ipse dixit, "Nunc justo Dei judicio "venerunt super te peccata tua, quibus iram demeruisti, op"primens innocentes; et dominum tuum Alexim imperatorem "peremisti, et patrem meum et fratres meos et alios nobiles "regni excæcasti: et ideo morte pessima morieris." Et tradidit eum tortoribus dicens, "Accipite eum et flagellatum "ducite per vicos et plateas civitatis, et habete potestatem "eruendi ei oculum unum et auriculam unam, et pugnum "unum et pedem unum: vitam autem ejus et cætera illius "membra servate ad majora tormenta." Quibus expletis novus imperator tradidit illum iterum aliis tortoribus, qui spargentes super eum paleam, ignem apposuerunt lateribus ejus, et combusserunt donec tota cutis illius contraheretur in rugam. Deinde ligaverunt eum ad caudas equorum, et sic trahentes eum per medium civitatis projecerunt extra civitatem mortuum. Venerunt ergo ad Tursakium imperatorem viri religiosi habitantes in civitate illa in ecclesia quæ dicitur Latina, et petierunt corpus ejus; et ipse donavit eis corpus ejus. Et ipsi sepelierunt illud in ecclesia sua, quam ipse construxerat: sed manus ejus abscisa ferreis catenis suspensa est in patibulo. Deinde ex præcepto Ysakii imperatoris et totius cleri et populi consultu diffinitum est, ut quicquid Andronens fieri voluit cassaretur. Hinc factum est, ut omnes qui voluntate Andronei exules fuerant ad propria remearent. Præterea Ysakius imperator duos filios Andronei interfecit: et præcavens sibi in posterum, supradictum Basilium patriarcham deposuit, et in monasterium intrusit. Et misit pro illo qui sibi ventura prædixerat,[1] et constituit eum patri-

Benedict, i. 260. — Benedict, i. 259. — Benedict, i. 260.

Isaac Angelus sentences to torture and death. — His burial. — His acts annulled. — Deposition of the patriarch.

[1] Benedict mentions an intermediate patriarch, who retired and became a hermit; but it is impossible to reconcile this account of the changes with the received chronology of the patriarchate.

A.D. 1180. Changes in the patriarchate.

archam contra voluntatem canonicorum ecclesiæ Sanctæ Sophiæ. Et ortum est inter illos schisma, adeo quod nullus voluit obedire. Et quia ille homo pacis erat, et noluit illis contendere, ipse seipsum deposuit: et imperator constitutit eum summum judicem in ecclesiasticis causis super omnes ecclesias imperii sui. Benedict, i. 260, 261.

Marriage of Isaac Angelus.

Deinde imperator Ysakius consilio suorum duxit in uxorem filiam Belæ[1] regis Hungariæ, de qua ipse genuit filios, et filias, quarum unam Rogerus[2] rex Siciliæ, filius Tancredi regis Siciliæ, in uxorem duxit.[3]

New coinage in England.

Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ pater novam fecit monetam in Anglia, et monetarios redemit propter corruptionem veteris monetæ. Benedict, i. 263.

Disputed election of a bishop of S. Andrews.

Eodem anno Ricardus episcopus Sancti Andreæ[4] in Scotia obiit: quo defuncto, statim fit schisma de electione pontificis. Canonici enim de ecclesia Sancti Andreæ elegerunt sibi in episcopum magistrum Johannem cognomento Scottum: et Willelmus rex Scottorum elegit Hugonem capellanum suum, et consecrari fecit ab episcopis regni sui, super[5] appellationem a prædicto Johanne electo ad dominum papam factam. Benedict, i. 250.

Mission of Alexius.

Unde factum est quod Alexander summus pontifex misit Alexim Romanæ ecclesiæ subdiaconum[6] in Scotiam, ad cognoscendam controversiam quæ erat inter Johannem electum et Hugonem consecratum, et ad illam determinandam. Benedict, i. 251.

Examination of the election.

Qui cum in Scotiam venisset, et coram clero et populo regni diu tractasset de electione Johannis et Hugonis, et de consecratione ipsius Hugonis, et cognovisset quod præfatus Benedict, i. 264.

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[1] *Belæ*] Bela III., 1174—1196.

[2] *Rogerus*] The marriage of Roger son of Tancred with Urania (Irene) daughter of Isaac Angelus, is recorded by Richard de S. Germano, in 1191. Roger was crowned king on the occasion of the wedding. He died in Sicily in 1193 (Ric. de S. Germ., ed. Pertz, pp. 8, 14), and cannot therefore be the count Roger of Apulia whose death at the siege of Acre is recorded in Benedict, ii. 148. Irene afterwards married Philip of Swabia, king of the Romans.

[3] *duxit*] Hoveden omits here the account of the tyranny of Isaac Comnenus in Cyprus given by Benedict.

[4] Richard bishop of S. Andrews died, according to the Chronicle of Holyrood, in the summer of 1179; according to that of Melrose in 1178; according to Fordun, March 28, 1177.

[5] *super*] contra, Savile with C.

[6] Afterwards cardinal priest of the title of S. Susanna, in 1188.

Benedict, i. 264.

Johannes canonice fuisset electus; et quod Hugo post appellationem ad Romanum pontificem factam in episcopatum Sancti Andreæ per regem violenter esset intrusus: eum sine dilatione de episcopatu Sancti Andreæ deposuit, et perpetuum ei silentium auctoritate qua fungebatur imposuit; et electionem quæ de Johanne facta fuit confirmavit, et eum ab episcopis Scotiæ, rege nec prohibente nec contradicente, immo per consilium episcoporum regni permittente, in episcopum Sancti Andreæ consecrari fecit.[1] Sed rex statim post consecrationem suam prohibuit ei ne ipse in regno suo moram faceret. Hugo vero non minus gerebat se episcopum quam antea, et asportatis secum capella episcopali et baculo et annulo, cum cæteris quæ illicite detinebat, Romam iturus abiit. Et quia ipse asportata reddere noluit, Alexis excommunicavit eum, et summus pontifex sententiam illam confirmavit. Unde ipse in hac forma[2] scripsit episcopis et aliis viris ecclesiasticis de regno Scotiæ:

A.D. 1180. Alexius confirms the election of John,

and excommunicates Hugh, the king's candidate.

Epistola Alexandri papæ super Johanne et Hugone episcopis Sancti Andreæ.[3]

"Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus "fratribus universis episcopis, et dilectis filiis abbatibus, et "aliis ecclesiarum prælatis per Scotiam constitutis, priori, "canonicis, clero et populo Sancti Andreæ, salutem et apo"stolicam benedictionem. Comperto nobis, quod jampridem "venerabilis frater noster Johannes, nunc episcopus Sancti "Andreæ, canonice fuisset electus, et post electionem suam "Hugo, appellatione interposita, in ecclesia illa per potentiam "laicalem intrusus, consecrari ausu temerario præsumpsisset; "electionem ipsius apostolica auctoritate cassantes, dilectum "filium nostrum Alexium subdiaconum nostrum, sedis aposto"licæ legatum, de electione præfati Johannis cogniturum, ad "partes vestras direximus. Qui cum mature satis, sicut per

The pope sent Alexius to learn the truth of the case in the election to S. Andrews.

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[1] The date of the consecration of John is given in the Chronicle of Holyrood as the octave of Whitsunday, 1180; and by that of Melrose, vi. id. Junii, which was Whitsunday itself. As the ceremony took place at Holyrood, the former is probably the best authority.

[2] *in hac forma*] This refers properly to the second letter: "Relatum "est nobis."

[3] This letter is not in Benedict; it probably belongs to 1181.

A.D. 1180.

Alexius found the election of John to be canonical; but no one dared obey him for fear of the king.

" multorum testimonia nobis innotuit, et canonice processisset; " electionem ipsius canonicam comperiens, post multiplices " inducias, in quibus regiæ magnitudini detulit, auctoritate " apostolica confirmavit, præcipiens omnibus qui ad eccle- " siam Sancti Andreæ pertinerent ex parte nostra, ut ipsi " Johanni, sicut electo, obedientiam et reverentiam exhiberent. " Unde cum nullus propter metum regium in manifesto obe- " dire auderet, idem legatus non regnum, sicut de jure " poterat, sed episcopatum interdicto subjecit. Cum igitur tam " ecclesiastici quam sæculares principes a carissimo in Christo " filio nostro Willelmo illustri Scottorum rege districtius ad- " jurati fuissent, de recto consilio dando, firmiter promittente " ipso rege quod eorum consilio staret, responderunt omnes " tanquam unus, ut præfati Johannis consecrationem coram " legato nostro et quatuor episcopis, quinto ægrotante sed " scripto consentiente, celebratam ulterius non turbaret, sed " permitteret eum in pace sua sede consecrari. Inde est quod " universitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, atque " sub officii et beneficii pœna præcipimus, quatenus spiritum " fortitudinis induentes, ipsum episcopum, infra octo dies post " harum susceptionem litterarum, honorifice, appellatione post- " posita, ad sedem suam reducatis, et pro servanda ecclesiastica " justitia prudenter et viriliter laboretis, et ad placandum " motum regium adhibeatis operam diligentem; atque præ- " fato episcopo omnem exhibeatis reverentiam et honorem, " quem ipsius prædecessoribus impendistis. Quod si rex aliud " voluerit, aut etiam consilio pravorum inclinatus fuerit, Deo " et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ magis oportet obedire quam " hominibus: alioquin sententiam, quam venerabilis frater " noster Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus in contumaces et rebelles " tulerit, nos auctore Deo ratam habebimus, et præcipimus " firmiter observari."

He orders that John shall be recognized as bishop.

Item: Epistola Alexandri papæ super eodem negotio.

The pope has learned that bishop Hugh has carried off the episcopal insigna.

Benedict, i. 265.

"Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus " fratribus et dilectis filiis ecclesiarum prælatis per Scotiam " constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Relatum " est nobis, quod cum Hugo, qui ecclesiam Sancti Andreæ de " Scotia invaserat, capellam episcopalem, baculum et annulum, " et cætera quæ irrationabiliter asportaverat, illicite detineret, " eum frequentius admonitum resipiscere contemnentem, dilec- " tus filius noster Alexius subdiaconus noster, apostolicæ sedis " legatus, coram vobis et clero multo et populo, nisi infra

Benedict, i. 265. " quindecim dies ablata vel asportata redderet, vel congrue " satisfaceret, vinculo excommunicationis, apostolica auctoritate " fretus, astrinxit. Ipse tamen in arrogantiæ malo perdurans, " in nullo præfati legati monitis acquievit. Nos itaque senten- " tiam de auctoritate nostra prolatam ratam habentes, univer- " sitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus atque præci- " pimus, quatenus præfatum Hugonem, Dei gratia freti et " timore postposito, publice, nullius appellatione obstante, " vinculo denuncietis excommunicationis astrictum, et sicut " excommunicatum attentius evitetis, donec quæ de scriptis[1] " rebus abstulit, vel æstimationem, fratri nostro Johanni, epi- " scopo Sancti Andreæ, et ecclesiæ suæ restituat, et de aliis " quæ destruxit satisfactionem exhibeat congruentem."

A.D. 1180. He has been excommunicated by Alexius; and that sentence is now confirmed.

Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus factus est legatus in Scotia.

Benedict, i. 264. Præterea dominus papa concessit Rogero, Eboracensi archiepiscopo, legatiam in Scotia: et præcepit ei, quod ipse sententiam excommunicationis, una cum Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo, proferret in regem Scottorum, et regnum illius interdiceret, nisi ipse permisisset præfatum Johannem tenere episcopatum suum in pace, et nisi dedisset ei securitatem pacis servandæ illi. Et idem papa districte et in vi obedientiæ inhibuit Johanni episcopo Sancti Andreæ, ne alicujus amore aut timore, vel suggestione aliqua seu voluntate, ecclesiam Sancti Andreæ, ad quam consecratus est, et auctoritate apostolica confirmatus, ausu temerario præsumeret derelinquere, vel aliam recipere: adjungens quod si attentaverit, sine exceptione aliqua auferret ei utramque. Unde summus pontifex in hac forma scripsit:

Roger archbishop of York is made legate for Scotland and ordered to put that kingdom under interdict.

Epistola Alexandri papæ ad Willelmum regem Scottorum pro eodem negotio.

Benedict, i. 263. " Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Willelmo illustri " Scottorum regi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Pro " pace tua et libertate sollicite nos meminimus laborasse, spe- " rantes quod ex hoc in devotione sedis apostolicæ melius " firmareris et cresceres, et libentius servares ecclesiasticam " libertatem. Cæterum attendentes circa factum venerabilis " fratris nostri Johannis, episcopi Sancti Andreæ de Scotia,

The pope remonstrates with the king of Scots.

[1] *scriptis*] supradictis, Savile with C.

A.D. 1180.

He desires him to receive John as bishop, under pain of excommunication.

Benedict, i. 263.

"volueris usque modo inclinari, contrarium spei, quam de "fervore devotionis regiæ habeamus, cogimur æstimare. Vo- "lentes tamen experiri adhuc si patientia nostra ad pœniten- "tiam regium motum adducat: magnitudinem tuam per apo- "stolica scripta monemus attentius et mandamus, quatenus "memorato episcopo infra viginti dies post harum susceptio- "nem litterarum pacem et securitatem largiaris, ita quod non "oporteat eum de indignatione regia dubitare. Alioquin no- "veris nos venerabili fratri nostro Rogero Eboracensi archi- "episcopo, apostolicæ sedis legato in Scotia, mandasse, ut "regnum tuum nullius appellatione obstante subjiciat inter- "dicto, excommunicationis sententiam in personam tuam, si "desistere nolueris, prolaturus. Pro certo quoque teneas, "quod si in tua duxeris violentia perdurandum, sicut laboravi- "mus ut regnum tuum libertatem haberet, sic dabimus stu- "dium ut in pristinam subjectionem revertatur."

The king banishes bishop John and is excommunicated.

Benedict i. 265.

Sed rex Scotiæ in nullo volens obedire mandatis apostolicis, expulit præfatum Johannem episcopum Sancti Andreæ, et Mathæum episcopum de Aberden avunculum ejus, a regno suo. Unde Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, et Alexis apostolicæ sedis legatus, mandatum summi pontificis prosequentes, sententiam excommunicationis dederunt in personam regis Scotiæ, et sententiam interdicti in regnum ejus.[1]

De regibus Norweicæ.

History of Swerre Birkbain, and the kings of Norway.

Benedict, i. 266.

Eodem anno quidam presbyter nomine Swerre Birkebain bellum iniit cum Magno[2] rege Norweiæ. Fuit autem hæc causa calumniæ prædicti Swerre, quam ipse habuit adversus præfatum Magnum de regno Norweiæ. Siwardus et Magnus fratres erant.[3] Siwardus erat rex Norweiæ, et Magnus frater

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[1] This excommunication is recorded in Benedict under the year 1181 (vol. i. p. 282), and in the corresponding passage in Hoveden is mentioned nearly in the same words. The passage in the text is perhaps an anticipation, as there is no reason to suppose that the sentence was reiterated. But see p. 210.

[2] Magnus Barefoot was king of Norway from 1093—1103; in which year he was killed on S. Bartholomew's day. Munch, note on Chron. Mann., p. 73. Cf. Ord. Vitalis, x. 6; xi. 6; and *Speculum Regale*, ed. Johnston, Antiqq. Celto Scandicæ, p. 292; Ann. Island., apud Langebek, *Scriptores*, iii. 52.

[3] Siward or Sigurd was son of Magnus, not his brother, and reigned from 1098—1130.

Benedict, i. 266.

A.D. 1180.

Sigurd and Harald kings.

ejus transfretavit in Hyberniam, et magnam illius partem bello adeptus est. Qui genuit Haroldum et paulo post interfectus est ab Hibernensibus. Et præfatus Haroldus post mortem patris sui transfretavit in Norweiam ad patruum suum regem Siwardum,[1] et petiit ab eo partem regni. Et ipse tradidit ei partem regni, quæ patrem suum de jure contingebat. Siwardus autem rex genuit filium, quem vocavit Magnum, et filiam quam vocavit Christinam, quam ipse dedit comiti Herlingo in uxorem, de qua ipse Herlingus genuit filium, quem vocavit Magnum. Defuncto autem comite Herlingo, Magnus filius ejus successit ei in comitatu.

Victory and sole reign of Harald.

Benedict, i. 267.

Et paulo post orto inter illum[2] et Haroldum gravi discidio, præfatus Haroldus cepit eum in bello, et excæcavit et ementulavit, et Reginaldum Bergensem suspendit, et Magnus excæcatus factus est monachus, et Haroldus totam monarchiam regni Norweiæ adeptus quatuor genuit filios, videlicet Ingonem, qui erat legitimus, et Siwardum et Augustinum et Magnum, qui erant spurii, et de diversis matribus.

Death of Harald.

Quidam vero clericus nomine Siwardus,[3] præfatum Haroldum regem interfecit nocturnis insidiis: quo interfecto extraxit præfatum Magnum cognatum suum ab abbatia, volens restituere eum in regnum. Et inito bello contra filios Haroldi interfectus est, similiter et Magnus interfectus est, qui fuerat monachus. Quibus interfectis, Hingo et Siwardus et Augustinus regnum obtinuerunt. Siwardus autem genuit Haconem et Siwardum et Swerum, qui omnes spurii erant de diversis matribus geniti. Augustinus genuit Augustinum legitime natum: Hingo genuit[4] Siwardum et Augustinum. Quibus interfectis, prædictus Haco[5] interfecit Hingonem, et obtinuit regnum: unde indignati sunt proceres regni, et levaverunt in regem Magnum[6] filium Herlingi et præfatæ Christinæ; qui non valentes sustinere bellum contra Haconem secesserunt in Daciam: ubi in brevi tempore reparatis sibi viribus redi-

Reign of the sons of Harald.

Magnus Herlingson.

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[1] Harald Gill went to Norway in 1126, *Spec. Reg.*, 293; and reigned until 1136. *Ann. Island.*, Langebek, iii. 53.

[2] *illum*] Not Magnus Herlingson, who was not yet born; but Magnus the blind, son of Sigurd, who succeeded his father in 1130, was defeated by Harald in 1134, and blinded by him in 1135. *Ibid.* p. 53.

[3] Sigurd killed Harald in 1136. *Ann. Island.*, p. 54. Sigurd and Magnus perished in 1139.

[4] *genuit*] So MSS. A., B., C.; interfecit, Benedict. Sigurd, son of Harald, was slain in 1155; Eystein in 1157. *Ann. Island.*, p. 58.

[5] Haco's reign began in 1157. Hingo was killed in 1161: *Ann. Island.*, pp. 58, 60; Haco in 1162.

[6] Magnus Herlingson was crowned king in 1164. *Ann. Island.*, p. 61.

A.D. 1180. Victory and coronation of Magnus Herlingson.

erunt in Norweiam, et habito prælio apud Tuneberghe inter ipsos et Haconem, retentis navibus et armis, ipsum fugaverunt, quem in sequenti æstate Magnus filius Herlingi et Christinæ secutus est. Et commisso inter illos navali prælio in loco qui dicitur Vee, interfectus est Haco: et Magnus Herlingi et Christinæ filius regnum adeptus est. Insurrexit ergo in eum Siwardus frater Haconis; et habito inter illos prælio, Siwardus frater Haconis interfectus est, et Magnus factus est rex, coronatus secundo anno regni sui, quinto decimo[1] anno ætatis suæ, quarto videlicet anno papatus Alexandri papæ tertii, magistro Stephano de Urbe Veteri misso illuc legato. Cum autem præfatus Magnus rex festum Nativitatis Dominicæ celebraret apud Tunneberghe, supervenit Augustinus prædicti Augustini filius cum multitudine armatorum, volens regem interficere inter convivas: sed rex inde præmunitus exivit contra eum, et conserto prælio interfecit eum cum quadringentis suorum. Illi vero qui de illo evaserunt prælio, videlicet mille et centum viri bellicosi, adhæserunt supradicto Swerre presbytero filio Siwardi.

Benedict, i. 267.

Benedict, i. 268.

Rebellion of the priest Swerre.

Qui Swerre, magno congregato exercitu, in sequenti nocte post festum Sancti Botulfi intravit latenter civitatem de Nidros, ubi rex Magnus cum patre suo comite Herlingo et cæteris amicis suis moram fecerat, et invasit eos et multos interfecit. Interfecti sunt itaque ibidem Herlingus comes pater regis, et Johannes de Randeberghe, qui duxerat sororem regis in uxorem, et Siwardus filius Nicolai, et alii multi. Rex vero relicta civitate, cum paucis suorum fugit. Sed in sequenti anno rex Magnus, magno congregato exercitu, prædictum Swerre[2] juxta civitatem de Nidros invasit, et multos de hostibus suis in primo conflictu interfecit. Sed tandem occulto Dei judicio, multis de melioribus de familia sua interfectis, cum paucis suorum evasit. Quem ipse Swerre presbyter insecutus est usque Berghes, et rex inde fugiens eandem civitatem ei reliquit. Et Augustinus[3] Nidrosiensis archiepiscopus, nolens aliquam facere subjectionem Swerre

Fall of Magnus.

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[1] *quinto decimo*] quinto, Benedict. The *Speculum Regale* gives 1156 as the date of the birth of Magnus.

[2] Swerre invaded Norway in 1176; fought seven battles in 1178; four more in 1181. The final fall of Magnus was in 1184. *Ann. Island.*, pp. 64—66.

[3] Augustinus or Eystein, the second archbishop of Nidros, consecrated in 1161, came to England in 1181, and was entertained at Bury S. Edmund's from August 9, 1181, to February 1182. Chron. Joc. de Brakelond, ad. ann., Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, 251. He then returned to Norway. *Ann. Island.*, p. 65.

Benedict, i. 269.

presbytero, archiepiscopatum suum reliquit, et venit in Angliam, et excommunicavit Swerre presbyterum. Est autem sciendum quod iste Magnus rex primus fuit rex coronatus de regno Norweiæ.

A.D. 1180. Visit of Augustine, archbishop of Nidros.

[1] *Incipit liber de legibus Angliæ sicut teneri debent in regno Angliæ.*

Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ pater constituit Rannulfum de Glamvilla summum justitiarium totius Angliæ; cujus sapientia conditæ sunt leges subscriptæ quas Anglicanas vocamus.[2]

Ranulf Glanvill made Justiciar.

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[1] *Hic incipere debet qui leges Angliæ scribere debet*, B. in marg.; *Nota quod hic constituit Henricus rex pater Rannulfum de Glanvill summum justitiarium totius Angliæ*, B. rubric in marg.; *Incipit liber de legibus Angliæ sicut teneri debent in regno Angliæ*, B. rubric in text. The copy of the laws in B. is taken like the rest of the book very closely from A., and in D. they are omitted altogether. MS. C. continues the narrative for the year 1181, down to the words *pignoris obligare* in the first letter of pope Alexander III. on the Crusade; and then in very distorted order gives (1.) "Hic In-" cipit quædam sententia Willelmi "regis Bastardi;" as in the text. (2.) The Article XXXII. below, with some variations. (3.) The remainder of the pope's letter, "Præterea— "xvii. kal. Febr." (4.) Article XXXIII. below. (5.) Article XXXV. below. The remaining Articles, XXXVI, XXXVII., and the Genealogy, down to "annis xiiij.," winding up with a rubric. "Explicit "pars prima Historiæ Anglorum "post venerabilem Bedam illius "gentis historiographum." (6.) The decrees of the Lateran council, which were omitted in their place; with the note, "Hæc autem decreta "xxv°. anno Regis Henrici II. "statuta sunt." (7.) The decrees of the council of Westminster in 1175, omitted in their place. After that the MS. proceeds with the second letter of pope Alexander on the crusade, as in the text. No reason can be given for the distortion of these parts of the work except the carelessness of the scribe; for they are not on detached leaves, but follow immediately in the order given above.

[2] *vocamus*] Here B. has another rubric: "De statutis regis Wil-"lelmi primi post Conquisitionem." With the following version of the laws should be compared carefully the edition of them taken from the Liber Ruber Scaccarii, published by Thorpe in the *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, folio ed., 1840, to which reference is made in the notes as T., pp. 211, 212. They are also in Lambarde, in Selden's Notes to Eadmer, pp. 189, &c., and in Schmid's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*.

Constitutions of William the Conqueror.

" Hic intimatur quid Willelmus rex Anglorum cum " principibus suis constituit, post conquisitionem " Angliæ.

(I.) Christian faith and peace.

" (I.) In primis quidem super omnia unum Deum " vellet[1] super totum regnum suum venerari: unam " fidem Christi semper inviolatam custodiri: pacem et " securitatem inter Anglos et Normannos servari.

(II.) Every freeholder to take oath of fealty.

" (II.) Statuimus etiam, ut omnis liber homo fide et " sacramento affirmet, quod intra et extra Angliam, " Willelmo domino regi suo fideles esse volunt, terras " et honorem illius omni fidelitate sua servare cum " eo et contra inimicos defendere.

(III.) The Normans to be in the king's peace.

" (III.) Volo autem quod omnes homines quos " mecum adduxi, aut post me venerunt, sint in pace " mea. Et si quis ex illis occisus fuerit, dominus ejus " habeat homicidam ejus infra quindecim[2] dies si pote- " rit; sin autem, persolvat mihi quadraginta sex mar- " cas argenti, quamdiu substantia domini sui dura- " verit. Ubi vero substantia domini defecerit, totus " hundredus, in quo occisio facta est, communiter " solvat quod remanet.

(IV.) Scot and lot to be paid by the French settlers of king Edward's time.

" (IV.) Et omnis Francigena, qui tempore Eadwardi " propinqui mei fuerit in Anglia particeps, consuetu- " dinem Anglorum, quod ipsi dicunt Anlote et Anscote, " persolvat secundum consuetudinem Anglorum. Hoc " decretum et sancitum est in civitate Claudia.[3]

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[1] *vellet*] This article is given in abstract, and in the third person. Of course, the original has " Sta- " tuimus," and is much longer. Art. II. is very slightly abridged. Art. III. is given in the singular instead of the plural.

[2] *quindecim*] quinque, T.

[3] *Hoc decretum . . . . Claudia*] Om. T. and Selden. In other respects, Art. IV. is nearly the same in both versions. But Hoveden has omitted the five following clauses of T., viz., V. De clientari seu feudorum jure et ingenuorum immunitate. VI. De nocturnis custodiis. VII. De mensuris et ponderibus. VIII. De clientum seu vassalorum præstationibus. IX. Ut jura regia illæsa servare pro viribus conentur subditi.

"(V.) Interdicimus[1] autem ut nulla viva pecunia "vendatur, aut ematur, nisi infra civitates, et hoc "ante tres fideles testes, nec aliquam rem vetustam "sine fidejussore et waranto. Quod si aliter fecerit, "solvat et persolvat et postea forisfacturam.

Constitutions of William the Conqueror.

(V.) Sale of live stock regulated.

"(VI.) Decretum[2] est etiam ibi, ut si Francigena "appellaverit Anglicum de perjurio, aut murdro, furto, "homicidio, Ran, quod dicunt apertam rapinam, quod "negari non potest; Anglicus se defendet per quod "melius voluerit, aut judicio ferri, aut duello. Si "autem Anglicus fuerit infirmus, inveniat aliquem "qui pro [se] faciat. Si quis eorum victus fuerit, "emendet regi quadraginta solidos. Si autem Anglicus "appellaverit Francigenam, et eum approbare voluerit "judicio aut duello, volo tunc Francigenam purgare "sacramento, non ferro.

(VI.) An Englishman appealed, by a Frenchman, to have choice between ordeal and battle.

A Frenchman appealed by an Englishman, to clear himself by oath.

"(VII.) Hoc quoque[3] præcipio, omnes conservare "legem Eadwardi regis in omnibus rebus, his adjectis "quæ constitui ad utilitatem Anglorum.

(VII.) The laws of Edward to be kept.

"(VIII.) Omnis homo[4] qui se tenuerit pro libero, "sit in plegio, ut plegius eum habeat ad justitiam, "si quid offenderit; et si quisquam evaserit talium, "videant plegii ut solvant quod calumniatum est, et "purgent se, quod in evaso nullam fraudem noverunt. "Requiratur hundredus et comitatus sicut antecessores "constituerunt. Et qui juste venire debent, et nolu- "erint,[5] summoneantur semel; et si secundo non vene- "rint, accipiatur unus bos, et reddatur de rebus illius "hominis, qui calumniatus est, quod dicitur scapweld, "et insuper regi forisfacturam.

(VIII.) All free men to be in frank pledge.

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[1] *Interdicimus*] Art. X. in T.; Art. LX. in Selden; nearly verbatim. For *vetustam*, both have *vetitam*. Art. XI. of T. is omitted in the text:—De emporiis et jure urbium pagorumque notæ melioris.

[2] *Decretum*] Art. XII. in T.; Art. LXII. in Selden; nearly verbatim. For *ferro*, both have *fracto*.

[3] *Hoc quoque*] Art. XIII. in T.; LXIII. in Selden.

[4] *Omnis homo*] Art. XIV. in T.; LXIV. in Selden.

[5] *noluerint*] voluerint, A.; noluerint, B.

Constitutions of William the Conqueror.

(IX.) No man to be sold abroad.

"(IX.) Et prohibeo[1] ne quis vendat hominem extra "patriam.

(X.) Punishment to be by mutilation.

"(X.) Interdico[2] etiam, ne quis occidatur vel "suspendatur pro aliqua culpa; sed eruantur oculi, "sed abscindantur testiculi: et hoc præceptum non "sit violatum super forisfacturam meam plenam."

Post adquisitionem Angliæ plenam.

William consulted the country as to the ancient customs.

Willelmus rex,[3] quarto anno regni sui, consilio baronum suorum, fecit summoneri per universos consulatus Angliæ Anglos nobiles et sapientes, et sua lege eruditos, ut eorum et jura et consuetudines ab ipsis

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[1] *Et prohibeo*] Much abridged from Art. XV. in T.; Art. LXV. in Selden. An article giving freedom to serfs who have dwelt for a year and a day in a borough or walled town is omitted in the text, and is of very questionable authenticity.

[2] *Interdico*] Art. XVII. in T.; LXVII. in Selden.

[3] *Willelmus rex*] The longer account of this transaction given by Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, Preface, p. 5, and Lambarde, (ed. 1644) p. 158, from a Chronicle of Lichfield (MS. Cleopatra D. 9) of the fourteenth century, is simply compounded of the story in the text, and Art. XXXIII. and XXXIV. below. It contains, however, the following clause, which is fatal to its authenticity as a copy of a contemporary document: "Aldredus "autem Eboracensis archiepiscopus, "qui regem Willelmum corona-"verat, et Hugo Londoniensis epi-"scopus, per præceptum regis scrip-"serunt propriis manibus omnia "quæ prædicti jurati dixerunt." Archbishop Aldred died before the beginning of the fourth year of William; and Hugh d'Orivall did not become bishop of London until 1075, six years after Aldred's death. The text of the laws given in the Lichfield MS., was printed by Wilkins in his *Anglo Saxon Laws*. They appear in Thorpe as the laws of Edward the Confessor, from MS. Harl. 746, and two other MSS., of which he gives full collations. None of these MSS. are older than that of Hoveden from which the text is taken; but the versions are occasionally fuller and better. Reference is made to Thorpe's text as T.; but no collation is attempted further than to complete the sense of Hoveden's text. This, however, seems to be in every respect as satisfactory as the best of the other MSS. The differences are verbally considerable, but the sense is identical, and perfect. The text, however, of MS. A. is so unsound as to have occasionally shaken the faith of the transcriber of MS. B.

audiret. Electi igitur de singulis totius patriæ comitatibus viri duodecim jurejurando confirmaverunt, primo, ut quoad possent recto tramite, neque ad dextram neque ad sinistram partem devertentes, legum suarum consuetudinem et sancita patefacerent, nil prætermittentes, nil addentes, [nil] prævaricando mutantes. A legibus itaque sanctæ matris ecclesiæ sumentes exordium, quoniam per eam rex et regnum solidum subsistendi habent fundamentum, leges libertatis et pacis ipsius concionati sunt dicentes:—

Laws of England. — Declarations of customs made before the king on oath of twelve men.

De clericis et possessionibus eorum.

"(I.) Omnis clericus, et etiam omnes scholares, et omnes "res et possessiones eorum, ubicunque fuerint, pacem Dei "et sanctæ ecclesiæ habeant.

(I.) Peace of the church.

De temporibus et diebus pacis domini regis.

"(II.) Ab Adventu Domini usque ad octavam Epiphaniæ, "pax Dei et ecclesiæ per omne regnum. Similiter a Septuagesima usque ad octavam Paschæ. Item ab Ascensione "Domini usque ad octavas Pentecostes. Item omnibus diebus "Quatuor Temporum. Item omnibus Sabbatis, ab hora nona "usque ad diem Lunæ. Item vigiliis Sanctæ Mariæ, Michaelis, "Johannis Baptistæ, Omnium Sanctorum Apostolorum, et "Sanctorum quorum solemnitates a sacerdotibus Dominicis "annunciantur diebus, et Omnium Sanctorum in kalendis "Novembris, semper ab hora nona vigiliarum in subsequentem "solemnitatem. Item in parochiis ecclesiarum, ubi proprii "festivitas Sancti celebretur. Similiter in parochiis in quibus "dedicationis dies observatur; et si quispiam devote ad celebrationem veniat Sancti, pacem habeat eundo, subsistendo, "redeundo. Item omnibus Christianis ad ecclesiam causa "orationis euntibus, pax in eundo et redeundo sit eis. Similiter ad dedicationes, ad synodos, ad capitula venientibus, "sive submoniti sunt, sive per se quid agendum habuerint, "sit pax summa. Etiam si excommunicatus aliquis absolvendi "causa ad episcopum confugerit, absolutus eundo et redeundo "pacem Dei et Sanctæ Ecclesiæ habeat. Quod si aliquis ei "forisfecerit, episcopus inde justitiam faciat. Verumtamen

(II.) Times and days of the king's peace.

Laws of England.

"si quis arrogans pro episcopi justitia emendare noluerit, "episcopus regi notum faciat. Rex autem constringet male-"factorem, ut emendet cui forisfacturam fecit, scilicet primum "episcopo, deinde regi; et sic erunt ibi duo gladii, et gladius "gladium juvabit.

De justitia Sanctæ Ecclesiæ.

(III.) Precedence of the church in courts of justice.

"(III.) Ubicunque regis justitia, vel cujuscunque sit, "placita tenuerit, si ullus episcopus veniat illuc, et aperuerit "causam sanctæ ecclesiæ, ipsa prius terminetur;[1] justitia "enim est, ut Deus ubique præ cæteris honoretur.

De universis tenentibus de ecclesia.

(IV.) Church tenants to plead in church courts.

"(IV.) Quicunque de ecclesia aliquid tenuerit, vel in fundo "ecclesiæ mansionem habuerit, extra curiam ecclesiasticam "coactus non placitabit, quamvis forisfecerit, nisi, quod absit, "in curia ecclesiastica rectum defecerit.

De reis ad ecclesiam fugientibus.

(V.) Of sanctuary.

"(V.) Ubicunque reus vel noxius ad ecclesiam causa præsidii "confugerit, ex quo aditum[2] ecclesiæ tenuerit, ab aliquo in-"sequente nullatenus deprehendatur, nisi per pontificem, vel "per ministros ejus. Quod si fugiendo domum sacerdotis "vel curiam ejus intraverit, eandem pacem et securitatem "habeat quam et apud ecclesiam; dum tamen sacerdotis "domus et curia ejus in ecclesiæ fundo consistant. Hic si "latro vel raptor est, quod male cepit, si ad manum habet, "reddat; et si penitus illud exstirpaverit, et si suum pro-"prium unde reddat habuerit, integrum cui damnum intulit "restituat. Et si more solito latro taliter egerit, et si forte "fortuitu ad ecclesias vel ad sacerdotis domus frequenter "evaserit, ablatione restituta, provinciam forisjuret: et nisi "reddat,[3] nullus præsumat eum hospitari, nisi a rege data "licentia.

Disposal of persons taking sanctuary.

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[1] *ipsa prius terminetur*] "ipsa "prius ad finem deducatur ad quem "finem poterit rationabilius eo die," T.

[2] *aditum*] atrium, T.

[3] *nisi reddat*] si redierit, T.

De fractione pacis ecclesiæ.

Laws of England.

(VI.) Of breakers of the peace of the church.

" (VI.) Si quis vero pacem Sanctæ Ecclesiæ fregerit violenter, episcoporum est justitia. Quod si nocens sententiam eorum diffugiendo vel arroganter contemnendo despexerit, clamor de eo deferatur ad regem per quadraginta dies, et regis justitia ponet eum per vadium et plegium si habere poterit, usque Deo[1] primitus et postea regi satisfaciat. Qui si infra triginta et unum diem, sive per amicos aut notos, seu per justitiam regis inveniri[2] non poterit, utlagabit eum rex verbo oris sui. Si vero postea repertus fuerit, et poterit teneri vivus, regi reddetur, vel caput ejus si se defenderit. Lupinum enim gerit caput a die uthlagationis suæ, quod Anglice Wlveshevod dicitur. Et hæc est lex de omnibus uthlagis.

De decimis ecclesiæ.

(VII.) Of Tithes of the church.

" (VII.) De omni annona decima garba Deo est reddita, et ideo reddenda. Si quis gregem equarum habuerit, pullum reddat decimum. Qui unam tantum vel duas habuerit, de singulis pullis singulos denarios præbeat. Similiter qui plures vaccas habuerit, decimum vitulum; qui unam vel duas, de singulis vitulis singulos denarios. Et qui caseum fecerit det decimum Deo; et si non fecerit, lac decima die. Similiter agnum decimum, vellus decimum, butyrum decimum, porcellum decimum.

De apibus et de omnibus aliis minutis decimis.

(VIII.) Of neglect to pay tithe.

" (VIII.) De apibus vero similiter decimum commodi.[3] Quinetiam de bosco, de prato, et aquis, et molendinis, et vivariis, piscariis, virgultis, et hortis, et negotiationibus, et omnibus rebus quas dederit Dominus, decima pars Ei reddenda est, Qui novem partes simul cum decima largitur. Et qui eam detinuerit, per justitiam episcopi, et regis si necesse fuerit, ad solutionem arguatur. Hæc enim Sanctus Augustinus prædicavit et docuit, et hæc concessa sunt a rege, a baronibus et populo. Sed postea instinctu Diaboli multi eam detinuerunt, et sacerdotes negligentes locupletes non curabant inire laborem ad perquirendas eas,

History of Tithes.

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[1] *Deo*] sanctæ ecclesiæ, T.

[2] *inveniri*] invenire, Savile.

[3] *decimum commodi*] secundum quod sibi per annum inde profecerit. T.

Laws of England.

"eo quod sufficienter habebant suæ necessaria vitæ. Multis "enim locis sunt tres vel quatuor ecclesiæ, ubi tunc temporis "una tantum erat, et sic cœperunt minui.

De illis qui ad judicium ferri vel aquæ judicati sunt per justitiam regis.

(IX.) Of ordeal.

"(IX.) De illo de quo judicium fieri debet; veniat illuc episcopus cum clericis suis, et similiter justitia regis cum "legalibus hominibus provinciæ illius, qui videant et audiant "ut omnia æque faciant. Et quos Dominus per misericordiam "Suam, non per merita eorum, salvare voluerit, quieti sint "et liberi recedant; et quos iniquitas culpæ, non Dominus "damnaverit, justitia regis de ipsis justitiam faciat. Barones "vero, qui suam curiam [habent] de suis hominibus, videant ut "sic de eis faciant, quatenus erga Deum reatum non incurrant, "nec regem offendant. Et si placitum de hominibus aliorum "baronum oritur in curiis suis, adsit ad placitum justitia regis; "quoniam absque ea placitum finiri non licet. Si qui barones "judicia non habent in hundredo ubi placitum[1] fuerit habitum, "ad propinquiorem ecclesiam, ubi judicium regis erit, determinandum,[2] salvo jure illorum baronum.

De denario Sancti Petri quod Anglice dicitur Romescat.

(X.) Of S. Peter's penny.

"(X.) Omnis qui habuerit triginta denariatas vivæ pecuniæ "in domo sua, de proprio suo, Anglorum lege dabit denarium "Sancti Petri: et lege Danorum dimidiam marcam. Iste vero "denarius debeat summoneri in solemnitate Sanctorum Petri "et Pauli, et colligi ante festivitatem quæ dicitur Ad Vincula Sancti Petri, ita ut ultra alium diem non detineatur. "Si quisquam detinuerit, ad custodiam[3] regis clamor deferatur, quoniam denarius hic eleemosyna regis est; justitia "faciat denarium reddi, et forisfactionem episcopi et regis. "Et si quis plures domos habuerit, de illa ubi residens fuerit "in festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli, denarium reddat.

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[1] *ubi placitum*] nisi placitum A.; nisi palatium, B.

[2] *determinandum*] est, add. T.

[3] *custodiam*] justitiam, T.

Quid sit Danegeld, et qua necessitate sit constitutum.

Laws of England.

(XI.) Of Danegeld.

"(XI.) Danegaldi redditio propter piratas primitus statuta "est. Patriam enim infestantes, vastationi ejus pro posse suo "insistebant. Ad eorum quidem insolentiam reprimendam, "statutum est Danegaldum annuatim reddi; scilicet duodecim "denarios de unaquaque hida totius patriæ, ad conducendos "eos qui piratarum eruptioni resistendo obviarent. De hoc "quoque Danegaldo omnis ecclesia libera est et quieta; et "omnis terra quæ in proprio dominico ecclesiæ erat, ubicun-"que jacebat, nihil prorsus in tali redemptione persolvens, "quia magis in ecclesiæ confidebant orationibus, quam in ar-"morum defensionibus; usque tempora Willelmi junioris qui "Ruffus vocabatur;[1] donec eodem a baronibus Angliæ auxilium "requirente, ad Normanniam requirendam et retinendam, de "Roberto fratre suo cognomine Cortehose Jerusalem proficis-"cente, concessum est ei, non lege sancitum, neque firmatum, "sed hac necessitatis causa, ex unaquaque hida sibi dari "quatuor solidos; ecclesia non excepta. Dum vero collectio "census fieret, proclamabat ecclesia, suam reposcens liberta-"tem, sed nil profecit.

History of the tax.

De multimoda pace, quatuor chiminorum viarum regalium, et fluviorum notatorum, quorum navigio de diversis locis victualia deferuntur.

(XII.) Peace of the king's hand and brief; of the crown days; of the four highways; of navigable rivers.

"(XII.) Pax regis multiplex est. Alia enim data manu "sua, quam Anglici vocat Kingeshand Sealdergrith. Alia "die[2] qua primum coronatus est: quæ dies tenet octo in Na-"tali Domini; dies octo Paschæ; dies octo in Pentecosten. "Alia pax est per breve suum data. Alia quam habent "quatuor chimini: scilicet Wathlingestrete, Fosse, Hunilde-"strete,[3] Ermingestrete: quorum vero [alii] in longitudinem "regni, alii in latitudinem protenduntur. Alia est, quam "habent aquæ nominatorum fluviorum, quorum navigio de "diversis locis victualia deferuntur civitatibus vel burgis.

Forfeitures on breach thereof.

"Illa autem pax suæ manus, et dierum coronationis, et brevis, "sub judicio unius forisfacturæ est. Similiter chiminorum

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[1] One amongst many indications of the date of the present draught, which was probably made in Glanvill's time or by him himself.

[2] *die*] de, A. B.

[3] *Hunildestrete*] Hikenildestrete, T.

Laws of England.

Various fines for breach of the king's peace.

" quatuor, et majorum aquarum de assaltu. De opere vero, " si opus fiat, destruatur, et medietas emendationis dabitur.

" Quicunque scienter fregerit eam, octodecim hundreda in " Denelaga, et corpus ejus in misericordia regis : lege Anglorum, " Werre suum, id est, pretium redemptionis suæ, et Manbote " de occisis erga dominum quorum homines interfecti sunt.

Manbote.

" Manbote in Denelaga, et de villano et de Scotman, duo- " decim horas ; de liberis autem hominibus tres marcas. Man- " bote vero Anglorum lege regi et archiepiscopo tres marcas, " et consuli comitatus,[1] de hominibus eorum propriis. Sed epi- " scopo ejusdem comitatus, et dapifero regis viginti solidos. " Baronibus autem aliis decem solidos.

Compensation to kinsfolk.

" Parentibus occisi fiat emendatio, vel guerra eorum porte- " tur, unde Anglice proverbium habetur, ' Bige spere osside " ' other bere.' Hoc est, eme lanceam a latere aut fer.

Peace of ways and waters, guarded against encroachments.

Encroachments on county roads and rivers to be corrected by the county.

" Pax autem chiminorum quatuor, et prædictarum aquarum, " sub majori judicio contrarie quam[2] diximus de assaltu. Si " vero molendina vel piscaria, vel alia quælibet opera eis im- " pedimentum facientia præparantur, opera ipsa penitus destru- " antur, et chimini et aquæ ubi fuerint prius reparentur, et " forisfactura regis non obliviscatur. Chimini vero de civi- " tate minores ad civitates quosque ducentes, de burgis ad " burgos, per quos mercata vehuntur et certa negotia fiunt, " sub lege comitatus. Si quispiam opus ad eorum perturba- " tionem erigit, solo tenus deponatur, et chimini mox repa- " rentur, et secundum legem comitatus ejusdem, erga comitem " et vicecomitem emendetur. Similiter fiat de aquis minoribus. " Naves tamen, portantes ea,[3] quæ necessaria sunt burgis et " civitatibus, saltem ligna et hujusmodi, cum lege minorum " chiminorum fit et emendatio eorum.

De divisionibus schirarum.[4]

(XIII.) Hundreds and wapentakes.

" (XIII.) Divisiones vero hundredorum, wapentachiorum, " comitibus, vicecomitibus erunt judicio comitatus.

(XIV.) Treasure trove.

" (XIV.) Thesauri regis sunt de terra, nisi in ecclesia vel " in cœmeterio inveniantur. Et licet ibi inveniantur, aurum

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[1] *consuli comitatus*] The earls' manbote is placed in T. after the bishops', and in the same proportion.

[2] *contrarie quam*] continetur, quod, T.

[3] *Similiter . . . . ea*] Similiter de aquis minoribus naves ferentibus, cum eis, T.

[4] " Divisiones schirarum regis " proprie cum judicio iiii. chimino- " rum regalium sunt," ins. T.

" regis est, et medietas argenti; et altera medietas ecclesiæ, " ubi inventus fuerit, quæcunque est ipsa, vel dives vel " pauper.

Laws of England.

De legibus murdratorum.

(XV.) Of murders.

"(XV.) Si quis murdratus fuerit, et aliquis reprobatur,[1] " quæratur apud villam, et ubi inveniatur interfector illius. " Qui si inveniri poterit, tradetur justitiæ regis infra ipsos " octo dies interfectionis. Si vero inveniri non poterit, mensis " et unius diei respectus habeatur ad quærendum eum. Qui " si infra terminum inveniri non poterit, colligantur in villa " quadraginta sex marcæ. Sed si ad tantam solutionem non " sufficiat, per hundredum colligatur quod in villa non poterat. " Veruntamen quoniam, si villa omnino destrueretur, prævide- " runt barones quod per hundredum colligerentur, et sigillo " alicujus baronis comitatus sigillarentur, et ad thesaurum regis " deportarentur: quas sigillatas ipse servaret per annum et " unum diem. Quod si murdrator infra hunc terminum possit " inveniri, traderetur justitiæ regis, et ipsi quadraginta sex " marcas in thesauro non positas rehaberent. Si infra hunc " terminum non possit inveniri, parentes murdrati sex marcas " haberent, et rex quadraginta. Si parentes deessent, dominus " ejus reciperet. Si dominum non haberet, socius ejus, sci- " licet, cum eo fide ligatus[2] reciperet, si aliquem habuerit. " Si vero nullum istorum haberet, rex tunc regni, sub cujus " protectione et pace sunt et degunt omnes,[3] reciperet sex " marcas cum suis quadraginta marcis.

Liability of the Township and hundred.

Disposal of the fine.

Unde murdra venit in Angliam.

(XVI.) History of the murder fine.

"(XVI.) Murdra quidem inventa fuit in tempore Chnuti " regis Dani, qui post adquisitam Angliam, et pacificatam, " consensu baronum Anglorum misit in Danam exercitum " suum. Ipsi vero barones contra regem exstiterunt fidejus- " sores, quatenus in terra, quotquot secum retinere vellet, " firmam pacem per omnia haberent. Verumtamen si quis

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[1] *reprobatur*] Quando aliquis alicubi murdritus reperiebatur, T. The whole article is there given in the form of a narrative or report, not as an enactment as in the text.

[2] *fide ligatus*] felagus (his fellow) scilicet fide legatus, T.

[3] *omnes*] Albani, ins. T.

Laws of England.

"Anglorum aliquem illorum interficeret, et si se super hoc "defendere non posset judicio Dei, scilicet aqua, vel ferro, "fieret de eo justitia. Si autem fugeret, solventur sicut "supra dictum est.

Quid sit regis officium, et de Karolo et Pipino fratre ejus exempliter.[1]

(XVII.) Of the duty of the king.

"(XVII.) Rex autem atque vicarius ejus[2] ad hoc est constitutus, ut regnum terrenum et populum Dei, et super omnia "sanctam ecclesiam, veneretur[3] et ab injuriatoribus defendat, "et maleficos ab ea evellat et destruat, et penitus disperdat. "Quod nisi fecerit, nec regis nomen verum constabit, pro- "pheta Johanne testante, nomen regis perdit, qui quod regis "est non faciat. Cui Pipinus et Karolus filius ejus, nec dum "reges, sed principes sub rege Francorum, stulte scripserunt,[4] "quærentes si ita permanere deberent Francorum reges solo "nomine regis contenti. A quo responsum est, illos decet "vocari reges, qui vigilant, defendunt, et regunt ecclesiam "Dei, et populum Ejus: imitantes regem psalmographum "dicentem, 'Non habitabit in medio domus meæ qui facit Ps. ci. 7.
"superbiam,'[5] etc.

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[1] Hic incipit quædam sententia Willelmi Bastard regis Angliæ, quam de regis nomine, Pipino et Karolo ejus filio sciscitantibus, scripsit, nondum regibus, necnon et alia quædam gesta atque statuta ejus.—C.

[2] *atque vicarius ejus*] qui vicarius Summi Regis est, T.

[3] *veneretur*] regat, T.

[4] *Cui—scripserunt*] So MSS. A. B., and the first edition of Savile. But among the *emendanda* of that edition, the passage is elaborated as follows from MS. C.:—"Audientes "autem Pipinus et Carolus filius "ejus, necdum reges sed principes "sub rege Francorum, hanc diffinitivam sententiam tam veraciter "quam prudenter de regis nomine "a Willelmo Notho rege Angliæ "prolatam, ei stulte scripserunt." This is made the text in the Frankfort edition. Compare note 1 from MS. C.

[5] *superbiam*] "id est tyrannidem exercet super populum Dei. "Et consentiens dicit, 'Qui loquitur "'iniqua,' hoc est, iniquas leges "componit,' non direxit,' id est, non "directe rexit, 'in conspectu oculo- "'rum meorum:' ac si diceret in "conspectu divinitatis meæ, cui "omnia sunt nuda et aperta, leges "directas et recta judicia non con- "stituit," etc.—add. C. The version in T. ends with the word *superbiam*. For *propheta* T. reads *papa*. There was no pope John contemporary with either Charles or Pipin. The person referred to is of course pope Zacharias. See Eginhard, Annales, A.D. 749. Rad. Niger. ed. Anstruther, p. 65. Annales Francorum, &c., &c.

Laws of England.

De reis lege damnatis ad regis misericordiam recurrentibus.

(XVIII.) Of the king's pardon.

"(XVIII.) Tamen si quis forisfactus, regis misericordiam " pro forisfacto suo poposcerit, et si sit reus mortis, vel mem- " brorum suorum perdendorum, potest rex ei lege suæ digni- " tatis condonare si vult, etiam mortem promeritam. Ipse " tamen malefactorum rectum faciat in quantumcunque poterit, " quibus forisfactum fuerit, et fidejussores tradat de pace et " legalitate tenenda. Si fidejussores vero defecerint, debet " exulari de patria.

Quid debeant facere, quos rex voluerit de morte liberare.

Of satisfaction to be made by those whom the king has pardoned or delivered from capture.

"Habet etiam rex aliam potestatem misericordiæ super " captos. Ubicunque enim venerit[1] in civitatem vel burgum, " vel villam, vel viam, si captus fuerit, potest eum solo " verbo solvere a captione. Solutus tamen satisfaciat, cui " forisfecerit. Murdrator vero, traditor, vel hujusmodi cri- " minosus, quamvis rex ei condonaverit vitam et membra, " tamen secundum legem remanebit in patria;[2] sed statim " jurabit se iturum ad mare, infra terminum a justitia ei " dictum, et mox transfretaturum. Quod si perjurus postea " in terra remanserit, quicunque eum invenire poterit, de eo " sine judicio justitiam faciat; et si quis gratis eum de- " tinuerit pro una nocte sola, majore lege Anglorum vel " Danorum,[3] pro secunda dupliciter, pro tertia socius et com- " par malefactorum judicabitur.

De uxoribus malefactorum, et filiis eorum.

(XIX.) Of the wives and children of malefactors.

"(XIX.) Siquidem tales habuerint uxores suas in patria " subsistentes, et dixerit aliquis parentum murdrati eas ne- " quitiæ fuisse participes, expurgent se judicio Dei. Quas " si clementia Dei et earum innocentia salvaverit, remaneant " legales cum dotibus suis et maritagiis. Pueri vero qui " ante malefactum nati erant vel generati, non exleges sint, " super malefacto post generationem illorum peracto, ne per- " dant hæreditatem.

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[1] *venerit*] invenerit, A.; venerit, B.

[2] *remanebit in patria*] nullo modo remanebunt in patria, T.; remanebit in prisonia, Savile; nullatenus remanebit in patria, Lambarde.

[3] *Danorum*] emendabit, ins. T.

Laws of England.

Quid sit Frithborg, quod Eboracenses vacant tenementale, id est, sermo decem hominum.

(XX.) Of Frithborh, or tenementale.

"(XX.) Præterea est quædam summa et maxima, per quam "omnes firmissimo statu sustinentur, videlicet, ut unusquis-"que stabiliat se sub fidejussionis securitate, quam Anglici "vocant Frithborgas. Soli tamen Eboracenses dicunt eandem "tenementale, quod sonat Latine decem hominum numerum.[1] "Hæc securitas hoc modo fiebat, secundum quod de omnibus "villis totius regni sub decennali fidejussione debeant esse "universi, ita quod si unus ex decem forisfaceret, ad recti-"tudinem novem haberent decimum; qui si aufugerit, daretur "eis terminus tricesimi primi diei. Quæsitus et inventus "ad justitiam regis ducetur; de suo illico restauraretur "damnum quod fecerat, et si ad hoc forisfecit, de corpore "suo fieret justitia. Sed si infra prædictum terminum in-"veniri non posset, quia in omni frithborgo unus erat "capitalis, quem vocabant Frithborges heved, ipse capitalis "sumeret duos de melioribus suorum frithborgorum, et de "tribus frithborgis sibi propinquioribus acciperet de uno-"quoque capitalem et duos de melioribus uniuscujusque "frithborgi, si posset habere, et inde se duodecimo expur-"garet et frithborgum suum, si facere posset de forisfacto "et fuga supradicti malefactoris. Qui si facere non posset, "ipse cum frithborgo suo damnum restauraret de proprio "malefactoris quantum duraret. Quo deficiente, de suo et "frithborgi sui perficeret, et erga justitiam emendaret, se-"cundum quod legaliter judicatum fuisset. Tandem vero "sacramentum, quod non potuerunt adimplere per tres "frithborgos sibi viciniores, per seipsos novem jurarent, "sese nullatenus fore culpabiles, et si quando eum recuperare "possent, adducerent illum ad justitiarium, aut dicerent justitiæ "ubi esset.

Of the headman of the Frithborh, who is to carry out the provisions of the law.

Quod archiepiscopi, episcopi, comites, barones, et omnes qui habent saccam et socam et tol et theam et infangentheof, pro militibus, pro ministris, et clientibus suis, et pro omnibus servientibus suis Frithborgas dare debent.

(XXI.) Of the lord's borh.

"(XXI.) Archiepiscopi, episcopi, comites, barones, suos "milites,[2] et sibi servientes, dapiferos, pincernas, camerarios,

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[1] *numerum*] unum, A.

[2] *suos milites*] et milites suos, T.

" coquos, pistores, sub suo frithborgo habeant. Qui si cui " forisfecerint, et clamor vicinorum de eis assurgeret, ipsi " tenerent eos rectitudini in curia sua, illi dico qui habebant " saccam, et soccam, et tol, et theam, et infangentheof.

Laws of England. — Lords answerable for their men.

Quid sit sacca.

" (XXII.) Sacca est, quod si quislibet nominatim aliquem " de aliquo calumniatus fuerit, et ille negaverit, forisfactura " probationis, vel negationis si evenerit, sua erit.

(XXII.) Definition of Sac,

Quid sit soca.

" Socca est, quod si quis quærat in terra sua, etiam[1] sua " est justitia, si inventum fuerit, an non.

Soc,

Quid sit tol.

" Tol, quod nos dicimus teloneum, est qui habet potestatem " vendendi et emendi in terra sua.

Tol,

Quid sit theam.

" Theam est, quod si quispiam intercietur aliquid super " aliquem, et interciatus suum warantum habere non poterit, " erit forisfactura sua, et justitia similiter de calumniatore si " defecerit.

Team,

Quid sit infangentheof.

" Omnis qui habet saccam, et soccam, et tol, et theam, et " infangentheof, prædictas videlicet consuetudines,[2] justitia " cognoscentis latronis sua est de homine suo, si captus " fuerit super terram suam. Illi vero qui non habent con- " suetudines, coram justitia domini regis rectum faciant in " hundredis, et in wapentacco, vel in schiris.

Infangentheof: Lords having these rights have jurisdiction over their own men.

De hospitibus recipiendis.

" (XXIII.) Si quis hospitatur privatum vel extraneum, quod " Anglice dicitur *cuth other uncuth,* poterit eum habere per

(XXIII.) Of strangers.

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[1] *etiam*] furtum, ins. T. | [2] *Omnis . . . . consuetudines*] om. T.

Laws of England.

The host it answerable for his guest after two nights' stay.

" duas noctes, tanquam hospitem; et si forisfecerit non in- " curret dominus damnum pro hospite. Verumtamen si cui " damnum illatum fuerit, et ad justitiam de eo clamorem " fecerit, quod ipsius consilio malum factum non fuerit, cum " duobus legalibus vicinis purgabit se sacramento de consilio " et facto. Quod nisi fecerit, damnum emendet et forisfac- " turam. Quod si tertia nocte hospitatus fuerit, et alicui " forisfecerit, habeat ad rectum tanquam de propria familia, " quod Anglice dicitur, *Tuain nicthe gest, thridde nicht hawen* " *man.*[1] Quem nisi ad rectum poterit habere, habebit ter- " minum unius mensis et unius diei. Et si poterit inveniri " malefactor, restauret damnum quod fecerat, et emendatio- " nem si poterit, etiam de corpore, si adjudicatum fuerit ei. " Si vero malefactor damnum restaurare non poterit quod " fecerat, hospes restaurabit et forisfacturam. Et si justitia " habeat eum suspectum, purgabit se judicio hundredi vel " schiræ.

De animalibus, de equis, vel aliis rebus inventis quid faciendum sit.

(XXIV.) Of animals or property found without an owner.

" (XXIV.) Si quis adduxerit animal in villa, vel appor- " taverit pecuniam, et dixerit se invenisse, priusquam intus " ducat in domum suam vel etiam alterius, eat ad ecclesiam, " et coram sacerdote ecclesiæ, et præposito villæ, et meliori- " bus villæ totum ostendat inventum quicquid sit. Præfectus " villæ mittat ad tres vel ad quatuor villas propinquiores, " pro sacerdotibus et præpositis villarum, qui adducant secum " quatuor de melioribus de unaquaque villa. Eis congregatis " ostendatur totum inventum. Postea vero testimonio istorum " præpositus, de cujus dominio inventor est, custodiat usque " in crastinum diem. Die autem crastino, cum aliquantis " vicinorum suorum, qui viderunt inventum, ad hundredi eat " præfectum, in quo sua villa est, et ipsi totum ostendat. Et " si dominus, in cujus terra inventum fuerit, non habet " consuetudines suas, saca et soca, omnia tradat hundredi præ- " fecto, si habere voluerit, cum bonis testibus. Sed si dominus " consuetudines habuerit, in curia domini rectum teneatur.

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[1] *Tuain nicthe gest, thridde nicht hawen man*] T. reads, "Twa nicte " geste the thirdde nicte agen " hine:"—or from the Holkham MS., "Tuo niht gest, the thridde " oyen hine." MS. B. has "thrid- " de nith hawan man."

De Judæis in regno constitutis.

Laws of England.

(XXV.) The Jews are under the protection of the king.

" (XXV.) Sciendum est quoque quod omnes Judæi, ubi-" cunque in regno sint, sub tutela et defensione domini regis " debent esse, nec quislibet illorum alicui diviti se potest sub-" dere sine regis licentia. Judæi et omnia sua regis sunt. " Quod si quispiam detinuerit eis, pecuniam eorum perquirat " rex tanquam suum proprium.

Quomodo se continere debent, qui pacem per manum sive per breve regis habent.

(XXVI.) Those who enjoy the king's peace are also to maintain it.

" (XXVI.) Hi qui pacem regis habent, vel manu vel brevi, " ei fideles existant, Ideoque summa necessitas est eis, ut " eam inviolabiliter custodiant erga omnes; nec ob securi-" tatem pacis[1] adeptam[2] detineant rectitudines vel servitia " dominorum suorum, sed nec vicinorum; quia non est " dignus habere pacem qui non vult observare eam. Qui si " nimis confidit in pace quam habet, et alicui forisfecerit, " damnum restauret, et iterum emendet, quod Angli vocant " murdræ forisfacturam, astridelthot.[3]

Quomodo vel quid emendare solebant, quid regi, quid decano dabant, qui pacem regis infringebant.

(XXVII.) The penalties for breach of the king's peace.

" (XXVII.) Pax data manu regis, et octo dierum, quibus " primum coronatus est, et pax prædictorum festorum, et " pax per breve regis, unum habent emendationis modum, " etiam hoc judicio, quod majus habetur in schira ubi pax " fracta fuerit; verbi gratia in Denelaga octo[decim][4] " hundreda; igitur[5] numerus complet septies viginti libras et " quatuor libras, quoniam forisfacturam[6] hundredi Dani et " Norwenses octo libras habeant. Multiplicatis igitur octo " per octodecim faciunt centum et quadraginta quatuor. Et " hoc non sine causa. De istis octo libris rex habebat " centum solidos, et consul comitatus, qui tertium habet

How the fine is to be divided.

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[1] *ob securitatem pacis*] propter eam pacem, T.; obscuritatem pacis, Savile.

[2] *adeptam*] ademptam, A. B.

[3] *astridelthot*] Astrikibthet, T., with various readings, " atrihilthet," and " astrihilthet."

[4] *octo*] octodecim, T. and Lambarde.

[5] *igitur*] qui, T.

[6] *forisfacturam*] forisfactorum, A. B.

Laws of England.

" denarium forisfacturæ, quinquaginta solidos. Decanus autem " episcopi, si intus decanatum pax fracta fuerit, reliquos " decem, præter pacem regis, si de pace manu regis, si de " primo coronatu, et de supradictis festis.

Quale sapientes ceperunt consilium de illis, qui has leges despexerunt.

(XXVIII.) Of the deans or heads of frithborhs.

" (XXVIII.) Cum contigerit, quod aliqui stulti, et improbi, " gratis et nimis consuete erga vicinos suos forisfaciebant: " sapientes cœperunt super hoc habere consilium, et constitu- " erunt justitiarios super quosque [1] frithborgos, quos decanos " possumus appellare. Isti Anglice tendeheved dicti sunt, " hoc est, caput de decem. Item villas vicinas tales tracta- " bant, et super forisfacturas emendationes capiebant, et con- " cordationes faciebant, scilicet de pascuis, pratis, messibus, " negotiationibus, et hujusmodi decertationibus innumerabili- " bus, quæ humanam fragilitatem infestant, et eam incessanter " impugnant.

(XXIX.) Higher causes went to the hundred men.

" (XXIX.) Cum autem causæ majores erumpebant, refere- " bantur ad superiores eorum justitiarios: quos prædicti " sapientes supra eos constituerunt, scilicet supra decem de- " canos, quos possumus dicere centuriones, vel centenarios, " eo quod supra centum frithborgos judicabant.

Quid sit wapentagium, et qualiter se agebant, qui wapentagium accipiebant.

(XXX.) Of the Angle law, and the wapentake.

" (XXX.) Warewichschire,[2] Lincolneschire, Notingham- " schire, Leircestreschire, usque ad Wathlingestrete, et octo " milliaria ultra Wathlingstrete, sub lege Anglorum. Et " [quod] Angli vocant hundredum,[3] supradicti comitatus vocant " wapentagium, et non sine causa. Cum accipiebat præposi- " turam wapentagii die statuto, in loco ubi solent congregare " omnes majores natu, contra eum conveniebant, et descen- " dente eodem de equo suo omnes assurgebant ei. Ipse " vero erecta lancea ab omnibus secundum morem[4] accipiebat. " Omnes vero, quotquot venissent, cum lanceis suis ipsius " hastam tangebant, et ita se confirmabant per tactum armo- " rum pace palam concessa. Anglice autem arma vocantur

[1] *quosque*] quosque x., T.

[2] *Warewichschire*] Everwichesire, T..

[3] *hundredum*] wapentagium, A.B.

[4] *morem*] fœdus, Lambarde and T.

" *wapne*, et *taccare* confirmari, quasi armorum confirmatio. Vel " magis ut expresse secundum Anglicam linguam dicamus, " *Wapentac*, armorum tactus. Quamobrem potest conjici, quod " de causa totus ille conventus dicitur wapentac, quod per " tactus armorum suorum confœderati sunt ad invicem.

Laws of England.

Quid sit inter wapentagium et trihingam et hundredum.

(XXXI.) Of the courts of the trithing or lathe.

" (XXXI.) Erant etiam aliæ potestates super wapentagium, " quas trehingas dicebant, quod erat tertia pars provinciæ. " Qui vero super dominabantur, ad hos deferebantur causæ " trihinguiæ, quæ non poterant diffiniri in wapentagiis. Quod " Angli vocabant hundredum, isti wapentag; et quod Anglice " vocabantur tria vel quatuor vel plura hundreda, isti vocabant " trihinga. In quibusdam vero provinciis Anglici vocant " *lede* quod isti *trihinge*[1] dicunt. Quod quoque in trihinges " diffiniri non poterat, ferebatur in schiram. *Greve* quidem " nomen est potestatis Latinorum lingua, vel expresse idem, " quod præfectnra; quoniam hoc vocabulum tam multipliciter " distenditur, quod de schira, de wapentagiis, et quod etiam " lede, hundredum, de burgis, de villis etiam Greve vocetur, " in qua idem sonare et significare videtur quod dominus.

Of the office of gerefa, greve, or reeve; in its various applications.

Quid sit præpositus et præfectura, et quid Alderman, quod Latine senior populi sonat, et quam multipliciter nomen præpositi distenditur.

(XXXII.) Derivation of the word *greve.*

" (XXXII.) Videtur etiam quibusdam,[2] quod *Greive* voca- " bulum nomen est compositum ex Anglico *grith*, et *vœ* La- " tino. *Grith* enim pax est, *vœ* vero miseria: Ipso testante " Qui dixit, Væ tibi Corozain. *Greve* igitur ideo dicitur, quod " jure debeat *grith*, id est, pacem ex illis facere, qui patriæ " inferunt *vœ*, id est, miseriam vel malum. Teutonici et " etiam Frisones et Flandrenses consules suos *meregrave*, quasi " majores dominos, vel bonos pacificos vocare consuescunt. " Et sicut modo vocantur greve qui super alios præfecturas

Use of the title in Germany.

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[1] *trihinge–trihinges*] þinge–þinges, A. B.

[2] *Videtur .... quibusdam*] videtur nobis, T.

Laws of England.

" habent, ita apud Anglos qui antiquitus vocabantur alderman, " quasi seniores, non propter senectutem, cum quidam adole- " scentes, essent; sed propter sapientiam.

Quomodo vel qua de causa rex Willelmus leges Anglorum voluit dimittere, et leges Danorum tenere; et qualiter postea per totam Angliam constitutæ sunt et confirmatæ quæ per lxvi. annos erant prætermissæ.[1]

(XXXIII.) Of the Dane-law and its fines.

" (XXXIII.) Erat etiam lex Danorum in Northfolc et Suth- " folc et Cantebrigesire, quod habeant in emendationem foris- " facturæ ubi supradicti comitatus habebant octodecim hun- " dreda, isti decem et dimidium. Et hoc ex affinitate Saxonum " temporis, major emendatio forisfacturæ Saxonum quater vi- " ginti libræ et quatuor. In omnibus aliis causis et forisfacturis " eandem legem habebant cum supradictis Norwensibus.

(XXXIV.) William preferred the Norse and Danish laws.

" (XXXIV.) Quam cum rex Willelmus audisset, cum aliis " sui regni legibus maxime appreciatus est eam. Et præcepit " ut observaretur per universum regnum. Proferebat enim, " quod antecessores ejus, et fere omnium baronum Normanniæ " Norwenses extitissent; et quod de Norweia olim venissent; " et hac auctoritate leges eorum cum prædictis regni legibus " asserebat debere sequi et observare, quippe cum aliarum " legibus nationum, Britonum scilicet, Anglorum et Pictorum, " ubique præponderassent.[2] Quo audito, mox universi compa- " triotæ, qui leges edixerant, tristes effecti,[3] unanimiter de- " precati sunt, quatenus permitteret leges sibi proprias et con- " suetudines antiquas habere, in quibus vixerant patres, et ipsi " in eis nati et nutriti sunt, quia durum valde sibi foret susci- " pere leges ignotas, et judicare de eis quas nesciebant. Rege " vero ad flectendum ingrato existente, tandem eum prosecuti " sunt deprecantes, quatenus pro anima regis Ædwardi, qui ei " post diem suum concesserat coronam et regnum, et cujus " erant leges, nec aliorum extraneorum, exaudiendo concederet,[4]

The sworn witnesses entreat that they may retain the ancient laws.

The king gives way.

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[1] This chapter is in C., with the same rubric, but a different opening: " Rex idem Willelmus Nothus " post plenam adquisitionem An- " gliæ, cum comperisset quod lex " Danorum esset et servaretur in " Norfolc et Suthfolc et Cante- " brigesyre maxime appreciatus est " eam," etc., as below.

[2] *præponderassent*] profundior et honestior sit, T.

[3] *effecti*] effici, A. B.

[4] *exaudiendo concederet*] cogeret quam, Savile, among his *emendanda;* om. T.

"sub legibus perseverare patriis. Unde consilio habito "precatui baronum tandem adquievit. Ex illa ergo die visa "auctoritate, veneratæ per universam Angliam, corroboratæ et "observatæ sunt præ cæteris patriæ legibus, leges Ædwardi "regis; quæ prius inventæ et constitutæ erant in tempore "Ædgari avi sui, verum post mortem ipsius[1] circiter annos "sexaginta octo.

Laws of England.

"Ædwardus enim filius ejus herilis, scilicet de uxore legi-"tima natus, regnavit annis quatuor, hebdomadibus sexdecim "minus. Quo occiso innocente, suæ dolo novercæ, propter "innocentem vitam ejus, castam, et eleemosynis plenam, "interfectionem ejus immeritam pro martyrio reputaverunt ei, "et sanctum habuerunt. Post ipsum Aldredus frater ejus "regnum suscepit, et regnavit in multis adversitatibus et "periculis triginta octo annis. Post Aldredum vero Eadmun-"dus filius ejus regnavit, fere novem mensibus, in quibus "viriliter contra Danorum regem Chnutum quinquies dimica-"vit. Ultimo vero bello peracto concordes invicem effecti "sunt; regnumque per dimidium diviserunt: et [una] medietas "Angliæ [Chnuto] et altera medietas cessit Ædmundo, eo tenore, "quod si quis eorum alterum superviveret, regnum superstes "totum possideret; nec interim alteruter coronaretur. Fir-"matis igitur taliter, universis Angliæ primatibus assensum "præbentibus inter se conventionem factam; post mensem "Edmundus ex hac luce, proh dolor! subtrahitur. Chnutus "vero inde totum regnum suscepit Angliæ, regnavitque fere "octodecim annis. Quo defuncto, Haraldus, filius illius ab "omnibus putatus, regnum suscepit, et quinque annis regna-"vit. Post quem Hardechnutus filius Chnuti et Elvivæ, id "est Emmæ, sororis Roberti Normannorum ducis, et matris "regis ultimi, Eadwardi, regnavit duobus annis, hebdomadi-"bus duodecim minus. Sicque completi sunt quadraginta "octo anni, in quibus leges prædictæ prætermissæ erant. "Sed postquam rex Eadwardus venit ad regnum, consilio "baronum Angliæ, legem quadraginta octo annis sopitam ex-"citavit, excitatam reparavit, reparatam decoravit, decoratam "confirmavit. Confirmata vero vocata est lex Eadwardi regis; "non quia ipse invenisset eam primus: sed cum prætermissa "fuisset, oblivioni penitus data, a diebus avi sui Eadgari, qui "prius inventor ejus fuisse dicitur, usque ad sua tempora, "scilicet, ut supra dictum est, octodecim annis post dies ipsius "Eadgari, Eadwardus, quia justa et honesta erat, a pro-"funda abysso extraxit, et eam revocavit, [et] ut suam obser-"vandam tradidit.

How the laws of Edgar had been disused for 68 years.

Succession of Edward, Ethelred, Edmund, and Canute,

Harold, Hardicanute,

and Edward, who restored the laws of Edgar, since called by his own name.

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[1] *ipsius*] dimissæ, ins. T.

Laws of England.

Quomodo Sancta Margareta, mater regis David Scotiæ, cum patre et matre, sorore, et fratre Eadgaro Edelingo, de quo Sanctus Eadwardus rex hæredem regni sui facere voluit, in Angliam venit.

(XXXV.) The posterity of Edmund Ironside.

" (XXXV.) Iste præfatus Eadmundus habuit quendam filium " Eadwardum nomine, qui mox patre mortuo, timore regis " Cnuti aufugit ad regnum Dogorum,[1] quod nos melius vocamus Russiam. Quem rex terræ Malescoldus[2] nomine, ut " cognovit quis esset, honeste retinuit. Qui de nobili progenie " ibidem duxit uxorem, de qua natus est ei Aedgarus Adeling, " et Margareta quæ fuit postea regina Scotiæ, et Christiana " soror ejus. Cui Christianæ rex Eadwardus dedit terram " quam habuit postea Radulfus de Limesi.[3] Propter quem " misit rex Eadwardus avunculus ejus, et fecit eum venisse " ad se. Qui postquam venit, non multum postea vixit, et " uxor illius in brevi temporis curriculo defuncta est. Rex " vero Eadwardus Eadgarum filium eorum secum retinuit, et " pro filio nutrivit. Et quia cogitabat eum hæredem facere, " nominavit eum Adeling, quod nos dicimus *domicellum.* Sed " nos indiscrete de pluribus dominis, quia barones vocamus " domicellos; Angli vero nullum nisi natos regum. Quod si " expressius volumus dicere, in Saxonica, *ling* imago dicitur, " *Adela* Anglice, *nobilis* Latine. Quod simul conjunctum " sonat, *nobilis imago,* Edeling. Unde etiam occidentales " Saxones Cestrenses[4] habent in proverbio summi despectus " Edeling,[5] id est, ab omni honestate dejectus, vel retrocedens " imago.

Edward the Confessor adopts Edgar Atheling.

Quomodo sanctus rex Eadwardus propter iniquitatem et nequitiam gentis suæ, et maxime per insolentiam et superbiam filiorum Godwini, Willelmum ducem heredem regni fecit, et quod de Ædgaro facere nequivit.

Edward is unable to fulfil his plan.

" Rex vero Eadwardus, ut cognovit nequitiam gentis suæ, et " præcipue superbiam filiorum Godwini, Haroldi, qui postea " regnum invasit, Tosti, Gurti, Lefwini,[6] et aliorum fratrum

[1] *Dogorum*] Rugorum, T.

[2] *Malescoldus*] Malesclodus, T.

[3] *Radulfus de Limesi*] Lord of Wulverley in Warwickshire. Dugd. Bar. i. 413.

[4] *Cestrenses*] Execestre, T.

[5] *Edeling*] Hinderling, T.

[6] *Tosti, Gurti, Lefwini*] Estigurti, Leswini, A. B.; comperiit, add. T.

" suorum; non posse fore stabile ratus,[1] quod proposuerat de " Eadgaro, adoptavit Willelmum ducem Normannorum in " regnum. Willelmum dico nothum, id est, bastardum,[2] filium " Roberti avunculi sui, virum strenuum et bellicosum et " fortem. Qui postea, Deo annuente, debellando supradictum " Haroldum Godwini filium, regnum Anglorum victoriose " adeptus est.

Laws of England.

He adopts duke William.

De latronibus pro latrocinio interfectis.

" (XXXVI.) Si post justitiam factam fecerit quis clamorem " ad justitiam, quod quis injuste interfectus fuerit, et quod " injuste jacet inter latrones, et dixerit quod hoc velit dira- " tionari, det vadium ut inveniat plegium. Tunc detur ei " terminus unius mensis, ut tunc habeat parentes interfecti " ex utraque parte generis sui, scilicet ex patre et matre ejus, " ex parte patris duodecim, et ex parte matris septem.[3] " Quod si isti xviii.[4] velint dirationari cum illo qui pri- " mitus clamorem fecerit, et qui vadium dederit, det unus- " quisque eorum vadium suum cum gladio, et postea inveniat " plegios tales, qui possint reddere forisfacturam, id est, " werre suum, nisi possunt dirationari quod dicunt. Tunc " deinde interfector det suum vadium et inveniat plegium, " quod juste interfectus sit, et merito jacet inter latrones, se- " cundum legem, sicut latro. Et tunc primum ostendat quod " latrocinio, et qua ratione interfectus sit. Quod si recogno- " verit quod vivus captus sit, nominet justitiam et judices, " et de vicinis legales testes. Qui si warantizaverint quod " sit recte justitia facta de illo secundum suum latrocinium, " quietus erit interfector illius. Ipsi vero, qui vadimonia " dederunt, emendent sua vadimonia. Quod si interfectori " defecerint judices et testes, et dirationatum fuerit quod " juste sit interfectus, interfector dabit vadium justitiæ epi- " scopi, et fidejussores[5] rectum prosequendi. Deinde justitia " episcopi faciat venire processionem, cum sacerdote induto " alba et manipulo et stola, et clericis in superpelliciis cum " aqua benedicta et cruce, præcedentibus candelabris, et " thuribulo cum igne et incenso. Et amici extrahentes mor- " tuum, ponant in feretrum, portantes eum ad ecclesiam; ubi " missa pro defuncto celebrata, et alio officio peracto, inter- " rent eum ut decet Christianum. Ab ipso vero die in quin- " decim dies reddat interfector illius episcopo tres forisfac-

(XXXVI.) Of the proceedings to be taken where an innocent man has been put to death as a robber.

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[1] *ratus*] ratum, A.; vel firmum, T.; vel ratum, Lambarde.

[2] *nothum, id est, bastardum*] om. T.

[3] *septem*] sex, T.

[4] *xviii.*] novendecim, Savile.

[5] *fidejussores*] invenient, ins. T.

Laws of England.

" turas. Unam quia legalem pro latrone interfecit; aliam, " quia fratrem suum interravit, quod Angli dicunt his *even-* " *cristen*; [1] tertiam, eo quod vadium dedit ad dirationandum " se, et non potuit.

Decretum regis de usurariis.

(XXXVII.) Condemnation of usurers.

" (XXXVII.) Usurarios quoque defendit rex Eadwardus ne " remanerent in regno; et si quis inde convictus fuerit, quod " fœnus exigeret, omni substantia propria careret, et pro ex- " lege haberetur. Hoc autem asserebat ipse rex, in curia " regis Francorum se audisse, dum ibidem moraretur, quod " usura summa radix est omnium vitiorum.

Quod nullus hominum animal vel pannum usatum emeret, sive aliud, sine plegiis et bonis testibus, opusque aureum vel argenteum absque aurifabris vel monetariis.

(XXXVIII.) No livestock or cloth to be sold without pledges and witness: or goldsmith's work without a goldsmith or moneyer to examine it.

" (XXXVIII.) Prohibitum est etiam in eadem lege, ne quis " emeret vivum animal, vel pannum usatum, sine plegiis et " bonis testibus. Et si fieret opus aureum, vel argenteum, " unde emptor dubitare posset, non emeret sine aurifabris " vel monetariis. Qui si vidissent, quod esset de ecclesia, vel " de thesauro, non emisset sine plegiis. Si venditor careret " plegiis, retineretur cum censu, donec venisset dominus ejus " vel alius, qui posset eum bene warantizare. Si quis homi- " num aliter emisset, perderet et forisfacturam; postea inqui- " sisset per lagamannos, et per meliores homines de burgo, " vel villa, vel hundredo, ubi mansisset emptor, et qualis " vitæ fuisset, et si unquam audissent eum calumniari de " exlegalitate. Quod si testaretur eum de bona fama et le- " galitate, purgaret se judicio comitatus, quod venditorem " nesciret reum de hac venditione, nec de aliqua alia exle- " galitate; et si sciret venditorem suum quis esset, vel ubi " fuisset, diceret; justitiarius vero quæreret eum ad faciendam " justitiam de eo. Qui si inveniri non posset, uthlagaretur.

Qualiter quave necessitate hoc decretum fuit postea ex parte mutatum.

(XXXIX.) Amendment of the last.

" (XXXIX.) Cum autem dictum est, quod nullus hominum " absque plegiis vivum animal emeret, clamaverunt macherarii

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[1] *evencristen*] emcristen, T.

"de civitatibus, quod unaquaque die oportet eos viva ani- "malia emere, vendere, et occidere. Nam in occisione "animalium erat vita eorum. Vocificabantur etiam cives "et burgenses et populus pro suis consuetudinibus, eo quod "circiter festum Sancti Martini consueverant animalia in foro "mercari sine plegiis ad occisiones contra Natale Domini[1] "faciendas. Murmur etiam multus super hoc edicto erat in "turba. Quare, æstimo, si quæreretur ibi utrum placeret nec "ne illud decretum, ut fit in quibusdam congregationibus, "communi consilio a multis redderetur, *non placet*. Ibi etiam, "si adesses, audires "stridere secreta divisos aure susurros," "et clamores et murmurationes tumultuantium populorum; "et laudatum est regi, quatenus consuetudines justas et "sapienter deductas non auferret, eis tantum in foro regio, "empto mercato suo, cum testibus et cognitione vendentium.

Laws of England. — Murmurs of the people against the restriction.

Descriptio genealogiæ ducum Normannorum, a Rollone primo duce usque secundum Henricum regem Angliæ, et qua auctoritate quave ratione Sanctus rex Eadwardus ducem Willelmum constituit hæredem.[2]

"Primus Normanniæ dux Rollo, qui et Robertus in bap- "tismo dictus, regnavit annis triginta. Willelmus filius ejus "annis viginti quinque. Ricardus senior quinquaginta qua- "tuor.[3] Ricardus secundus triginta.[4] Ricardus tertius uno; "Robertus frater ejus octo annis.[5] Willelmus Bastardus "comes triginta;[6] qui postea fuit rex Anglorum viginti duobus "annis. Ricardus igitur senior habuit filiam nomine Emmam, "quæ nupsit Adelredo regi Anglorum, ex qua idem rex

The pedigree of the dukes of Normandy.

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[1] *Domini*] T. concludes here: "quas consuetudines justas et sa- "pienter ductas non auferimus eis, "tamen in mercatis emptis cum "testibus et cognitione venditorum. "Expliciunt leges Sancti Edwardi, "primo adinventæ per Edgarum "avum suum, et per Willelmum "Conquestorem Angliæ confirmatæ, "et prius tempore Cnutonis regis "approbatæ."

[2] The dates of the early dukes are uncertain. Rollo was baptized in 912, having received his duchy in 911; and his reign ended in 927. William Longsword reigned from 927 to 943; sixteen years, not twenty-five. Ordericus Vitalis, however, places the death of Rollo in 917. The dates as given in the early part of the history are, Richard I., 941—993: Richard III., 1026; Robert, 1026; William, 1035.

[3] A.D. 943—996.

[4] A.D. 996—1026.

[5] A.D. 1026—1035.

[6] A.D. 1035—1066.

Laws of England.

Pedigree of the dukes of Normandy.

" genuit Eadwardum et Alredum. Tempore autem Ricardi " secundi Adelredus rex fecit occidere omnes Danos in An- " glia. Ob quam rem Suenus rex Danorum Angliam invasit " et obtinuit. Adelredus vero cum uxore sua et filiis pro- " fectus est in Normanniam, ad Ricardum secundum, uxoris " suæ fratrem, et Normanniæ ducem. Suenus non multo post " moritur, et in Daciam fertur tumulandus. Interea Adelre- " dus cum uxore sua revertitur ad terram suam, filiis suis " cum avunculo dimissis. Sueno igitur intumulato, Chnutus " filius ejus cum magna classe, accito secum Lacman[1] rege " Suevorum, et Olavo[2] rege Norttorum, qui postea apud Ro- " thomagum baptizatus est, Tamisiam intravit, et Edelredum " regem infra Londoniam obsedit. Qui obsessus infirmitate " præventus moritur. Chnutus vero potitus regno prædic- " tam Emmam reginam accepit uxorem; ex qua genuit " Hardechnutum, postea regem Danorum, et filiam nomine " Gunnildam, quæ nupsit Henrico imperatori Romanorum. " Interea defuncto secundo Ricardo, Ricardus filius ejus " successit ei pro uno[3] anno. Quo mortuo, Robertus filius ejus " successit; qui cupiens Ædwardum in regno substituere An- " glorum, eum classe imponit,[4] regressus flante vento adverso " apud insulam Gerneswich diu detentus Normanniam rever- " titur. Deinde Jerusalem profectus, Willelmum parvulum " suum reliquit hæredem; expletoque voto suo, in repatriando " apud urbem Nicæam obiit. Willelmo itaque Normanniam " regente, Cnutus rex Anglorum moritur; cui successit filius " ejus Haraldus ex concubina Elviva natus. Quod indigne " ferens Edwardus, cum quadraginta navibus apud Ham- " toniam applicuit. Resistentibus sibi Anglis, capta præda, in " Normanniam revertitur. Interea Aluredus frater ejus cum " multis militibus per partem aliam ingressus, a Godwino " comite hospitio susceptus, dolo nocte captus, cum suis vinc- " tus, ad Haraldum regem ductus, cum sociis suis oculis " privatur, sociis interemptis. Haraldus quoque non multum " post moritur, et successit Hardecnutus a Dacia regressus, " ex Emma Eadwardi matre progenitus; qui fratrem suum " ante genitum Ædwardum a Normannia evocans, secum habi- " tare fecit, qui in brevi tempore, scilicet duobus annis " elapsis defunctus, Ædwardum reliquit hæredem. Hic Æd- " wardus carens sobole, Willelmo cognato suo Normannorum

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[1] *Lacman*] Olaf was king of Sweden.

[2] *Olavo*] S. Olaf, king of Norway, martyred in 1030; son-in-law of Olaf of Sweden.

[3] *pro uno*] primo, A.

[4] *cum classe imponit*] cum classe imponunt, A. B.

Laws of England. — Pedigree of the kings of England.

" duci misit Robertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, et de " regno eum constituit hæredem. Sed et comitem Haraldum " post eum misit, et regnum invasit. Quod Willelmus au- " diens, forti cum classe apud Pevenisellum applicuit; ibique " secundo idus Octobris bellum intulit, in quo ipse Haraldus " in primo occubuit. Bello tamen usque ad noctem protracto, " Willelmus victor effectus, in subsequenti Natali Domini, " Incarnationis Dominicæ anno millesimo sexagesimo sexto, " Londoniis rex Anglorum coronatur. Regnavit autem annis " viginti duobus. Quo mortuo, regnavit Willelmus filius ejus " pro eo annis tredecim. Cujus anno nono peregrinatio mul- " ta facta est gentium in Jerusalem contra Sarracenos. " Quarto vero anno peregrinationis capta est Jerusalem a " Francis, et regnavit in ea dux Lotharingorum Godefridus, " anno tantum uno. Cui successit Baldewinus frater ejus " anno quinto. Willelmus autem rex, decimo tertio anno regni " sui, occiditur venando sagitta. Cui successit Henricus frater " ejus, et regnavit triginta sex annis. Hic erat pastor fera- " rum et custos nemorum, quem Merlinus Ambrosius leonem " justitiæ in Historia Regum[1] nominavit. Fecit enim justitiam " et judicium in terra. Huic successit Stephanus nepos ejus, " et regnavit annis novendecim. Quo mortuo, Henricus filius " Gaufridi comitis Andegaviæ, et Matildis quondam Romano- " rum imperatricis, filiæ scilicet præfati regis Henrici primi, " regni Anglorum suscepit gubernacula, et regnavit triginta " quinque annis. Quo mortuo, et in abbatia sanctimonialium " Fontis Ebrardi sepulto, Ricardus filius ejus successit ei " in regimen regni; et regnavit annis novem et mensibus " septem et diebus viginti. Qui in obsidione castelli de " Chaluz sagitta percussus, octavo idus Aprilis obiit: cujus " viscera sepulta sunt apud Charrou, et cor ejus apud Rotho- " magum, et corpus ejus apud Fontem Ebraudi. Quo de- " functo, Johannes frater ejus successit ei in regno Angliæ, " et regnavit."[2]

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[1] Galf. Mon. vii. 3.

[2] *et regnavit*] annis xiiij., A., over an erasure and in a smaller hand. This must have been added after B. was copied, a blank being found in that MS. in place of the words. If such an indication can be trusted, the addition must have been made in 1213, and not only MS. A., but the copy of it in B., have been written before that year. B. has not the following glossary.

Laws of England.

Glossary.

Hic sunt diversorum nominum interpretationes.[1]

Munbrice, interpretatur læsio majestatis vel honoris. Blesmure donur.

Burhbryce, interpretatur læsio libertatis aut septi. Blesmure de Curt u de clos.

Miskennighe, inconstanter loqui in curia, vel invariare; change de parole u mesparler en plait.

Cheapinge, interpretatur mercimonii propositio; desplaer marchandise.

Fridsochne, interpretatur tutatio in juris dictione; i. seurte en defense.

Flemenesirpe, interpretatur fovere conclamatum reum capitis; i. recete uthlage.

Pergelyeof,[2] interpretatur seurte de larrun eschape.

Uthleap, interpretatur seurte de sun naif eschape.

Feordwite, interpretatur ferir parmed lee devant seinnur.

Yearwite[3] interpretatur suisise de warde.

Hengwite, interpretatur Justise faite sanz esward.

Haimsochne vel haimfare, interpretatur assaut de maisun u de charue et pais enfrainte.

Forstal, force faite en real chimin.

Infangentheof, interpretatur infra suum fundum comprehendere furem vel reum; i. dedenz le fon atachement de larrun.

Sachke, interpretatur jurisdictio; i. curt et justise.

Sochne, interpellatio majoris audientiæ; i. claim a justise et requeste.

Theam, interpretatur laudare auctorem; i. Revucher warant.

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[1] This Glossary is found in MS. A. only. It is followed by the copy of Glanvill on the laws of England, which is accounted for in the Preface to volume I., p. lxxvi., and this is followed by the assizes of Woodstock and Clarendon given in the text.

[2] *Pergelyeof*] Wergyld theof (þergyld þeof).

[3] *Yearwite*] Weard-wite (þeard-þite).

Assisa Regis de Forestis Angliæ.[1]

Laws of England.

Assize and regard of forests.

Hæc sunt videnda in regardis Forestæ.[2]

1. Ancient essarts.

Videnda sunt essarta antiquitus facta et hoc anno inbladata, quantum ibi sit per numerum acrarum et quis ea inbladaverit, et quis tenet, et in cujus feodo sint, et quo blado inbladata, et si non sunt inbladata, quo blado anno proximo fuerint inbladiata; et sunt scribenda per se.

De eodem.

2. Purprestures.

Similiter videndæ sunt purpresturæ ubicunque fuerint in foresta domini regis, sive in bosco, sive in plano, sive in landa, sive in brueria, sive in marisco; et quocunque modo occupatæ fuerint, vel domibus, vel molendinis, vel stangnis, vel vivariis, vel fossatis, vel in glebis, vel in frussuris vel aliquo alio modo; et quis eas fecerit, et quis eas tenet, et in cujus feodo factæ sint; et scribantur per se.

De eodem.

3. Waste.

Similiter videnda sunt vasta forestæ, scilicet de dominicis boscis domini regis, unumquemque ceptum de quercu vel fago videndum et inbreviandum qui post ultimum regardum coppati[3] fuerint. Et si bosci per esbrancaturam sint deteriorati, quid inde ad vastum debeat atornari, vel si de subbosco vasti sint, et id scribatur per se.

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[1] This with the two following assizes is printed at the end of the Preface to Benedict of Peterborough, vol. II., pp. clix, &c.

[2] Compare the directions for the justices of the forest given by Richard I., in Hoveden, ad ann. 1198, below.

[3] *coppati*] cōpata, A.

Laws of England.

De eodem.

Assize and regard of forests. 4. Ancient waste. De aliis autem boscis videantur vasti sicut antiquitus videri solent, et nomina villarum et dominorum quibus appendent; et scribantur per se.

De eodem.

5. Hedges and fences. Similiter videndæ sunt haiæ et defensæ domini regis, de quibus nemo communicat, et in quæ nulla animalia intrare debent, et tam de bosco quam de pastura et herbergagio sint in eodem statu in quo esse debent; et scribantur per se.

De eodem.

6. Mines. Similiter videndum est de mineriis, si sint in foresta, quis eas tenet, et quæ servitia inde facit, et facere debet; et scribantur per se.

De eodem.

7. Eyries. Similiter videndum est de aeriis accipitrum et speruariorum si in foresta fuerint; quis eas habet, et habere debet, an domini regis an alterius.

De eodem.

8. New essarts. Similiter videnda sunt essarta post ultimum regardum facta; scilicet quantum ibi sit per numerum acrarum, et quis in ea fecerit, et quis tenet et in cujus feodo sint; et si inbladiata sint; et quo blado sint inbladiata; et scribantur per se.

De eodem.

9. Forges. Similiter videndæ sunt forgiæ si sunt ubi esse debeant, et ubi fuerint tempore Henrici regis; et scribantur per se.

Hæc est Assisa Domini Regis Angliæ.[1]

Laws of England.

Assize of Forests.

Hæc sunt præcepta ejus de forestis suis Angliæ.[2]

1. Transgressions of forest law are no longer to be atoned for by fines.

I. Primum defendit quod nullus ei forisfaciat de venatione sua nec de forestis suis in ulla re; et non vult quod confident in hoc quod habuerit misericordiam de illis propter eorum catalla huc usque, qui ei forisfecerunt de venatione sua et de forestis suis. Nam si quis ei amodo forisfecerit, et inde convictus fuerit, plenariam vult de illo habere justitiam qualis fuit facta tempore regis Henrici avi sui.[3]

2. Bows and arrows and dogs not to be kept in the forests, without warrant.

II. Item defendit quod nullus habeat arcus, nec sagittas, nec canes, nec leporarios in forestis suis, nisi habeat warantum regem vel aliquem alium qui ei warantizare poterit.

3. Restriction of waste of wood.

III. Item defendit quod nullus donet vel vendat aliquid ad destructionem vel vastum bosci sui, qui sunt infra forestam regis Henrici: concedit bene quod capiant de boscis eorum quod necesse eis fuerit [4] sine vasto, et hæc per visum forestarii regis.

4. Owners of wood within forests to be answerable for their foresters.

IV. [5] Item præcepit quod omnes illi qui habent boscos infra metas forestæ regis ponant idoneos forestarios in

[1] Compare with this assize the Forest dooms of Canute in Thorpe's *Anglo-Saxon Laws*, folio edition, pp. 183 and 184; the version of the same assize given by Benedict, i. 323; and the various extracts in Manwood on the Forests. On the importance of this document as settling the authority of the MS. Reg. 14 C. 2, see Preface to Vol. I. p. lxxvi.

[2] A collation of this assize with two copies of it given in MS. Vespasian F. iv., of the age of Elizabeth, will be found in Benedict, ii. clxi, &c. The full title of this assize is, "Hæc est Assisa domini "Henrici regis filii Matildis, in "Anglia, de foresta et venatione "sua per consilium et assensum "archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, et "baronum, comitum et nobilium "Angliæ apud Wudestoke." Vesp. F. 14.

[3] "Tempore regis Henrici filii "regis Willelmi, avi sui," MS. Vesp. F. 14. "Ut amittat oculos "et testiculos," B. P. i. 323.

[4] *fuerit*] estoveria, MS. Vesp. F. 14.

[5] This article is omitted in Benedict, i. 323.

Laws of England. — Assize of Forests.

boscis eorum; de quibus forestariis ipsi quorum bosci fuerint sint plegii, vel tales inveniant plegios idoneos[1] qui emendare poterunt, si forestarii in aliquo forisfecerint, quod domino regi pertineat.[2]

5. The royal foresters to supervise all other foresters.

V. Item præcepit dominus rex quod forestarii sui capiant curam super forestam[3] militum et aliorum qui habent boscos infra metas forestæ regis, quod bosci non destruantur; nam si super hoc fuerint destructi bosci, sciant bene quorum bosci fuerint destructi, quod de ipsismet vel de eorum terris[4] capietur emendatio, et non de alio.

6. All foresters to swear to keep this assize.

VI. Item dominus rex præcepit quod omnes forestarii sui jurent quod secundum posse suum tenebunt assisam ejus qualem eam fecit de forestis suis; et quod non vexabunt milites neque alios probos homines de hoc quod dominus rex concedit illis de boscis eorum.

7. Twelve knights are to guard vert and venison in each county: four to agist the king's woods.

VII. [5] Item rex præcepit quod in quolibet comitatu, in quo habet venationem, ponantur [xii.][6] milites ad custodiendum venationem suam et viridem cum foresta;[7] et quatuor milites ponantur ad agistandum boscos suos et ad recipiendum panagium suum et custodiendum; et defendit rex quod nullus agistet boscos suos infra metas forestæ antequam bosci regis agistentur:[8]

Time for agistment.

et incipit agistamentum domini regis quindecim dies ante festum Sancti Michaelis, et durat quindecim dies post festum Sancti Michaelis.

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[1] *idoneos*] et legales, add. MS. Vesp.

[2] *pertineat*] MS. Vesp. adds, "et illi qui extra metas regardi "boscos habeant in quibus venatio "domini regis pacem habet, nullum "forestarium habeant nisi assisam "domini regis juraverint et pacem "venationis suæ, et custodem ali- "quem ad boscum ejus custodien- "dum."

[3] *forestam*] forestariis, Benedict.

[4] *terris*] catallis, Vesp.

[5] The Assize as given by Benedict does not contain the remaining articles.

[6] *xii.*] om. MS. A.; supplied from the Assize of Richard below, A.D. 1198.

[7] *foresta*] et viridarii cum forestariis, MS. Vesp.

[8] *agistentur*] in quolibet tertio anno, MS. Vesp. and Assize of 1198.

VIII. Et rex præcepit quod si forestarius ejus habeat boscos dominicos domini regis in custodia sua, et illi bosci fuerint destructi; et non possit nec sciat justam causam monstrare quare bosci destruantur, nihil aliud capiatur a forestario nisi proprium corpus.

Laws of England. — Assize of Forests. 8. Foresters answerable for waste.

IX. Item rex defendit quod nullus clericus ei forisfaciat de venatione sua nec de forestis suis. Præcepit bene forestariis suis quod si invenerint eos forisfacientes, non dubitent in eos manum ponere ad eos retinendum et attachiandum, et ipse eos bene warantizabit.

9. No exemption for clerks.

X. Item rex præcepit quod sua essarta videantur nova et vetera, et purpresturæ suæ et vasta forestæ, et quod inbreviantur quælibet per se.

10. Essarts and purprestures, to be registered.

XI. Item rex præcepit quod comites et barones et milites[1] veniant ad summonitionem magistri forestarii sui, sicut se defendi volunt ne incidant in misericordiam domini regis, ad placitandum placita domini regis de forestis suis, et alia negotia sua facienda in comitatu.

11. Earls, barons, and knights to attend the forest courts.

XII. Apud Wdestoke rex præcepit, quicunque forisfecerit de foresta sua semel, de ipso salvi plegii capiantur; et si iterum forisfecerit similiter; si autem tertio forisfecerit, pro tertio forisfacto nulli alii plegii capiantur de illo nec aliquid aliud nisi proprium corpus forisfacientis.[2]

12. Penalty for repeated offences.

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[1] "archiepiscopi, episcopi," etc., "et libere tenentes et omnes homines;" ins. MS. Vesp.

[2] The following additional articles from MS. Vesp. probably formed an integral part of the assize, but were omitted by Hoveden's transcriber with an &c.:—

xiii. Item præcipit quod omnis homo habens ætatem xii. annorum manens infra pacem venationis, juret ejus pacem, et clerici laicum feodum tenentes.

xiv. Item præcipit quod expeditatio mastivorum fiat ubicunque feræ suæ pacem habent et habere consueverunt.

xv. Item præcipit quod nullus tannator vel dealbator coriorum maneat in forestis suis extra burgum.

xvi. Item rex præcipit quod nullus de cætero chaceat ullo modo ad capiendum feras per noctem infra forestam neque extra, ubicunque feræ suæ frequentant, vel pacem habent aut habere consueverunt, sub pœna imprisonamenti unius anni, et faciendo finem et redemptionem ad vo-

Laws of England.

Hæc est Assisa facta apud Clarendun.[1]

Assize of Clarendon.

Hæc est assisa quam dominus rex Henricus consilio archiepiscoporum et episcoporum et abbatum, cæterorumque baronum suorum statuit pro pace servanda et justitia tenenda.

1. Inquest to be made in each hundred by the oath of twelve men.

I.[2] Quod per singulos comitatus inquirant per singulos hundredos, per duodecim legaliores homines de hundredo, et per quatuor legales homines de qualibet villata, per sacramentum quod illi verum dicent; si in hundredo vel in villata sua sit aliquis homo qui sit rectatus vel publicatus quod ipse sit roberator, vel murdrator, vel latro, vel aliquis qui fuerit receptor roberatorum, vel murdratorum, vel latronum, postquam dominus rex fuit rex.[3] Et hæc inquirant justitiæ coram se, et vicecomites coram se.

2. Persons presented, to go to the ordeal.

II. Et qui invenietur per sacramentum prædictum retatus vel publicatus de prædictis, eat ad juisam aquæ, et juret quod ipse non fuit roberator vel murdrator, vel latro, vel receptor eorum, postquam dominus rex fuit rex, de valentia quinque solidorum, quod ipse sciat.

3. Bail admissible.

III. Et si dominus ejus qui captus fuerit, vel dapifer ejus, requisierint eum per plegios, infra tres dies postquam captus fuerit, replegiatur ille donec faciat legem suam.

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luntatem suam: et quod nullus sub eadem pœna faciat aliquam forstallationem feris suis vivam vel mortuam inter forestam suam et boscos, vel alia loca per ipsum vel progenitores suos deafforestatos.

[1] The date of this assize is fixed by the mention in article xxi. of the Council of Oxford, which was held in January or February, 1166; and by the fact that it is itself referred to in the Pipe Roll for that year. As Henry II. left England in March, and did not return until March 1170; the date falls within the first quarter of 1166. Abundant confirmatory evidence may be found in the Pipe Rolls. See Benedict Pet. ii., preface, pp. lx, &c.

[2] Cf. Assize of Northampton, above, p. 89, Art. i.

[3] Cf. Assize of Northampton, Art. v., and Art. xxii. below.

Laws of England.

Assize of Clarendon.

4. Regulations for the inquest, presentment, and trial.

IV. Et quando roberatores, vel murdratores, vel latrones, vel receptores eorum capti fuerint per prædictum sacramentum; si justitiæ non fuerint tam cito venturi in illum comitatum ubi capti fuerint, vicecomites mandent propinquiori justitiæ per intelligentem hominem quod tales homines ceperint; et justitiæ remandabunt vicecomitibus ubi voluerint quod illi ducantur ante eos. Et vicecomes eos ducat ante justitias, et illic ducantur de hundredo et villata ubi capti fuerint duo legales homines ad recordandum recordationem hundredi et comitatus quare capti fuerunt. Et ibi ante justitias faciant legem suam.

5. The king to have the chattels of the criminals, taken under this assize.

V. Et de illis qui capti fuerint per prædictum sacramentum, nullus habebit curiam vel justitiam nec catalla nisi dominus rex in curia sua coram justitiis ejus. Et dominus rex habebit omnia catalla eorum. De illis qui capti fuerint aliter quam per prædictum sacramentum sit sicut esse debet.

6. Persons taken by the sheriffs to be brought before the justices without other summons.

VI. Et vicecomites qui eos ceperint, eos ducant ante justitias quos ceperint, sine alia summonitione quam inde habebant. Et omnes roberatores et murdratores et latrones et receptores eorum per hoc sacramentum vel aliter tradantur vicecomitibus, et ipsi recipiant eos statim et sine dilatione.[1]

7. Gaols to be built in counties where there are none.

VII. Et in singulis comitatibus in quibus non fuerint gaiolæ,[2] fiant in burgo vel in aliquo castello domini regis, vel de bosco ejus si prope fuerit, vel de alio bosco propinquiori, per visum servientium regis, ad hoc ut vicecomites in illis possint illos qui capti fuerint per ministros et servientes custodire.

8. All men are to attend the county court for the purpose of the jury inquest.

VIII. Vult etiam dominus rex quod omnes veniant ad comitatum ad hoc sacramentum faciendum, ita quod

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[1] Cf. Assize of Northampton, Art. xii.

[2] Abundant evidence may be found in the Pipe Roll of 1166 of the building of gaols in obedience to this article; especially at Canterbury, Rochester, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Malmesbury, Sarum, Aylesbury, and Bedford.

Laws of England. — Assize of Clarendon.

nullus remaneat pro libertate quam habeat, vel curia vel saca quam habeat, quod non veniat ad sacramentum faciendum.[1]

9. The sheriffs are to visit all franchises, for view of frankpledge.

IX. Et non sit aliquis infra castellum vel extra castellum, nec etiam in honore de Warengeforde,[2] qui vetet vicecomites intrare in curiam suam et terram ad videndum francos plegios quod omnes sint sub plegio.

10. Frankpledges and sureties to be arranged before the sheriffs.

X. Et ante vicecomites mittantur sub libero plegio; et in comitatu et in burgo nullus habeat homines nec receptet in terra sua vel in domo sua vel in soca sua, quos non in manu capiat quod habebit eos ante justitias si requisiti fuerint, vel sint sub franco plegio.

11. All franchises to be open to the sheriffs.

XI. Et nulli sint in civitate, nec in burgo, nec in castello vel extra castellum, nec in honore Warengeford, qui vetent vicecomites intrare in terram suam vel socam ad capiendum illos qui retati sunt vel publicati quod sint roberatores, vel murdratores, vel latrones, vel receptores eorum, vel uthlagati vel retati de foresta regis; sed præceptum est quod juvent eos ad illos capiendum.

12. Persons found with stolen goods, not having warranty, are not to go to the ordeal.

XII. Et si aliquis fuerit captus, qui fuerit saisitus de roberia vel latrocinio, si ipse sit defamatus et habeat malum testimonium de publicamento, et non habeat warantum, non habeat legem.

13. Persons not so found, but accused, are to go to ordeal: confession made before the hundred, not to be withdrawn.

XIII. Et si non fuerit publicatus per saisinam quam habeat, eat ad aquam. Et si aliquis fuerit recognoscens coram legalibus hominibus de hundredo, vel de roberia, vel murdredo, vel latrocinio, vel receptione eorum, et postea negare voluerit, non habeat legem.

14. Persons presented

XIV. Vult etiam dominus rex quod illi qui facient

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[1] The Pipe Roll of 1166 contains fines for the breach of this article: "homines de Tichesoura debent "v. marcas quia noluerunt jurare "Assisam Regis," Rutland.

[2] *Warengeford*] Wareng̃, MS A. Sir F. Palgrave understood by this the honour of the earl Warren of Surrey; but it was not at this time in the king's hands, and the abbreviation is common for Wallingford, which was so.

[27] Cf. with Art. xii. and xiii., Assize of Northampton, Art. iii.

suam legem et mundi erunt per legem, si ipsi fuerint de testimonio pessimo, et publice et turpiter defamati multorum testimonio et legalium hominum, foris jurent terram regis, ita quod infra octo dies[1] mare transibunt, nisi aura eos detinuerit; et cum prima aura quam habebunt, mare transibunt, et ultra in Angliam non revertentur nisi per misericordiam regis; et ibi sint uthlagati: et si redierint capiantur sicut uthlagati.

Laws of England. — Assize of Clarendon. and cleared at the ordeal, to abjure the country.

XV. Prohibet etiam dominus rex ne aliquis waivus vel ignotus hospitetur alicubi nisi in burgo, et ibi non nisi una nocte; nisi ipse ibi infirmetur vel equus ejus, ita quod monstrare possit rationabilem causam.

15. Strangers to be harboured for only one night.

XVI. Et si plusquam una nocte, capiatur donec dominus ejus venerit ad plegiandum eum, vel ipse habeat salvos plegios, et ipse similiter capiatur qui eum hospitatus fuerit.[2]

16. The host after that, is to give surety for his guest.

XVII. Et si aliquis vicecomes mandaverit alio vicecomiti, quod homines fugerint de vicecomitatu suo in alium comitatum pro roberia vel pro murdro vel latrocinio vel receptione eorum, vel pro uthlagaria vel pro recto forestæ regis, ille capiat illos; et etiam si per se vel per alios sciret quod tales homines fugerint in suum comitatum, capiat eos et custodiat donec de eis habeat salvos plegios.

17. Fugitives from one county to be arrested in another.

XVIII. Et omnes vicecomites faciant inbreviari omnes fugitivos[3] qui fugerint de suis comitatibus; et hoc faciant coram comitatu, et illorum nomina scripta portent ante justitias cum primo venerint ad illos, ut illi per totam Angliam quærantur, et eorum catalla capiantur ad opus regis.

18. Fugitives to be registered and their chattels confiscated.

XIX. Et dominus rex vult, ex quo vicecomites susceperint summonitiones justitiarum itinerantium, ut ipsi cum comitatibus suis sint ante illos, illi aggrega-

19. Sheriffs to inquire in the county court, about all new comers.

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[1] *octo dies*] enlarged by the Assize of Northampton, Art. i., to forty days.

[2] Cf. Assize of Northampton, Art. ii.

[3] Cf. Assize of Northampton, Art. xiii.

Laws of England. — Assize of Clarendon.

bunt comitatus suos, et inquirent omnes qui de novo venerint in suos comitatus post hanc assisam; et illos mittent per plegios quod sint coram justitias, vel illos custodient donec justitiæ ad illos venerint, et tunc habebunt illos coram justitias.

20. Mean people not to be admitted to religious houses without inquiry.

XX. Prohibet etiam dominus rex ne monachi vel canonici vel aliqua domus religionis recipiant aliquem de minuto populo in monachum vel canonicum vel fratrem, donec sciatur de quali testimonio ipse fuerit, nisi ipse infirmus fuerit ad mortem.[1]

21. Proscription of the Oxford heretics.

XXI. Prohibet dominus rex ne aliquis in tota Anglia receptet in terra sua vel soca sua vel domo sub se, aliquem de secta illorum renegatorum qui fuerint excommunicati et signati apud Oxeneford.[2] Et si quis eos receperit, sit in misericordia domini regis; et domus in qua illi fuerint asportetur extra villam et comburatur. Et hoc jurabit unusquisque vicecomes quod hoc tenebit, et hoc jurare faciet omnes ministros suos et dapiferos et barones et omnes milites et francotenentes de comitatu.

22. To be kept during the king's pleasure.

XXII. Et vult dominus rex quod hæc assisa teneatur in regno suo quamdiu ei placuerit.

A.D. 1180. Deaths of the year.

Eodem anno, scilicet xx°vi°. prædicti regis Henrici, obierunt Lodowicus rex Francorum et Manuel Constantinopolitanus imperator, et Henricus comes de Troies[3] avunculus Philippi regis Franciæ, et Ægidius Ebroicensis episcopus, et Constantiensis episcopus,[4] et Ricardus Sancti Andreæ in Scotia episcopus.[5] Benedict, i. 250, 269.

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[1] Cf. Constitutions of Clarendon, A°. 1164, Art. xvi.

[2] Cf. R. de Diceto, c. 539; W. Newb. ii. 13; Walter Map, *de nugis Curialium*, pp. 61, 62.

[3] March 17, 1181, Art de Ver. les Dates.

[4] Richard de Bohun, 1157—1180.

[5] See above, p. 208. The whole paragraph is omitted in B.

[1] *XXVII^mus annus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis.* A.D. 1181.

Benedict, i. 269. Anno gratiæ MºCºLXXXºIº., qui erat annus vicesimus septimus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex fuit die Natalis Domini apud Cenomannis. Et post Natale Domini statuit per omnes terras suas transmarinas, ut unusquisque homo habens centum libras Andegavensis monetæ in catallo, haberet equum et arma militaria plenarie. Omnis autem homo habens in catallo quadraginta, vel triginta, vel viginti quinque libras Andegavensis monetæ ad minus, haberet albergellum, et capellum ferreum, et lanceam et gladium. Cæteri autem omnes haberent wambasiam, capellum ferreum, lanceam et gladium, vel arcum et sagittas: et prohibuit ne aliquis arma sua venderet, vel invadiaret; sed cum moreretur, daret illa propinquiori hæredi suo. Quod cum Philippus rex Franciæ et Philippus comes Flandriæ audissent, præceperunt quod homines sui simili modo armarentur.

Henry keeps Christmas 1180–1181 at Le Mans.

Benedict, i. 270.

His assize of arms, issued at Le Mans.

Eodem anno post Purificationem Beatæ Mariæ, Laurentius Dublinensis archiepiscopus venit in Normanniam, adducens secum filium Roderici regis Conactensis, et tradidit eum regi Angliæ in obsidem, super pactis inter ipsum et regem Conactæ contractis de tributo Hiberniæ solvendo; et paulo post idem Dublinensis archiepiscopus obiit in Normannia apud Aucum, et ibidem sepultus est. Quo defuncto, rex Angliæ misit in Hyberniam Gaufridum de Haya clericum suum, et clericum Alexi legati in Hiberniam, a saisiendum archiepiscopatum de Diveline in manu sua, et cum eis misit in Hiberniam Johannem constabularium Cestriæ,[2] et Ricardum de Pecco, ad custodiendum civitatem Divelinæ, quam Hugo de Laci custodierat. Noluit enim dominus rex quod ipse

After Feb. 2. Visit of the archbishop of Dublin, who dies at Eu.

The archbishopric taken into the king's hands.

[1] From this point the text is derived from the Bodleian MS. Laud 582, which is quoted as A., and the Harlean MS. 3602, quoted as G. The Royal MS. Reg. 14 C. 2 contains one folio of the year 1181, ending with the words "Eodem anno rex "Angliæ," p. 255, line 19, below. Another folio is added in a modern hand, which brings the text down to the word *Februarii*, p. 258, line 12, below. The first two folios of the Bodleian MS. are in a different hand from the following ones, and have been written to repair the loss of the original within a very few years of the date of the original text.

[2] John de Lacy.

A.D. 1181. February. diutius eam custodiret; eo quod ipse sine ejus licentia ceperat sibi in conjugem filiam regis Conactæ, secundum morem patriæ illius. Benedict, i. 270.

Geoffrey elect of Lincoln is compelled to resign his claims to that see.

Eodem anno dominus papa districtius in mandatis dederat Ricardo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, ut omni occasione et excusatione postposita, Gaufridum Lincolniensis ecclesiæ electum, domini regis Angliæ filium, ecclesiastica censura compelleret electioni suæ renunciare, vel sine dilatione ordinem sacerdotis et pontificalis officii dignitatem recipere. Gaufridus igitur in arcto positus, et imperfectum suum sentiens, consideransque se tantæ administrationi minime posse sufficere, maluit ab episcopalibus abstinere, quam onus importabile sibi imponere. Unde in hac forma scripsit Ricardo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo;[1] Benedict, i. 271.

Epistola Gaufridi Lincolniensis electi de ejusdem episcopatus resignatione.

Act of resignation.

"Venerabili patri et domino Ricardo, Dei gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, apostolicæ sedis legato, Gaufridus, "domini regis Angliæ filius et cancellarius, salutem et reverentiam debitam ac devotam. Placuit majestati apostolicæ "vestræ injungere sanctitati, ut me certo tempore vocaretis "ad suscipiendum ordinem sacerdotis, et pontificalis officii "dignitatem. Ego, vero considerans quamplures episcopos "maturiores, ac provectiores prudentia et ætate, vix tantæ "administrationi sufficere, nec sine periculo animarum sui "officium pontificatus ad perfectum explere, veritus sum onus "importabile senioribus, mihi imponere juniori, faciens hoc[2] "non ex aliqua levitate animi, sed ob reverentiam sacramenti. Habito itaque tractatu super hoc cum domino rege "patre meo, dominisque et fratribus meis rege et Pictaviæ "et Britannorum comitibus, episcopis etiam Henrico Bajocensi, Frogerio Sagiensi, Reginaldo Bathoniensi, Segfrido[3] "Cicestrensi, qui præsentes aderant, aliter de vita et statu "meo disposui, volens patris mei obsequiis militare ad tem-

[1] This resignation was presented to the archbishop at Marlborough, and the business completed January 6, 1182: R. de Diceto, 613.

[2] *hoc*] pro certo, add. Bened.

[3] *Segfrido*] Seffrid II., 1180–1204. This name is omitted in Benedict.

Benedict, i. 271. " pus, et ab episcopalibus abstinere. Omne itaque jus elec- A.D. 1181.
" tionis meæ, et Lincolniensem episcopatum, spontanee, libere,
" et integre in manu vestra, pater sancte, resigno, tam elec-
" tionis quam episcopatus absolutionem postulans a vobis
" tanquam a metropolitano meo, et ad hoc ab apostolica sede
" specialiter delegato. Bene valete."

Benedict, i. 272. Similiter sub eadem forma idem electus Lincolniensis scripsit canonicis ecclesiæ Lincolniensis, postulans ab eis tam electionis quam episcopatus absolutionem. Dominus autem rex, cujus consilio Gaufridus filius ejus electionem suam manu Cantuariensis archiepiscopi resignaverat, dedit ei cancellariam suam, et quingentarum marcarum redditus in Anglia, et totidem in Normannia.

Geoffrey is provided for by the chancellorship.

Eodem anno Saladinus rex Babiloniæ, videns quod Baldewinus rex Jerusalem, lepra percussus, non haberet vires resistendi ei, magno congregato exercitu venit in terram Jerusalem, et eam devastavit, et non erat qui resisteret ei.

Saladin invades Palestine.

Benedict, i. 272. Eodem anno rex Angliæ[1] fuit apud Chinonem in solemnitate Paschali; et post Pascha rediit in Normanniam, et habuit colloquium cum Philippo rege Franciæ ad Vadum Sancti Remigii, quinto kalendas Maii, feria secunda, in quo colloquio Templares, et Hospitalares Jerusalem obtulerunt prædictis regibus litteras Alexandri summi pontificis in hac forma;

Henry keeps Easter (Apr. 5) at Chinon, and meets Philip at Gué S. Remy, Apr. 27.

Epistola Alexandri papæ de subvectione facienda terræ Jerosolimitanæ.

Jan. 16. The pope laments the misfortunes of Palestine.

" Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis,
" nobilibus viris, ducibus et principibus, comitibus, baroni-
" bus, et universis Dei fidelibus, ad quos litteræ istæ perve-
" nerint, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cor nostrum
" et omnium fratrum nostrorum sinistri rumores, qui de
" Jerosolimitanis partibus ad nos, communi transeuntium
" relatione, pervenerunt,[2] nimio dolore conturbant; cum vix
" unquam aliquis, qui Christiano nomine censeatur, sine lacry-
" mis et suspiriis audire valeat, quæ de statu illius terræ
" miserabili recitantur. Est siquidem infidelium, quod do-

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[1] *pater*, marked for erasure, A. | [2] *pervenerunt*] pervenerint, A. B.

A.D. 1181. Jan. 16. The weakness of the Franks there. "lentes dicimus, incursione contrita, et usque adeo fortium "virorum potentia et proborum virorum consilio viduata, "quod nisi a Christianis regibus et principibus orbis celerem "et potentem succursum habuerint,[1] desolationem ejus, quod "absit, in ignominiam Dei et in contemptum fidei Christianæ, "de proximo formidamus. The illness of the king. Non est enim rex, qui terram "illam regere possit, cum ille, videlicet Baldewinus,[2] qui regni "gubernacula possidet, ita sit graviter, sicut nosse vos cre- "dimus, justo Dei judicio flagellatus, ut vix ad tolerandos "sufficiat continuos sui corporis cruciatus. Quam gravem "siquidem jacturam, et quam miserabilem casum in personis "et rebus, illa terra, pro qua patres et genitores nostri san- "guinem proprium effuderunt in conflictu quem olim cum "gentibus habuit, peccatis exigentibus sit perpessa, nec nos "sine multa cordis commotione recolimus, nec aliqui zelantes "legem Domini, possunt tantam stragem fidelium patienti "animo tolerare; The threat of an invasion. præsertim cum illa gens pessima paga- "norum, ex incommodis et periculis quæ genti Christiano- "rum intulerant, tantam audaciam sumpsisse dicantur, ut se "jactent impudenter terram illam, quod avertat Dominus, in- "vasuros. Moveat itaque vos zelus Domini, nec religio "Christiana super tanta, quæ illi terræ imminet, contritione "dormitet: sed universa loca illa, quæ Salvator et Redemptor "noster corporali præsentia dedicavit, viriliter tueamini; et "contemnite gentes quæ abjiciunt Dominum, et Christianum "nomen de terris abolere nituntur. Exhortation to a new crusade. Non est utique Christi- "anus, qui præscriptæ terræ calamitatibus non movetur, nec "accingitur ad ipsam ab infidelium incursibus defendendam, "quam occupare laborant, et suis, quod absit, spurcitiis pro- "phanare. Ii autem qui ex vobis fortes sunt, et bellis ex- "ercendis idonei, non minus scuto fidei et lorica justitiæ, "quam materialibus armis induti, tam pium quam necessa- "rium opus, ac laborem hujus peregrinationis assumant; et "loca illa, in quibus Redemptor humani generis pro nobis "nasci voluit, et mortem subiit temporalem, potenti virtute "defendant, ne temporibus nostris sustineat in illis partibus "Christianitas detrimentum. Cum enim Christus pro salute "nostra opprobria multa et demum crucis patibulum sustinu- "erit, ut nos offerret Deo mortificatos quidem carne, vivifi- "catos[3] autem spiritu; expedit admodum saluti fidelium, ut "pro ipso corpora nostra periculis et laboribus exponamus;

Benedict, i. 272. Benedict, i. 273. Eph. vi. 14. 16. 1 S. Pet. iii. 18.

[1] *habuerit*] habuerint, A.

[2] *Baldewinus*] Baldwin IV., Mesellus or the Leper, 1174–1184.

[3] *vivificatos*] justificatos, Savile in marg.

Benedict, i. 273. A.D. 1181. Jan. 16.

Remonstrance against apathy.

" ne pretium Sanguinis quod pro nobis effudit videamur
" obliti. Animadvertite igitur, dilecti in Christo filii, et videte
" quam probrosum et quantum [1] mœrore dignum existeret
" Christianis, si adversus habitatores terræ illius, inimici
" crucis Christi denuo prævalerent, sicut eos prævalituros
" non modicum formidamus, nisi de diversis partibus, Chris-
" tianorum auxilium habitatoribus ipsis cum festinatione
" succurrat. Ne igitur Christianitas gentilitati succumbat,
" totis nisibus prævidete, quia melius est superventuro malo
" ante tempus occurrere, quam remedium post causam quæ-
" rere vulneratam. Illis autem qui pro Christo hujus viæ

Benedict, i. 274.

Confirmation of privileges granted to former crusaders.

" laborem assumpserint, illam indulgentiam peccatorum, quam
" patres et prædecessores nostri Urbanus et Eugenius Ro-
" mani pontifices statuerunt, apostolica auctoritate concedimus
" et confirmamus. Uxores quoque et filios eorum, et bona
" et possessiones suas, sub beati Petri et nostra, nec non et
" archiepiscoporum et episcoporum et aliorum prælatorum
" ecclesiæ decernimus protectione manere; prohibentes atten-
" tius, ne adversus eos, de iis quæ pacifice possident, aliqua
" post susceptam crucem quæstio moveatur, donec redeant,
" vel de ipsorum obitu certissime cognoscatur. Liceat
" autem eis terras seu possessiones alias, postquam propinqui,
" aut etiam domini sui, ad quorum feodum pertinent, pecu-
" niam ipsis mutuare, aut noluerint, aut non potuerint; ec-
" clesiis vel ecclesiasticis viris, aut aliis fidelibus libere, et
" sine ulla reclamatione, pro expensis hujus itineris titulo
" pignoris obligare.[2] Præterea, quicunque de viris bellicosis,
" et ad illius terræ defensionem idoneis, illa sancta loca fer-
" vore devotionis adierint, et ibi duobus annis contra Sarra-
" cenos pro Christiani nominis defensione pugnaverint; de
" Jesu Christi pietate, et de Beatorum Petri et Pauli aposto-
" lorum auctoritate confisi, eis omnium suorum, de quibus
" corde contrito et humiliato confessionem susceperint, abso-
" lutionem facimus delictorum, nisi forte aliena bona rapue-
" rint, vel usuras extorserint, aut commiserint furta, quæ
" omnia debent in integrum emendari. Si vero non est in fa-
" cultatibus delinquentium, unde valeant emendari, nihilomi-

[1] *quantum*] quanto, Bened.; quam, Savile and MS. B.

[2] The first two folios of the Laud MS. are written in a different hand from the succeeding ones, which very much resemble the Royal MS. Reg. 14. C. 2. The second folio ends with the word obliga*re*, which marks also one of the divisions of the very confused extracts with which the record of the year ends in MS. C.

A.D. 1181. Jan. 16. Privileges granted to the crusaders.

"nus consequentur veniam, prout diximus, de commissis. Ii "autem qui illic per annum, sicut diximus, moram habue-"rint, de medietate sibi injunctæ pœnitentiæ indulgentiam, "et remissionem suorum obtineant peccatorum. Omnibus "autem sepulcrum Domini pro instanti necessitate visitare "volentibus, sive in itinere moriantur, sive ad istum locum "perveniant, laborem itineris ad pœnitentiam et obedientiam "et remissionem omnium peccatorum injungimus, ut de vitæ "præsentis ergastulo ad illam beatitudinem, Domino largiente, "perveniant, quam nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec "in cor hominis ascendit, quam repromisit Deus diligen-"tibus Se. Datum Tusculani, xvii°. kalendas Februarii."

Benedict, i. 274.

1 Cor. ii. 9. S. James, i. 12.

Another letter to the clergy.

Scripsit etiam idem papa archiepiscopis et episcopis et aliis ecclesiarum prælatis super eodem negotio in hac forma;

Epistola Alexandri papæ de eodem negotio.

Jan. 13. The pope urges on the clergy the duty of promoting the crusade.

Benedict, i. 175.

"Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus "fratribus archiepiscopis et episcopis, et dilectis filiis abbati-"bus, et aliis ecclesiarum prælatis, ad quos litteræ istæ "pervenerint, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum "Orientalis terra per impressiones infidelium et incursus, "fortium virorum potentia sit et proborum virorum consilio "destituta, multo timore percutitur; et ad implorandam sub-"vectionem[1] fidelium, dilectos filios nostros, milites Templi, "latores præsentium, viros utique religiosos, et Deum timen-"tes, archiepiscopi, episcopi, et alii principes terræ, ad partes "vestras mittere decreverunt; nos autem, quos illius terræ "calamitas gravi dolore conturbat, exemplo patrum et præde-"cessorum nostrorum de ipsius conservatione solliciti, Chris-"tianos reges et principes orbis, ad defensionem locorum "illorum, in quibus steterunt pedes Domini, salubribus mo-"nitis exhortamur; et sicut patres et prædecessores nostri, "Urbanus et Eugenius, pontifices Romani statuerunt, ita et "nos remissionem et indulgentiam peccatorum statuimus uni-"versis, qui pro Christo laborem Jerosolimitanum assumpse-"rint, et contra Sarracenos fideli curaverint devotione certare. "Monemus itaque universitatem vestram attentius, et man-"damus, quatenus fratres, qui ad hoc missi sunt, benigno "recipiatis affectu, et per eos Orientalis terræ statu et neces-"sitate comperta, principes, comites, et alios fideles Christi

[1] *subvectionem*] so A., altered in a later hand to *subventionem* as in B. The whole lettter is omitted in C.

Benedict, i. 275. A.D. 1181. Jan. 13.

"parochianos vestros, crebris et sollicitis exhortationibus laboretis inducere, ut terram illam, pro cujus liberatione patres et genitores eorum sanguinem proprium effuderunt, adeant festinanter, et contra inimicos crucis Christi potentia et virtute decertent. Litteras autem, quas propter hoc generaliter mittimus, universis faciatis ecclesiis publice legi, et exponatis earum tenorem; et remissionem peccatorum, quam facimus illis qui tam pium et necessarium opus assumpserint, nuncietis; et ita omnes ad exsequendum quod suggerimus moneatis, quod per sollicitudinem et exhortationem vestram terra illa festinanter fidelium sentiat auxilium et juvamen; et vos propter hoc ab Omnipotenti Deo mercedem possitis consequi sempiternam. Datum Tusculani, idus[1] Januarii."

He orders the general letter to be read in churches.

April 27. Henry and Philip promise succour.

Quibus auditis, Philippus rex Franciæ et Henricus rex Angliæ, plurimum condolentes de adversitate et desolatione terræ Jerosolimitanæ, promiserunt se, Domino auxiliante, celerem succursum facturos terræ illi, et in his finitum est colloquium.

Benedict, 276.

William king of Scots appears in Normandy and reconciles himself with his bishops.

Interim Willelmus rex Scotiæ per mandatum domini Henrici regis Angliæ venit in Normanniam; cujus admonitione et consilio idem rex Scotiæ concessit Mathæo episcopo de Aberden, et Johanni episcopo Sancti Andreæ, quos ipse a Scotia fugaverat, licentiam repatriandi. Convenit etiam inter eos, coram rege Angliæ, in hunc modum; quod Mathæus episcopus de Aberden libere et sine aliqua contradictione per conductum regis Scotiæ ad sedem propriam remearet, et si qua ei ablata fuissent, restituerentur; et Johannes, qui consecratus fuerat ad episcopatum Sancti Andreæ, propter amorem domini sui regis Scotiæ habendum, concessit[3] se dimissurum episcopatum illum, si liceret ei eligere quem vellet episcopatum de regno Scotiæ, et si rex Scotiæ insuper dedisset ei cancellariam suam, et omnes redditus suos quos habuit ante consecrationem suam, et xl. marcatas reddituum in ecclesia Sancti Andreæ.[4] Misit

Bishop John is to be translated.

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[1] *idus*] xvi., Savile.

[2] *colloquium*] Hoveden here omits the negotiations of Hugh de Puiset, count of Bar sur Seine, with Henry II., on the subject of a Crusade against the infidels in Spain.

[3] *concessit*] ei, ins. Savile; B. reads *ei* instead of *se*.

[4] Hoveden has probably run together here two separate negotiations; the second of which occurs p. 270, below; and in Benedict, i. 290,

A.D. 1181. The pope refuses his consent.

igitur rex Scotiæ ad Alexandrum papam nuncios suos, postulans ut ipse pro bono pacis concessisset hanc fieri sedium episcopalium commutationem. Sed dominus papa hoc concedere noluit. Benedict, i. 277.

John Fitz Luke made bishop of Evreux, and Ralph de Warnevile, of Lisieux.

Deinde rex Angliæ dedit Johanni filio Lucæ,[1] clerico suo, episcopatum Ebroicensem: et Radulfo de Warnevile,[2] cancellario suo, Eboracensis ecclesiæ thesaurario, dedit episcopatum Lexoviensem, quem Arnulfus Lexoviensis episcopus reliquerat propter odium quod rex adversus eum habuit; cujus amorem cum nec prece nec pretio obtinere potuisset, maluit ab episcopalibus abstinere, quam odium regis diutius sustinere, et collectis undique auro et argento, quorum copiam habere dicebatur, et recepta[3] a rege Angliæ pecunia magna pro dimissione episcopatus sui, Parisius ivit, et ibi in ecclesia Sancti Victoris usque ad obitum suum permansit. Benedict, i. 278.

Resignation of Arnulf.

Quarrel between Philip of France and Philip of Flanders settled by Henry, who returns to England, July 26.

Deinde dum[4] rex Angliæ moram faceret apud Barbeflet, transfretaturus in Angliam, ortum est discidium inter Philippum regem Franciæ et Philippum comitem Flandriæ, propter comitem de Claromonte,[5] quem comes Flandriæ odio habuit. Venit ergo rex Angliæ per mandatum regis Franciæ ad colloquium inter illos apud Gisorz, et pacem fecit inter regem Franciæ et comitem Flandriæ. Deinde venit rex Angliæ ad Cheresburc, et transfretavit inde in Angliam, et applicuit apud Portesmue vii°. kalendas Augusti, die Dominica, et Willelmus rex Scottorum cum eo. Benedict, i. 277.

Deinde Henricus rex Angliæ fecit hanc assisam de armis habendis in Anglia; Benedict, i. 278.

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at greater length. Benedict says nothing in the passage corresponding with this about the pension or the retention of the preferment by John.

[1] *Johanni filio Lucæ*] He was bishop of Evreux from 1182 to 1192, in which year he died at Joppa, on the 1st of June or July. For *Ebroicensem* in this place Savile reads *Eboracensem*; Eboracrnsem, B.

[2] *Radulfo de Warnevile*] archdeacon and treasurer of Rouen; he had been chancellor to Henry II. since 1173, but had transacted the business of the office by a vice-chancellor or keeper of the seal. He was bishop of Lisieux from 1182 to 1191.

[3] *recepta*] accepta, Savile, with MS. B.

[4] *dum*] cum, B.

[5] *comitem de Claromonte*] Ralph I., count of Clermont in the Beauvoisis. Cf. Benedict, i. 277, 284, and R. de Diceto, 612.

Benedict, i. 278. "(I.) Quicunque habet feodum unius militis, habeat loricam et cassidem et clypeum et lanceam; et omnis miles habeat tot loricas et cassides et clypeos et lanceas, quot habuerit feoda militum in dominico suo. A.D. 1181. July. Assize of arms.

"(II.) Quicunque liber laicus habuerit in catallo vel in redditu ad valentiam xvi. marcarum, habeat loricam et cassidem et clypeum et lanceam.

"(III.) Quicunque liber laicus habuerit in catallo ad valentiam x. marcarum, habeat halbergellum,[1] et capelet ferri, et lanceam; et omnes burgenses et tota communa liberorum hominum habeant wambais, et capelet ferri, et lanceam: et Benedict, i. 279. unusquisque juret quod infra festum Sancti Hylarii hæc arma habebit, et domino regi, scilicet Henrico filio Matildis imperatricis, fidem portabit, et hæc arma in suo servitio tenebit secundum præceptum suum, et ad fidem domini regis et regni sui. Et nullus, ex quo hæc arma habuerit, ea vendat, nec invadiet nec præstet, nec aliquo alio modo ea a se alienet; nec dominus suus ea aliquo modo ab homine suo alienet, nec per forisfactum, nec per donum, nec per vadium, nec aliquo alio modo. Et si quis hæc habens arma obierit, arma sua remaneant hæredi suo; et si hæres de tali ætate non sit quod armis uti possit, si opus fuerit; ille eum qui habebit in custodia, habeat similiter custodiam armorum, et inveniat hominem qui armis uti possit in servitio domini regis, si opus fuerit, donec hæres de tali ætate sit quod arma portare possit, et tunc ea habeat.

"(IV.) Quicunque vero burgensis plura arma habuerit quam eum habere oportuerit secundum hanc assisam, ea vendat, vel det, vel sic a se alienet alicui homini, qui ea in servitio domini regis in Anglia[2] retineat. Et nullus eorum plura arma retineat, quam eum secundum hanc assisam habere oportuerit.

"(V.) Item nullus Judæus loricam vel haubergellum penes se retineat; sed ea vendat, vel det, vel alio modo a se removeat, ita quod remaneant in servitio domini regis Angliæ.

"(VI.) Item nullus portet arma extra Angliam, nisi per præceptum domini regis; nec aliquis vendat arma alicui qui ea portet ab Anglia; nec mercator nec alius ea ab Anglia portet.[3]

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[1] *albergellum*] abergellum A.; altered into habergellum in a later hand.

[2] *in Anglia*] Angliæ, Benedict.

[3] *nec mercator . . . portet*] om. Benedict.

A.D. 1181. July. Assize of arms.

"Item justitiæ faciant jurare per legales milites, vel per "alios liberos et legales homines de hundredis, et de visne-"tis,[1] et de burgis, quot viderint expedire,[2] qui habent valen-"tiam catalli, secundum quod eum habere oportuerit loricam "et lanceam et clypeum, secundum quod dictum est: scilicet "quod separatim nominabunt eis omnes de hundredis suis, "et de visnetis, et de burgis, qui habuerint xvi. marcatas, "vel in catallo vel in redditu;[3] et qui habuerint x. marcatas "vel in catallo vel in redditu: et justitiæ postea omnes illos, "scilicet juratores et alios, faciant inbreviari, qui quantum "catalli vel redditus habuerint, et qui secundum valentiam "catalli vel redditus, quæ arma habere debuerint; et postea "coram eis in communi audientia illorum faciant legere hanc "assisam de armis habendis, et eos jurare quod ea arma "habebunt secundum valentiam prædictam catallorum vel red-"dituum, et ea tenebunt in servitio domini regis secundum "hanc prædictam assisam, in præcepto et fide domini regis "Henrici, filii Matildis imperatricis, et regni sui. Et si con-"tigerit, quod aliquis illorum, qui habere debuerint hæc "arma, non sint in comitatu ad terminum quando justitiæ "in comitatu illo erunt, justitiæ ponant ei terminum in alio "comitatu coram eis. Et si in nullo comitatu per quos "ituræ sunt, ad eas venerit, et non fuerit in terra ista, "ponant ei terminum apud Westmuster ad octavas Sancti "Michaelis; quod tunc sit ibi ad faciendum sacramentum "suum, sicut se et omnia sua diligit; et ei præcipiatur, quod "infra prædictum festum Sancti Hylarii habeat arma secun-"dum quod ad eum pertinet habendum.

Benedict, i. 279.

Benedict, i. 280.

"(VII.) Item justitiæ faciant dici per omnes comitatus, per "quos ituræ sunt; quod qui hæc arma non habuerint, secun-"dum quod prædictum est, dominus rex capiet se ad eorum "membra, et nullo modo capiet ab eis terram vel catalla.

"(VIII.) Item nullus juret super legales et liberos homines, "qui non habeat sedecim marchas, vel x. marchas in catallo.

"(IX.) Item justitiæ præcipiant per omnes comitatus, per "quos ituræ sunt, quod nullus, sicut seipsum et omnia sua "diligit, emat vel vendat aliquam navem ad ducendum ab "Anglia: nec aliquis deferat vel deferri faciat maireniam[4]

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[1] *et de visnetis*] om. Benedict.

[2] *expedire*] quod ins. Savile and G.; inserted in a later hand in A.; wrongly, as will appear from the later articles of the assize; the possession of a certain income or property is the qualification for a juror.

[3] *redditu*] similiter add. Benedict.

[4] *maireniam*] mairemam, A.; maireinam, B.; maironiam, Benedict.

Benedict, i. 280. "extra Angliam. Et præcepit rex, quod nullus reciperetur "ad sacramentum armorum nisi liber homo." A.D. 1181. July.

Sept. 6. John Cumin made archbishop of Dublin.

Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ, filius Matildis imperatricis, dedit Johanni Cumin, clerico suo, archiepiscopatum Diveliniæ in Hybernia, viii°. idus Septembris, apud Evesham.

Benedict, i. 281. The archbishop of Rheims at Canterbury.

Eodem anno Willelmus Remensis archiepiscopus venit in Angliam in peregrinatione ad Sanctum Thomam Cantuariensem martyrem.

Benedict, i. 277. Donald Mac William ravages Scotland.

Eodem anno Duvenaldus[1] filius Willelmi filii Dunecan, qui sæpius calumniatus est regnum Scotiæ, venit cum exercitu magno in Scotiam, et deprædavit eam circa maritima.

Benedict, i. 281. Bishop John excommunicates the friends of the king of Scots.

[2]Eodem anno Johannes episcopus Sancti Andreæ sententiam excommunicationis tulit in Ricardum de Morevile constabularium, et Ricardum de Præbenda, et alios familiares regis Scotiæ, qui pacem inter regem et ipsum disturbaverant. Et Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, legatus in Scotia, et Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, ex auctoritate domini papæ mandaverunt priori Sancti Andreæ, et personis ecclesiasticis per episcopatum Sancti Andreæ constitutis, ut venirent ad Johannem episcopum suum, et illi debitæ subjectionis reverentiam facerent; sin autem[3] in contumaces et rebelles sententiam suspensionis inferrent. Cum autem quidam virorum ecclesiasticorum de episcopatu Sancti Andreæ metu suspensionis venirent ad præfatum Johannem episcopum, Willelmus rex Scotiæ illos a regno suo ejecit, cum filiis et cognatis, et etiam illis qui adhuc pendentes ab uberibus matrum vagiebant in cunis. Quorum miserandam proscriptionem et exilium, Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus et Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus videntes, processerunt in mandatum domini papæ; et Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus excommunicavit Willelmum regem Scotiæ, et ipse et

Roger of York and Hugh of Durham threaten the clergy of S. Andrew's with suspension.

Benedict, i. 282.

The king banishes the relations of bishop John.

[1] Donald, son of William, son of Duncan, son of Malcolm III. Duncan had been a competitor for the Scottish throne in 1094. William fought at the battle of the Standard. He married Alice, the heiress of Rumeli, with whom he had a large domain in the north of England; but Donald cannot have been the offspring of this marriage, as the inheritance of Alice fell to her daughters.

[2] *Eodem . . . evitare*] om. C.

[3] *autem*] minus, Savile.

A.D. 1181. Roger and Hugh put Scotland under an interdict.

Benedict, i. 282.

Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus tulerunt sententiam interdicti in totam terram regis Scotiæ, mandantes episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, et cæteris viris ecclesiasticis, sententiam illam interdicti firmiter et inconcusse observare, et ipsum regem sicut excommunicatum cautius evitare.

Death of Alexander III., Sept. 20; Lucius III. succeeds.

Eodem anno obiit Alexander papa tertius, xxii°. anno papatus sui, xii°. kalendas Octobris; cui successit in papatu Imbaldus Ostiensis episcopus cardinalis, et vocatus est Lucius papa tertius.

Roger archbishop of York distributes his goods and dies, Nov. 20, at Cawood.

Eodem anno Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus gravi infirmitate laborans, cum extremum vitæ suæ diem sibi imminere sensisset, convocatis coram se abbatibus et prioribus, et cæteris viris ecclesiasticis diocesis suæ, res suas satis provide in usus pauperum distribuit. Et inter cætera potentiæ suæ miranda ad perpetuitatem laudis suæ, Willelmo Remensi archiepiscopo, et cæteris episcopis regni Franciæ, misit plusquam quingentas libras argenti pauperibus distribuendas. Similiter Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, et cæteris episcopis Normanniæ. Similiter Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et cæteris episcopis Angliæ. Distributis itaque universis rebus suis, transtulit se de Cawda, ubi infirmabatur, usque Eboracum ad metropolitanam archipræsulatus sui sedem, ubi decimo kalendas Decembris, die Sabbati, in ipso noctis crepusculo, plenus dierum, postquam in regimine pontificatus sui viginti septem annis et sex hebdomadis feliciter vixerat, migravit a sæculo. Cujus corpus Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus sepelivit in choro canonicorum sæcularium metropolitanæ ecclesiæ Eboraci: Willelmo rege Scotiæ remanente in ea excommunicationis sententia, quam præfatus Eboracensis archiepiscopus in eum tulerat.[1]

Benedict, i. 283.

He is buried at York.

The king of Scots sends to Rome for relief from the interdict and for the deposition of John.

Audito itaque quod Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus esset defunctus, Willelmus rex Scotiæ gavisus est gaudio magno; et habito cum episcopis et comitibus, et majoribus terræ suæ consilio, Jocelinum Glascuensem episcopum, et Arnulfum[2] abbatem de Melros, et cæteros viros ecclesiasticos sapientes et discretos de regno suo, Romam misit ad Lucium summum pontificem, ut ipse a præfata excommunicationis sententia, et terra sua ab interdicto, absolverentur; et ut si ullo modo fieri posset, Johannes episcopus Sancti Andreæ deponeretur.[3]

Cumque domino regi Angliæ nunciatum esset quod præfatus archiepiscopus viam universæ carnis esset ingressus, misit

[1] *Willelmo . . . tulerat*] om. C.

[2] *Arnulfum*] Ernald, sixth abbot, 1179—1189; abbot of Rievaulx, 1189—1199.

[3] *Audito . . . deponeretur*] om. C.

Benedict, i. 283. ministros suos per archiepiscopatum Eboracensem, præcipiens quod universa, quæ prædictus archiepiscopus in infirmitate sua distribuerat, confiscarentur; sicque factum est. Nam tota divisa, quam ipse in infirmitate sua fecerat, per præceptum regis ad nihilum redacta est. Dicebat enim dominus rex, quod præfatus Eboracensis archiepiscopus judicium fecerat in vita sua,[1] quod de jure non liceret alicui viro ecclesiastico divisam facere, nisi priusquam ægrotare inciperet. A.D. 1181. December. The king forbids the distribution of archbishop Roger's gifts.

Benedict, i. 284. Eodem anno comes Stephanus,[2] avunculus Philippi regis Franciæ, occupavit terram cujusdam vicini sui, et eam vi detinuit, et devenit inde homo Philippi comitis Flandriæ. Quod cum fecisset, rex Franciæ saisivit eam in manu sua, et comes Flandriæ petiit sibi et comiti Teobaldo fieri inde restitutionem; et quia rex Franciæ id facere noluit, comes Flandriæ ingressus est terram regis Franciæ in manu hostili, et eam devastavit. Quarrel between Stephen count of Sancerre and Philip king of France.

Benedict, i. 277. Eodem anno obiit Hugo comes Cestriæ, cui successit in comitatu Rannulfus filius ejus. Earl Hugh of Chester dies.

Benedict, i. 289. Defuncto itaque Rogero Eboracensi archiepiscopo, dominus rex præcepit justitiis suis Angliæ, quod diligentem inquisitionem facerent de pecunia prædicti archiepiscopi; et ubicunque eam invenirent, ad opus illius exigeretur. Unde factum est, quod prædictæ justitiæ exegerunt ab Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo trecentas marcas argenti, quas idem episcopus pauperibus distribuendas receperat de pecunia archiepiscopi: quibus ipse respondit: "Ego has trecentas "marcas argenti, quas a me exigitis, vivente archiepi-"scopo, qui eas mihi tradidit, distribui leprosis, cæcis, "claudis, mutis, et cæteris pauperibus, et in ecclesiarum et "pontium refectionibus, pro salute animæ ipsius, sicut "ipse præceperat; et qui eas habere voluerit, colligat, "quia per me nunquam colligentur." Talis itaque responsio supra modum domini regis animum exasperavit, adeo quod Hugh of Durham defies the king's officers, in defence of archbishop Roger's last gifts.

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[1] *in vita sua*] om. Benedict; interlined in A.; in text in B.

[2] Stephen, count of Sancerre, seized the castle of S. Brice, which belonged to a vassal of the count of Clermont; becoming the vassal, for it, of the count of Flanders. The king, who was contesting Vermandois with the count of Flanders, seized the castle and expelled his uncle. The result was the union of the count of Flanders with the two brothers, Stephen and Theobald, against the king and the count of Clermont. Cf. R. de Diceto, 613.

A.D. 1181. The king seizes the castle of Durham. ipse præcepit quod castellum de Dunelmo in manu sua saisiaretur, ut ipse episcopus omnimodis afflictionibus affligeretur.[1] Benedict, i. 289.

XXVIII^vus annus regni regis Henrici patris.

A.D. 1182. Henry II. keeps Christmas 1181–1182 at Winchester. Anno gratiæ M°C°LXXX°II°., qui erat annus vicesimus octavus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex fuit in Anglia apud Wintoniam die Natalis Domini, quæ sexta feria evenit. Benedict, i. 284.

Death of the count of Gelders and the countess of Flanders. Eodem anno obierunt[2] comes de Gelres, qui filiam Mathæi comitis Boloniæ primogenitam duxerat in uxorem; et[3] comitissa Flandriæ, filia Radulfi de Peruna, uxor Philippi comitis Flandriæ. Benedict, i. 285.

Intrigues of the younger Henry against his father. Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ pater transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam, propter inopportunitates[4] et excessus quos Henricus rex filius suus ei faciebat. Ipse enim ad Philippum regem Franciæ cum uxore sua profectus, mala omnia quæ potuit machinabatur in perniciem regis patris sui, contra fidem et sacramenta quæ illi sæpius fecerat de fidelitate servanda: The elder king goes to Normandy. petens ab eo, per consilium Philippi regis Franciæ, fratris uxoris suæ, totam Normanniam, vel aliquam aliam terrarum suarum, in qua ipse et uxor sua morarentur, et unde ipse militibus et servientibus suis servitia sua solvere posset. Henry submits. Attamen divina inspirante gratia, ad patrem suum rediit, et juravit quod de cætero a voluntate et consilio suo non recederet, nec ab eo amplius exigeret, quam centum libras Andegavensis monetæ in die Benedict, i. 289. Benedict, i. 291.

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[1] *adeo . . . affligeretur*] So B. C. G. These words have been partially erased with a knife in the MS. A.

[2] *obierunt*] a blank in A. for the name of the count.

[3] *et*] a blank in A. for the name of the countess, Isabella.

[4] Hoveden has altered the place of this transaction in the history of the year. Benedict does not say that Henry went to France in consequence of the conduct of his son, but that he was detained there by that cause; and places the submission of the son late in the year: the peace of Senlis between Philip and the count of Flanders was concluded soon after the Clause of Easter, April 4. Henry crossed to Barfleur Mar. 4, R. de Dic. 613.

Benedict, i. 291. ad suas expensas, et decem libras ejusdem monetæ in die ad expensas uxoris suæ. Præterea rex pater concessit regi filio[1] quod, infra annum illum, centum de militibus suis servitia sua redderet. A.D. 1182. Provision made for him.

Benedict, i. 285. Deinde rex pater cepit colloquium inter regem Franciæ et comitem Flandriæ: in quo convenit inter eos in hunc modum; quod terra unde comes Flandriæ sibi restitutionem fieri petebat, redderetur militi qui eam amiserat; et Benedict, i. 286. comes Flandriæ restauraret regi Franciæ damnum quod ipse et sui fecerant in Francia, scilicet de combustione et præda capta. Præterea idem comes quietum clamavit regi Franciæ servitium comitis de Claro Monte, et tradidit regi Franciæ civitatem de Amiens, cum pertinentiis suis, et totam terram inde usque ad aquam de Lys, post decessum suum, cum nepte sua, filia comitis de Hanou: et idem comes in jure confessus est quod Peruna[2] cum pertinentiis suis vadium suum erat, et concessit quod rex Franciæ eam adquietaret pro sexaginta millibus librarum argenti. Peace made between France and Flanders. (April).

In eodem concilio idem comes Flandriæ tradidit regi Angliæ patri cartam regis filii sui; et ipsum et fratres suos quietos clamavit ab omni conventione inter eos facta tempore guerræ. Philip of Flanders releases the sons of Henry from his claims.

Benedict, i. 287. Eodem anno Lucius papa tertius ordinavit Johannem Cumin in sacerdotem tertio idus Martii apud Velletre:[3] deinde consecravit eum in archiepiscopum Diveliniæ, duodecimo kalendas Aprilis, Dominica in Ramis Palmarum, apud Velletre. Consecration of John Cumin, March 21.

Benedict, i. 286. Eodem anno, ad instantiam nunciorum regis Scotiæ videlicet, Jocelini Glascuensis episcopi, et Arnaldi abbatis de Melros, et Osberti[4] abbatis de Kelzou, et The messengers of the king of Scots

[1] *filio*] suo, add. Savile.

[2] *Peruna*] Written originally *una*, in A.; *per* is written in the margin in the ancient hand in which some late portions of the text are written.

[3] Benedict says that the pope made John Cumin a cardinal; but he does not appear in the list of cardinals, and the story probably means no more than that by both ordaining and consecrating him the pope treated him with as great honour as if he had been a cardinal. He died in 1212.

[4] *Osberti*] Abbot of Kelso, 1180—1203. These envoys brought the Golden Rose from Lucius III. to William. Chr. Mailr., 175.

A.D. 1182. Mar. 17. obtain relaxation of the sentence of excommunication and interdict.

Walteri[1] prioris Sancti Columbæ de Insula, Lucius papa tertius absolvit Willelmum regem Scotiæ a sententia excommunicationis, et regnum suum ab interdicto, Romæ in Lateranensi palatio, coram cardinalibus suis, scilicet, Petro de Pavia episcopo Tusculanensi, et episcopo Prænestæ, et Alberto cancellario, et Jacincto, et Hugeszun, et Petro de Bova, et magistro Viviano, et Reinero magno, et Chinchecapel, et Reinero parvo, et Hardeszun, et Hardewin, et Mathæo Andegavensi. Et postea tradidit litteras absolutionis suæ præfatis nunciis regis Scotiæ, in hac forma; Benedict, i. 286.

Epistola papæ Lucii de absolutione Willelmi regis Scotiæ.

Mar. 17. Pope Lucius III., learning that the king of Scots has been excommunicated by Roger of York,

(Not in Benedict.)

" Lucius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus episcopis, abbatibus, clero et populo per Scotiam constituto, salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum regibus tanquam præcellentibus apostolus statuerit deferendum, dignum est, et consonum rationi, ut eos tanquam filios carissimos propensius honoremus, et in devotione Beati Petri et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ annuendo justis illorum desideriis attendamus. Accepimus autem quod cum carissimus in Christo filius noster Willelmus, illustris rex Scottorum, electioni et consecrationi venerabilis fratris nostri Johannis episcopi inexorabiliter obviaret, obtentu litterarum sanctæ recordationis Alexandri papæ prædecessoris nostri, bonæ memoriæ Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et jam dictus episcopus, in eum et regnum et quosdam de regno sententiam excommunicationis promulgarunt. Cæterum venerabilis frater noster Jocelinus Glascuensis episcopus, et dilecti filii Arnaldus de Melros et Osbertus Calkoensis abbates, et Walterus prior Sancti Columbæ de Insula, propter hoc ad sedem apostolicam accedentes, sua nobis assertione

1 S. Pet. ii. 13.

[1] *Walteri*] Prior of Iona. Benedict gives more about the negotiations; but is shorter in the account of the absolution, omitting both the names of the cardinals and the letter which follows. Hoveden probably had the original of the letter before him, and copied from it the names of the cardinals who attested it. MS. B. omits the letter, and C. omits both the letter and the whole preceding paragraph.

(Not in Benedict.) "monstrarunt, quod archiepiscopus excommunicationis in A.D. 1182. Mar. 17.
"regem, et interdicti in regnum, et episcopus jam dictus in for certain
"quosdam de regno excommunicationis sententiam protule- reasons,
"runt, quam ex multiplici ratione retractandam fore rationa-
"biliter coram nobis et fratribus ostenderunt. Inde utique
"fuit, quod præfato regi, tanquam carissimo in Christo filio
"deferentes, omnem sententiam jam dicti episcopi pro præfata
"causa in eum vel suos vel regnum prolatam, de communi relaxes the sentence and
"consilio fratrum auctoritate apostolica relaxavimus; et sta- declares it
"tuimus illum et suos excommunicatione, et regnum inter- no longer binding.
"dicto, ex præscripta sententia nostra non teneri. Quo circa
"universitati vestræ per apostolica scripta præcipiendo man-
"damus, quatenus ei tanquam regi catholico, et habenti com-
"munionem apostolicæ sedis, participare minime dubitetis;
"sed in omnibus illi honorem congruum impendatis. Quanto
"enim certiores sumus de sinceritate devotionis illius et
"majorem fructum ecclesiis et personis ecclesiasticis regni sui
"certius proventurum, tanto amplius eum volumus in omnibus,
"in quibus secundum Deum possumus, honorari. Datum
"Velletræ, xvi°. kalendas Aprilis."

Benedict, i. 287. Eodem anno rex Angliæ pater misit nuncios suos, vide- Henry intercedes with
licet Willelmum de Mandevilla comitem Albemarliæ, et the emperor Frederick
quosdam alios familiares suos, ad Fredericum Romanorum for Henry
imperatorem, ut si aliquo modo fieri posset, averterent iram duke of Saxony.
et malivolentiam suam ab Henrico duce Saxoniæ. Quod
cum ad plenum fieri non posset, concessit imperator,
quod omnes, qui cum eo ire vellent, licentiam haberent re-
Benedict, i. 288. patriandi. Præterea idem imperator concessit Matildi du-
cissæ Saxoniæ, pro amore regis Angliæ patris sui, ut ipsa
libere et in pace remaneret, et totam dotem suam liberam The emperor
et quietam haberet; et si mallet cum domino suo in exilium grants the
ire, concessit ei imperator, ut custodes suos poneret ad duchess her dower lands
dotem suam custodiendam. Appropinquante igitur termino
quo præfatus dux a terra et cognatione sua recederet, ipse
et uxor ejus, cum filiis et filiabus suis, et cum comitibus
et baronibus et ditioribus terræ suæ, egressi sunt de terra
et cognatione sua, et venerunt in Normanniam ad Henricum Henry the
regem Angliæ, patrem prædictæ ducissæ, quos ipse Lion and his family
cum gaudio suscepit. Et paulo post præfatus dux dedit arrive in Normandy.
comitibus et baronibus et ditioribus terræ suæ licentiam
repatriandi; quibus rex Angliæ, pater ducissæ, munera He goes to
multa dedit, et dimisit eos; et dux ipse peregre pro- Compostella.
fectus est ad Beatum Jacobum, et ducissa uxor ejus re-

A.D. 1181. mansit cum rege patre suo in Normannia prægnans[1] apud Argentomium, et peperit filium. Benedict, i. 288.

Ranulf Poer killed.

Eodem anno Walenses interfecerunt Rannulfum Poer, vicecomitem regis de Gloucestresire.[2]

Roland elect of Dol, and Silvanus Abbot of Rievaulx,

Eodem anno Rollandus electus Dolensis, Romanæ ecclesiæ subdiaconus,[3] venit in Angliam, ex parte papæ Lucii, ad pacem faciendam inter regem Scotiæ et Johannem episcopum Sancti Andreæ, et perrexit ad regem Scotorum una cum Selvano[4] abbate Rievallensi collega suo: et diutissime tractaverunt cum illo de pace facienda inter illum et Johannem episcopum Sancti Andreæ. Ad quorum instantiam convenit in hunc modum inter regem et prædictum episcopum; quod Hugo abjuraret episcopatum Sancti Andreæ, et Johannes episcopus eundem episcopatum quietum clamaret a calumnia ipsius, et loco illius haberet episcopatum de Dunkelden, et omnes redditus quos ipse ante electionem suam habebat, et cancellariam regis, et quadraginta marcatas redditus de episcopatu Sancti Andreæ in vita sua. Hugo tamen, cum requisitus esset a domino suo rege Scotiæ quod abjurasset episcopatum Sancti Andreæ, respondit se malle suscipere judicium inde in Romana curia, quam sic abjurare episcopatum ad quem ipse fuerat consecratus. Et statim litteras quas Johannes episcopus contra eum a Romano pontifice impetraverat, arguit falsitatis, et appellavit ad Romanum pontificem. Unde prædictus Rollandus et Selvanus abbas, non valentes procedere prout deberent, in hac forma scripserunt summo pontifici;[5]

Benedict, i. 289.

Benedict, i. 290.

arrange terms of peace between the king of Scots and bishop John.

Bishop Hugh refuses his consent to the terms.

[1] *Eodem . . . prægnans*] Printed in Leibnitz, *Scr. Rer. Bruns.* i. 876.

[2] Rannulf Poer, Puer, or Puhier, was sheriff of Herefordshire from 1175 to 1182; he was not sheriff of Gloucestershire. This is related at much greater length in Benedict. The paragraph is inserted in the margin in B.

[3] *Rollandus*] Rotholandus, G. Dean of Avranches, elected archbishop of Dol in 1177. As the archbishop of Tours constantly and perpetually opposed the consecration of the archbishops of Dol, Roland continued to be only elect. He was made cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Porticu in 1184.

[4] *Selvano*] Silvanus, abbot of Rievaulx, 1167–1188.

[5] *Eodem anno . . . pontifici*] om. C.; *Unde . . . pontifici*, om. B.

Epistola Rollandi Dolensis electi, et Selvani Rievallensis abbatis, ad summum pontificem Lucium.[1] A.D. 1182.

(Not in Benedict.)

Report of Roland and Silvanus to the pope.

" Reverendo patri et domino Lucio, Dei gratia summo et " universali pontifici, Rollandus eadem gratia Dolensis electus, " suæ sanctitatis servus et alumnus, apostolicæ sedis sub- " diaconorum minimus, et Selvanus dictus abbas Rievallensis, " debitæ subjectionis reverentiam. Cum litteras, quas Hugo " episcopus redarguerat falsitatis, eidem episcopo dedissemus, " et eas in quibus processus rei continetur, acceptaque a " domino rege Scottorum licentia, recedere cum festinatione " vellemus; dominus rex me Dolensem electum diligenter " et affectuose rogavit, ut per dominum Johannem episcopum " transitum facerem, et ei ex parte sua Dunkeldensem epi- " scopatum, cum redditibus quos antea in episcopatu Sancti " Andreæ habuerat, cum augmento quadraginta marcarum " annuatim percipiendarum, cancellariam quoque regiam, in " signum dilectionis, offerrem, adjecitque se ei et suis omnia " ablata redditurum, præter hoc solum, quod ad manus ejus " devenisse sciebat; eosque in plenitudinem suæ gratiæ re- " cepturum sicut antea fuerat ei oblatum. Volebat tamen, " quod idem Johannes episcopus omnia instrumenta sua com- " bureret, quæ super facto Sancti Andreæ fuerant a piæ " recordationis Alexandro prædecessore vestro obtenta. Per- " mittebat quoque, quod Hugo episcopus ad Glascuensem " episcopatum[2] transferretur, si aliter episcopus Johannes " consentire non vellet; et si fieri non posset, tamen conce- " deret quod obtulerat, sed episcopum Johannem non ita " diligeret, nec ei plenam gratiam redderet. Quæ omnia " cum præsentia domini Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi obtu- " lissem domino Johanni, benigne concessit, dicens quod nun- " quam Hugonem episcopum in ecclesia Sancti Andreæ per- " mitteret remanere. Volebatque quod instrumenta prædicta " in aliquo loco reponerentur, ita quod nunquam sibi contra " voluntatem regiam eis uti liceret. Sic igitur ad regis " præsentiam redeuntibus nobis, episcopo Johanne prope " Rokesburg exspectante, dominus rex proposuit nobis, quod " multum ei placeret si Hugo episcopus posset in ecclesia " Sancti Andreæ remanere, et rogabat me ut episcopum ad

Terms proposed to bishop John by the king.

Proposed translation of Hugh.

Wavering conduct of the king.

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[1] This letter is not given in the Chronicle of Benedict, nor in MSS. B. C.

[2] Glasgow, however, was not vacant until the death of Jocelin in 1199.

A.D. 1182

The king undertakes to persuade John to allow Hugh to retain S. Andrews.

(Not in Benedict.)

" hoc inducere laborarem; et cum ego dicerem ei, quod " nunquam eum de cætero super hoc rogarem, quia non pote- " ram in hac parte proficere, dixit; 'Bene credo, quod ex " 'quo dominus Johannes ad pacem et dilectionem meam " 'redit, hoc consideratione meæ dilectionis, et ad precum " 'mearum instantiam sustinebit, et de eo libenter cum eo " 'loquerer;" et rogavit me rex ut ei consulerem quod " veniret loqui cum eo. Missis igitur clericis regis ad epi- " scopum Johannem, respondit quod non veniret, quia a " quibusdam consiliariis domini regis se audisse, quod domi- " nus rex semper ad hoc omnimodis nitebatur, ut Hugo " in episcopatu Sancti Andreæ remaneret; et si venire vellet, " illi non poterant ei securum præstare conductum. Cumque " illi in hæc verba redissent, dominus rex quendam episcopum, " abbates, comites et barones ad eundem episcopum trans- " misit, rogans ut locuturus cum eo veniret ad eum, præ- " cepitque eis ut eidem episcopo omnem securitatem præ-

John refuses to meet the king.

" starent. Qui redeuntes dixerunt, quod dominus Johannes, " quia præsentiens quod dominus rex vellet episcopum Hu- " gonem in ecclesia Sancti Andreæ remanere, respondit se " nunquam ad regem venturum nisi primo jurarent quod " dominus rex omnia, quæ ei per me obtulerat, observaret;

The envoys fix Oct. 1. for the parties meet at Rome.

" sed jurare nolebant; et sic dominus Johannes ad propria " remeavit. Nos vero prædictis episcopis, Johanni et Hugoni, " statuimus terminum in kalendis Octobris veniendi ad vos, " et vestro parere judicio. Valete."

The bishop of Rochester dies.

Benedict, i. 291.

Eodem anno obiit Walterus Rofensis episcopus; cui successit in episcopatu Walrannus Bajocensis archidiaconus.[1]

Warning vision as to the fate of the royal house.

[2] Eodem anno cum Walterus serviens domini Eustacii abbatis de Flaii dormiret nocte quadam, audivit vocem de cœlo semel, secundo, et tertio dicentem sibi "Vade, " et dic Henrico regi Angliæ, 'In nomine Christi " 'prodele,[3] endele,' et dic ei quod ita faciat, et nisi " fecerit, filii ejus et ipse morte morientur." Respondens autem prædictus Walterus dixit, "Quis sum " ego, ut mandata vestra perferam regi?" et accepit responsum: "Vade ad Rotrodum Rothomagensem ar-

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[1] Waleran was consecrated December 19, 1182, and died August 29, 1184.

[2] This is one of Hoveden's additions to Benedict. It is of importance as bearing on the character of Henry II.

[3] *prodele*] perdele, Savile and MS. B.

"chiepiscopum, et ad[1] capellanum suum, et ad Eustachium abbatem de Flaii, et ipsi tollent spinas et tribulos de via tua; et nisi festinaveris, cito[2] morieris." Post trinam itaque monitionem venit prædictus Walterus ad præfatum Rothomagis archiepiscopum, et capellanum suum, et ad Eustachium abbatem, et cum archiepiscopus ille et capellanus suus morbo et senio gravati interesse non possent, commiserunt vices suas abbati de Flaii; et ipse cum serviente suo perrexit ad regem, et serviens narravit visionem suam regi et minas annexas; sed rex nihil illorum intelligens, cum non esset qui interpretaretur ei visionem, nullam inde curam egit: et paulo post obiit Henricus rex filius suus, et deinde Galfridus filius suus, comes Britanniæ. Tempus vero, in quo hæc visio contigit, erat tunc quando Publicani comburebantur in pluribus locis per regnum Franciæ, quod rex nullo modo fieri permisit in terra sua, licet ibi essent perplurimi.

A.D. 1182. Warning addressed to Henry II. of the death of his sons.

XXIX[nus] annus regni regis Henrici, filii Matildis imperatricis.

A.D. 1183. Henry and his family keep Christmas 1182–1183, at Caen.

Benedict, i. 291.

Anno gratiæ M°C°LXXX°III°., qui erat annus XX[mus]IX[nus] regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex Angliæ fuit in Normannia apud Cadomum die Natalis Domini, et rex, et Ricardus et Gaufridus filii ejus, et Henricus dux Saxoniæ, et uxor ejus cum filiis et filiabus, et familia multa, et Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Johannes Cumin Dublinensis archiepiscopus, et episcopi et comites et barones multi fuerunt ibidem cum illo. Post Natale Domini præcepit rex regi filio suo accipere homagium a Ricardo comite Pictaviæ fratre suo, et a Gaufrido comite Britanniæ fratre suo. Ipse vero obediens patri,

The younger Henry demands homage of his brothers.

[1] *ad*] A blank for the name of the chaplain in A. The abbot was Eustace I., abbot of S. Geremar of Flay, in the diocese of Beauvais.

[2] *cito*] morte, Savile with MS. B.

A.D. 1183. January. Richard and his brother quarrel about the homage.

recepit homagium Gaufridi fratris sui, et cum a Ricardo fratre suo recipere vellet, noluit ei Ricardus homagium facere; et postmodum cum Ricardus offerret ei homagium facere, noluit rex filius recipere. Unde Ricardus plurimum indignatus recessit a curia regis patris sui, et veniens in Pictaviam terram suam, castella nova firmavit, et vetera effortiavit. Rex autem frater ejus secutus est eum per mandatum comitum et baronum Pictaviæ qui adhærentes ei damna multa fecerunt comiti Ricardo. Gaufridus vero comes Britanniæ in Pictaviam venit cum exercitu magno ad auxiliandum regi fratri suo. Cum ergo Ricardus vidisset se non posse resistere fratribus suis, misit ad regem patrem suum pro auxilio, qui magno congregato exercitu festinanter advenit, et obsedit castellum de Limoges, quod paulo ante traditum erat regi filio suo.

Benedict, i. 292.

War of Richard against Henry and Geoffrey.

Benedict, i. 293.

Item, causa discordiæ inter regem et filios suos.

On Jan. 1, the younger Henry confessed himself in league with the barons of Aquitaine against Richard, who had seized the castle of Clairvaux.

Ut autem hujus nefandæ controversiæ, quæ inter patrem et filios suos orta est, causa sciatur; sciendum est quod sacrosancto Dominicæ Circumcisionis die, Henricus rex filius domini regis Angliæ, sponte sua, nullo cogente, tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis, adhibita quoque clericorum et laicorum copiosa multitudine, juravit se ab illa die deinceps omnibus diebus vitæ suæ, Henrico regi Angliæ, sicut patri suo et domino, fidelitatem integram servaturum, et honorem et servitium debitum exhibiturum; et quia, ut asserebat, nullam malitiam nullumque rancorem in animo suo rex filius retinere volebat, unde rex pater suus postmodum posset offendi, manifestavit ei se baronibus Aquitanniæ contra fratrem suum Ricardum obligatum esse; ea scilicet intentione motus, quod prædictus frater suus castellum de Cleresvals in patrimonio sibi post patrem suum debito, contra suam firmavit voluntatem. Unde patri suo plurimum supplicavit, ut præfatum castellum Ricardo subtraheret, et in custodia sua retineret. Super quo Ricardus a domino rege admonitus, quamvis prius facere recusaret, postmodum tamen libere tradidit ad patris sui beneplacitum disponendum.

Benedict, i. 294.

Benedict, i. 295.

The brothers meet their father at Angers.

Tres itaque filii domini regis, rex scilicet et Ricardus et Gaufridus, venerunt Andegavim cum domino rege patre suo, inter se fœdus pacis perpetuæ firmaturi. Unde horum trium

Benedict, i. 295. singuli fidelitatem perpetuam domino regi patri suo contra omnes homines juraverunt servandam, et honorem ei et servitium perpetuum se præstaturos. Juraverunt quoque, quod juxta dispositionem patris sui pacem inter se perpetuam observarent. Statuta igitur die pacis inter eos dispositione patris sui confirmandæ, apud Mirabel, quia barones Aquitanniæ, quibus rex filius juraverat, non aderant, misit rex pater Gaufridum filium suum ad eos ut ad hanc pacem et concordiam venirent, et interim ab hostilitate cessarent.[1] Præfatus vero Gaufridus, Dei et paternæ reverentiæ et jussionis prorsus immemor, non pacem misit sed gladium, et contempto sacramento et homagio, et fidelitate quam toties patri præstiterat, cum inimicis patris sui fœdus iniit persecutionis, gentemque sacrilegam, et ab ecclesia Romana detestatam, ad destruendam terram patris sui induxit. Hoc autem audiens rex filius, supplicavit patri suo, ut pacem inter Ricardum fratrem suum et barones Aquitanniæ stabiliret. Dominus vero rex ad preces filii sui pacem se servaturum promisit, quæ et sicut in præterita æstate fuerat ordinata, ita quod[2] excessus ab utraque partium facti emendarentur; aut si baronibus hoc non placeret, eos secundum curiæ suæ judicium judicaret. Quod regi filio plurimum placuit, ita tamen quod castellum de Cleresvals in manu regis patris sui salvum esset.

A.D. 1183. They promise entire obedience.

Geoffrey is sent into Aquitaine to summon the barons to peace, and himself rebels.

S. Matt. x. 34.

Henry II. endeavours to make peace for Richard.

Benedict, i. 296. Rex itaque filius, impetrato a patre suo quod petierat, cum licentia patris sui profectus est Lemovicum, ut tam Gaufridum fratrem suum quam barones Aquitanniæ ad concordiam revocaret, et uxorem suam misit in Franciam ad regem Franciæ fratrem illius interim custodiendam; et rex pater, de voluntate et consilio regis filii, cum paucis alia via Lemovicum venit, tutus de filiis, tutus de suis. Et cum in propria venisset, sui eum pessime receperunt; quia in eum miserunt sagittas, ita ut etiam supertunicale suum crudeliter perforarent, et quendam militem suum coram oculis ejus vulnerarent, ipsumque regem ab ingressu tam civitatis quam castelli violenter arcerent; unde oportuit eum et Ricardum filium suum migrare inde. Postmodum dominus rex civitatem Lemovicum ingressus est. Ipso quoque ab eadem egresso, ut cum filiis suis paternaliter loqueretur, præsentibus filiis suis, præfati castelli

The younger king goes to Limoges.

He is followed by his father who is shot at by the defenders of the city.

[1] Geoffrey was sent to Limoges soon after February 2 (Gaufr. Vosion. ap. Labbe, Bibl. MSS. ii. 322); and Henry followed his brother in a few days.

[2] *quod*] et, A.

A.D. 1183. Henry and Geoffrey allow it.

satellites sagittas direxerunt lethiferas, adeo ut equum, quo rex pater ferebatur, in capite vulnerarent, et nisi equus ad adventum sagittæ altius caput elevasset, sagitta in regio pectore profundius descendisset: quod filii ejus Henricus et Gaufridus contemnentes, nec vindicaverunt, nec eo minus ad lethiferos hostes domini et patris sui redierunt. Benedict, i. 296.

The young king pretends to submit to his father in order to gain time.

Paulo post rex filius ad patrem veniens, obtulit ei, quod nisi barones Aquitanniæ ad pedes suos pacem impetraturi venirent, ipse, eis prorsus relictis, ad eum rediret omnimodis serviturus. Rex pater precibus filii interim motus, pacem, quam prius baronibus promiserat, repromisit. Quare rex filius, ut dicebat, ad fratrem suum Gaufridum et barones Aquitanniæ proficiscens, et ab eis revertens ad patrem, eos prorsus inobedientes asseruit et rebelles; quare ad servitium et voluntatem patris sui revertebatur. Hoc autem, ut ex post facto apparuit, fraudulenter actum est, ut interim gens perfida Braibancenorum, et filius perditionis Gaufridus, in terram regis patris licentius grassarentur, eamque nefarie devastarent, ornamenta ecclesiastica auferendo, oppida et villas incendiis inflammando; ovilia et agros rapinis evacuando, adeo ut mortificarent omnia; nec ætati, nec sexui, nec ordini, nec religioni parcentes, immo sola, ut videbatur, homicidia, sacrilegia et rapinas affectantes. Postmodum quoque rex filius audiens hæc a Gaufrido fratre suo fieri, dixit patri suo, quod quicquid fecerat in hac parte, consilio Gaufridi fratris sui fecerat; et patri suo arma sua et equum tradidit conservanda, et sic cum patre suo aliquot diebus moratus est. Verum cum in eadem mensa cum patre suo comedisset, et in eodem catino manum intinxisset, recessit a patre, et iterum cum inimicis patris sui se sacramento præstito obligavit, et ad patrem rediens dixit se nullo modo posse videre, quod ille hominibus castelli mala faceret, quæ meruerant; sicque recedens a patre profectus est Doratum. Pater vero putans eum pacificum revocavit. Qui rediens et ingrediens castellum, et scelus quod conceperat ad optatum perducere effectum non valens, supra corpus Beati Martialis juravit se crucem accepturum. Pater vero credens eum hoc magis ex indignatione quam ex religione fecisse, ab incauto voto paternaliter studuit revocare, quærens ab eo, flexis genibus coram eo lacrymans, utrum votum illud occasione rancoris, vel indignationis, vel paupertatis, vel religionis provenisset. Cui filius cum omni juramento respondit, se votum hoc vovisse ob solam remissionem peccatorum, quæ ipse in patrem suum fecerat; adjecit quoque, cum patrem suum lacrymari et contradicere videret, quod se propria manu interficeret, nisi pater desisteret a revo-

Benedict, i. 297.

Geoffrey ravages his father's lands.

S. Matt. xiv. 20.

The young king goes to le Dorat.

He swears to go on crusade.

Kindness of the elder king.

Benedict, i. 298.

Benedict, i. 298.

A.D. 1183.

He promises to equip his son for the crusade.

cando eum a proposito crucis capiendæ, quia Corpus Dominicum, Quod sacrari die illo coram oculis suis viderat, testabatur quod crucem a multo tempore retro accepisset, sed hoc nondum manifestaverat, sperans et confidens se patris sui gratiam plenius habiturum, quia peregrinari sine ejus gratia nolebat. Pater vero intelligens propositum ejus sanctum et firmum, ait, "Fiat voluntas Dei, et tua. Et ego ero tibi "provisor et adjutor in acquirendo comitatu, et sumptibus "copiosis adeo, Deo volente, ut nemo quem audierim in "partibus Jerosolimitanis servitium Dei potuisset aliquando "copiosius fecisse." Tunc rex filius gratias agens patri multiplices, supplicavit ei ut cum hominibus castelli et baronibus Aquitanniæ misericorditer ageret. Pater vero lacrymatus promisit ad beneplacitum suum de his omnibus se facturum. Filius autem rex iterum gratias agens patri, burgenses castelli adduxit ei, et invito patre cum ipsis burgensibus ad genua patris provolutus pacem pro eis petiit, et accepit, obsides tamen servandæ concordiæ præstaturis. Rex vero pater ad accipiendos obsides quosdam misit de suis, qui fere ab eis, qui tradere debebant, interfecti sunt. Quod rex filius nullatenus vindicavit, sed abjecta crucis religione, factus est cum eis hostis et patris proprii persecutor.

The son joins his father's enemies.

Treachery of Henry and Geoffrey towards their father's messengers.

Postea rex filius se pacem velle simulans, petiit a patre, ut ei Mauricium de Croum cum treuga mitteret, et alios barones quosdam; et dum cum eo loquerentur, quidam qui secuti sunt eos, ab inimicis domini regis, præsente rege filio, interfecti sunt. Aliquot diebus post elapsis, Gaufridus filius iniquitatis malitiose supplicavit, ut ei Oliverum filium Ernisii et Geram de Musterol in treuga mitteret. Quorum alter, scilicet Gerum, percussus est cum gladio per cappam et tunicam et camisiam, non sine sanguinis effusione: alter, scilicet Oliverus, de ponte in aquam projectus est, ipso Gaufrido præsente, nec illam injuriam vindicante. Postea iterum idem filius cum patre suo loqui volens, secure venit ad patrem, et de pace facienda dolose tractans petiit a patre licentiam intrandi castellum, ut fratrem suum regem, et alios domini regis inimicos, ad voluntatem domini regis inclinaret. Data est ei licentia, intravit et Beati Martialis feretrum decorticavit, et alia monasterii illius vasa aurea et argentea asportavit; et cum præda illa per patrem suum rediens treugas usque in crastinum petiit prorogari. Data est ei treuga, et ipse pontem transiens eadem die renunciavit patri treugam dissolutam; et de sacrilegio et furto quod Beato Martiali fecerat, Brabancenis suis sua stipendia persolvit. Summa

Benedict, i. 299.

Plunder of the shrine of S. Martial at Limoges.

A.D. 1183. (May 26.) Sentence of excommunication passed on the disturbers of peace.

vero præfati furti secundum æstimationem bonorum virorum fuit quinquaginta duæ marcæ auri, et septies viginti[1] marcæ argenti.[2] Benedict, i. 299.

Interim[3] Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Henricus Bajocensis, et Johannes Ebroicensis, et Radulfus Lexoviensis, et Frogerius Sagiensis, et Walerannus Rofensis episcopi, una cum abbatibus Normanniæ, et clero et populo multo venerunt Cadomum; et ibidem in monasterio Beati Stephani solemniter in communi plebis audientia sententiam excommunicationis tulerunt in omnes qui pacem et concordiam inter dominum regem et filios suos faciendam impedirent excepta solius regis filii persona. Benedict, i. 300.

The younger Henry plunders Roquemadour.

Rex filius, deficiente sibi pecunia, perrexit ad Sanctam Mariam de Rupe Adamatoris,[4] et decorticavit feretrum Sancti Adamatoris, et thesauros ecclesiæ asportavit. Paucis post elapsis diebus rex filius cum vidisset se non posse multum nocere patri suo, ex indignatione et animi rancore gravem incidit infirmitatem, in villa quæ dicitur Martel, non longe a civitate Lemovicensi. Primo enim arripuit eum febris, deinde fluxus ventris, et contrivit eum usque ad mortem. Qui cum sensisset mortem sibi imminere, misit pro domino rege patre suo; qui ad eum venire noluit, timuit enim insidias illius. Rex igitur filius, convocatis coram se episcopis et viris religiosis qui aderant, primum secreto, deinde coram omnibus sua confessus peccata, pœnitentiam et suorum recepit

He falls sick at Martel.

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[1] *septies viginti*] 27, Savile.

[2] Geoffrey of Vigeois gives a graphic account of this scene, which he witnessed; but unfortunately omits the date, and confounds Geoffrey of Brittany with Geoffrey the Chancellor. He says that the spoils amounted to 22,000 solidi. The event took place apparently early in Lent; the siege having been opened on Shrove-Tuesday, March 1. Geoff. Vig., ap. Labbe, ii. 334–336.

[3] *Interim*] Die Jovis Ascensionis Domini, Benedict.

[4] Henry's visit to Roquemadour was soon after May 28. On the 23rd he took Aixe; and proceeded to Grandmont, his father's intended burial place, which he plundered. He was sick at Userche on the 26th, at Donsennac on the 27th, and at Martel on the 28th. He then went to Roquemadour, and thence returned to Martel. Geoff. Vig. ap. Labbe, ii. 336.

A.D. 1183. June. Confession and penance of the younger Henry.

Benedict, . 300.

absolutionem peccatorum, et tradidit Willelmo Marescallo [1] familiari suo crucem suam Jerosolimam deferendam. Deinde depositis mollioribus indumentis, cilicium induit, et ligato fune in collo suo, dixit episcopis et cæteris viris religiosis circumstantibus: "Trado me peccatorem indignum, culpabilem et obnoxium per funem istum vobis ministris Dei, postulans ut Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Qui latroni confitenti in cruce peccata dimisit, per preces vestras et per Suam ineffabilem misericordiam misereatur infelicissimæ animæ meæ." Et responderunt omnes, "Amen." Et ipse ait illis: "Trahite me a lecto isto per hunc funem, et imponite lecto illi cinereo," quem sibi præparaverat; et fecerunt sicut ipse præcepit illis, et apposuerunt capiti et pedibus suis duos lapides magnos quadratos. Et omnibus rite peractis, ipse præcepit corpus suum deferri in Normanniam usque Rothomagum,[2] et ibidem sepeliri. Et his dictis, ipse Sacrosancti Corporis et Sanguinis Domini viatico munitus, in timore Domini emisit spiritum. Quod cum domino regi patri suo nunciatum esset, lacrymatus corruit in terram, et vehementer planxit filium.

June 11. He receives the last sacraments; and dies.

Grief of the elder king.

O quam nefandum est filios patrem persequi! injuriam namque patris, non pugnantis gladius, non hostilis manus defendit; sed vindicat febris, ulciscitur fluxus ventris cum excoriatione intestinorum. Redeunt cuncti ad patrem prostrato filio. Gaudent omnes, cuncti lætantur, solus pater plangit filium. Quid plangis, gloriose pater? ille tuus non erat filius, qui sic violavit paternos affectus. Defensio tua securitatem patribus attulit, et parricidarum audaciam revocavit. Gravi

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[1] *Willelmo Marescallo*] Afterwards earl of Striguil and Pembroke, the great earl Marshall of Magna Charta. He had been in arms as a partizan of the young king in 1173: Benedict. i. 46.

[2] See the document given in the preface to Vol. I. p. lxvii., and the remarks on the variation of Hoveden from the Chronicle of Benedict on the subject of the young king's death.

A.D. 1183. June. enim supplicio debuit interire, qui sæculo parricidium voluit intulisse; quia mentium arbiter, sicut tribulationes justorum ulciscitur, ita nonnunquam pravorum persecutiones persequitur.

The body of Henry is buried first at Le Mans; Servientes autem regis defuncti corpus regium multo sale aspersum, extractis cerebro et visceribus et apud Martel sepultis, plumbo et coriis taurinis involverunt, ut sic Rothomagum deferrent ad sepeliendum ibi. Et profecti sunt una cum illo cadavere regio; et cum venissent in civitate Cenomannis, et in ecclesia Beati Juliani confessoris atque pontificis, circa illud cum hymnis et psalmis pernoctassent, et mane voluissent inde cum cadavere illo recedere, episcopus civitatis et clerus una cum plebe non permiserunt illos asportare illud; sed sepelierunt illud honorifice in ecclesia Beati Juliani. Quod cum Rothomagensibus nunciatum esset, indignati sunt inde, et constanter petierunt corpus ejus, jurantes quod per vim tollerent illud, nisi celerius redderetur eis. Rex ergo pater præcepit, ut corpus illud traderetur Rothomagensibus, sicut rex filius, dum adhuc viveret, præcepit; et factum est ita. Et effoderunt corpus regis a loco ubi sepultum fuerat, et portaverunt Rothomagum, et sepelierunt illud in ecclesia Beatæ Mariæ. Benedict, i. 301, 303. and then at Rouen. Benedict, i. 304.

The king takes Limoges. Rex autem pater, defuncto rege filio suo, acrius faciebat insultus de die in diem in castellum Limovense, quod obsederat; et reddita sunt ei castellum illud, et civitas Lemovensis, et omnia inimicorum suorum castella in illis partibus; quorum quædam in manu sua retinuit, et quædam prostravit, non relinquens lapidem supra lapidem. Benedict, i. 302, 303.

Philip demands his sister's dower lands. Defuncto autem rege filio, Philippus rex Francorum petiit a domino rege Angliæ dodarium [1] quod rex filius ejus dederat sorori suæ, et totam terram de Voughesin Benedict, i. 304.

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[1] *dodarium quod*] vel dotem quam, interlined in A. Hoveden dismisses very briefly the tiresome negotiations about Margaret's dower, which are given more in detail in Benedict, i. 304, 305; the payment of the pension was settled at the conference on December 6, mentioned below; but several conferences had taken place on the subject in the mean time. Our author observes his usual plan of massing his information to the detriment of chronology.

A.D. 1183.

Benedict, i. 304, 305, 306. cum castellis et munitionibus, quam Lodowicus rex Franciæ, pater suus, dederat eis in matrimonium. Unde accepto inter illos colloquio inter Gisortium et Trie, convenit in hunc modum; quod Margareta soror regis Franciæ, quæ fuerat uxor regis filii, pro quieta clamantia omnium supradictorum quæ petebantur, MM.[1] et DCC. et L. libras Andegavensis monetæ singulis annis reciperet Parisius a domino rege Angliæ, et ab hæredibus suis, quamdiu illa viveret. Settlement of her claims.

Benedict, i. 299, 304, 307. Eodem anno dominus rex dedit episcopatum Lincolniæ Waltero de Constantiis,[2] clerico suo, quem Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus consecravit apud Andegavim, et misit in Angliam ad sedem suam, quæ jam per xviii. annos vacaverat, scilicet a tempore Roberti de Chennai Lincolniensis episcopi usque nunc. Walter of Coutances made bishop of Lincoln.

Benedict, i. 304, 305. Gaufridus[3] vero comes Britanniæ, regis filius, rediit ad patrem suum, et pacem fecit cum illo, et cum Ricardo fratre suo comite Pictaviæ. Geoffrey submits.

Benedict, i. 293. Eodem anno[4] Johannes et Hugo episcopi, de quibus mentionem feceramus, Velletrem venerant ad audientiam papæ Lucii, et uterque illorum proposuit, coram domino papa et universis cardinalibus suis, jus quod petebat in episcopatu Sancti Andreæ. Quo audito, dominus papa de communi fratrum consilio abjudicavit episcopatum illum utrique, et ipsi in manu summi pontificis resignaverunt præfatum episcopatum Sancti Andreæ libere et absolute, et sic a curia recesserunt exspectantes summi pontificis misericordiam: et post paucos dies, per consilium universorum cardinalium, summus pontifex reddidit Hugoni episcopo episcopatum Sancti Andreæ, et confirmavit; et concessit Johanni Pope Lucius III. receives the resignation of the two claimants of S. Andrews: he gives the see to Hugh;

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[1] *MM.*] bis mille, Benedict. The first M. is partially erased in A.

[2] On the appointment of Walter of Coutances to the see of Lincoln, Hoveden is very brief. Benedict mentions the circumstances of his election without the king's recommendation (May 8, 1183, R. de Dic. 615), his ordination at Evreux (June 11, Gervase, 1463), his consecration at Angers (July 3, R. de Dic. 692), and his inthronization at Lincoln, December 11.

[3] *Gaufridus*] Told at greater length in Benedict, i. 304, 305.

[4] *Eodem anno*] As the scene of this decision is Velletri, the date must have been before the end of June 1183; and Benedict confirms this by synchronizing the event with the death of the younger Henry. MS. C. omits this and the next paragraph.

A.D. 1183. He gives Dunkeld to John.

episcopo episcopatum de Dunkelden, cum universis supradictis quæ ei ex parte regis Scotiæ oblata fuerant, et confirmavit. Hugo autem domum rediit, et recepit episcopatum Sancti Andreæ. Johannes vero episcopus recepit episcopatum de Dunkelden: sed quia rex Scotiæ noluit ei ablata[1] restituere, ipse iterum movit quæstionem contra Hugonem episcopum de episcopatu Sancti Andreæ, sicut inferius notatum est.

Benedict, i. 293.

The settlement is not final.

Richard refuses to give Poictou to John.

Eodem anno dominus rex præcepit Ricardo filio et hæredi suo recipere homagium Johannis fratris sui de Pictavia, sed recipere noluit.[2]

Benedict, i. 308.

Quarrel of Lucius III. with the Romans.

Eodem anno ortum est grave discidium inter Romanos et papam Lucium, super consuetudinibus quibusdam quas prædecessores sui Romanis facere solebant, quas prædictus papa juravit se nunquam facturum. Unde Romani indignati sunt, et frequenter rapinas et iniquas combustiones fecerunt in terra domini papæ. Dominus vero papa[3] de loco in locum fugiens, castella sua et civitates munitas adiit. Ad cujus defensionem Christianus Maguntinus archiepiscopus, domini Frederici Romanorum imperatoris cancellarius, magno congregato exercitu advenit; cui Romani resistere non valentes Romam redierunt; quos prædictus cancellarius persequens, omnia ad Romanos pertinentia devastavit, et eos usque ad portas civitatis Romæ secutus est, omnia suburbana incendio tradens. Romani vero, videntes se perditioni traditos, machinabantur qualiter prædictum cancellarium dolo interficerent: et cum alter aditus eis defecisset, statuerunt illum veneno interficere; et ita fecerunt. Nam cum cancellarius ille, et exercitus ejus fere per decem milliaria ab urbe remoti essent, Romani direxerunt in paupere cultu legatos, qui statum curiæ addicerent. Qui cum totum esse didicissent, inter cætera comperierunt unum, quod perditioni illius præelegerunt. Erat namque prope locum illum fons nitidissimæ aquæ, quam

Benedict, i. 309.

Christian of Mentz tries to constrain the Romans.

Their measures of defence.

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[1] *ablata*] oblata, A. See p. 310 below, A.D. 1186.

[2] *Eodem anno . . . noluit*] This is dated in Benedict "paulo ante "festum Sancti Michaelis;" and the details are much more full.

[3] The movements of pope Lucius III. are thus traced by Jaffé: he went from Rome to Velletri in March 1182, and stayed there until June 1183; from June to September he was at Segni; from September to April 1184 at Anagni; from April to June at Veroli; and then at Verona until his death.

Benedict, i. 309. solitus erat cancellarius et exercitus ejus vino mixtam potare. Fontem itaque aggressi sunt nefandi proditores illi, et ipsum undique affecerunt veneno, ita ut manans aqua corrumperetur. Ut igitur potavit ex ea cancellarius, festinæ morti succubuit. Occubuerunt etiam post illum plus quam mille homines qui ex prædicto fonte potaverunt. Cum autem obitus cancellarii divulgaretur, exercitus ejus dissipatus est, et in fugam conversus, et Romani acrius insurrexerunt in dominum papam. A.D. 1183. Death of Christian and dispersion of his army.

Benedict, i. 310. Eodem anno Philippus comes Flandriæ duxit in uxorem sororem Sanctii regis Portugalensis.[1] Marriage of Philip of Flanders.

Benedict, i. 310, 335. Eodem anno dominus rex Angliæ dedit archiepiscopatum Rothomagi Waltero de Constantiis, Lincolniensi episcopo et dominus papa Lucius misit ei pallium.[2] Walter of Coutances made Archbishop of Rouen.

Benedict, i. 311. Idem vero papa non valens resistere Romanis, misit legatos suos ad reges et principes terrarum, tam sæculares, quam ecclesiasticos, pro auxilio habendo ad defensionem Beati Petri contra Romanos. Venerunt ergo nuncii sui ad Henricum regem Angliæ; postulantes ab eo et a clericatu Angliæ auxilium. Consuluit itaque rex episcopos suos et clerum Angliæ de petitione summi pontificis; cui episcopi et clerus consuluerunt, ut ipse secundum voluntatem suam et honorem faceret auxilium domino papæ, tam pro seipso quam pro illis; quia tolerabilius esset, et plus placeret eis, quod dominus rex, si vellet, accepisset ab eis recompensationem auxilii illius, quam si permisisset nuncios domini papæ in Angliam venire ad capiendum de eis auxilium: quia si aliter fieret, posset verti in consuetudinem ad detrimentum regni. Adquievit rex consilio eorum, et fecit auxilium magnum domino papæ in auro et argento. Dominus autem papa per pecuniam illam, et per pecuniam aliorum principum sibi undique allatam, pacem fecit cum Romanis, sibi et ecclesiæ Romanæ necessariam. Lucius III. asks aid of Henry II. Henry consults his bishops. Their advice.

[1] Benedict gives further details on this marriage; the lady was Theresa or Matilda, called by R. de Diceto, Beatrix, daughter of Alfonso, king of Portugal: her brother Sancho became king in 1185.

[2] See note 1, p. 284. This paragraph is omitted in B.; and the preceding one, *Eodem . . . Portugalensis*, is placed below after *necessariam*.

A.D. 1183. Eodem anno obiit Rotrodus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus[1] cui successit Walterus Lincolniensis episcopus. Benedict. i. 308.

Death of the bishop of Chester. Eodem anno obiit Ricardus Pecche episcopus Cestriæ;[2] cui successit Girardus La Pucele. Benedict, i. 307.

Shipwreck of Gilbert of Assaili, Sept. 19. Eodem anno Gillebertus dictus Assaili,[3] summus magister domus Hospitalis Jerusalem, venit in Normanniam ad Henricum regem, a quo honorifice susceptus est; et accepta a domino rege licentia transfretandi in Angliam, venit usque ad Depe, et ante festum Sancti Michaelis, navem quandam, quæ jam fere per annum in arena maris fracta et desiccata consederat, et jam aliquantulum dealbata et refecta, et in altum deducta fuerat, cum multis tam clericis quam laicis, qui jam longa exspectatione fatigati fuerant, intravit: sed mox navis illa, extra portum in altum ducta, velut lapis in profundum descendit, compagibus dissolutis: et ipse Gilbertus et cæteri universi qui in ea erant, præter octo tantum, qui beneficio naviculæ evaserunt, submersi sunt, xiii°. kalendas Octobris. Benedict, i. 305. Benedict, i. 306.

Henry II. does homage to Philip, Dec. 6. Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ, habito colloquio inter ipsum et Philippum regem Franciæ, inter Gisortium et Trie, die Sancti Nicholai, devenit homo Philippi regis Franciæ de omnibus terris suis transmarinis; cui nunquam ante tempus illud homagium facere voluit.

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[1] *Eodem . . . episcopus*] om. C. Rotrou died Nov. 25, 1183. Benedict mentions the election of Walter of Coutances as his successor before the end of the year. But the papal confirmation was not obtained before November 17, 1184; and Walter was not allowed to go to his church until February 24, 1185.

[2] *Cestriæ*] Richard Peche was bishop of Lichfield, Coventry, and Chester from 1161—1182, in which year he died, October 6. Gerard la Pucelle, an old servant of Henry, who had been implicated with John of Oxford in the recognition of the antipope in 1165, was consecrated September 25, 1183, and died January 13, 1184.

[3] Gilbert Assaili is counted among the Masters of the Hospital, 1161—1169. Benedict speaks of him as having vacated the office, "qui quondam. . . .exstiterat."

XXX^mus annus regni regis Henrici, filii Matildis imperatricis.

A.D. 1184.

Benedict, i. 310. Anno gratiæ M°C°LXXX°IV°., qui erat annus tricesimus Henrici regis Angliæ filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex fuit apud Cenomannum die Natalis Domini, quæ die Dominica evenit. The king keeps Christmas 1183–1184 at Le Mans.

Benedict, i. 311. Eodem anno Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus obiit, xiv. kalendas Martii, cui antequam inciperet ægrotare apparuit Dominus in visione dicens: "Tu dissipasti bona ecclesiæ "Meæ, et Ego exstirpabo te a terra." Qua visione plurimum perterritus statim incepit ægrotare, et octava die sequenti obiit. Richard archbishop of Canterbury dies, Feb. 17.

Benedict, i. 312. Eodem anno rex Angliæ, facta pace inter Philippum regem Franciæ et Philippum comitem Flandriæ de controversiis quæ inter illos erant, super terram de Vermundais, transitum fecit per medium Flandriæ, et transfretavit in Angliam inter Witsand et Doveram, et applicuit apud Dovere iv. idus Junii; et ducissa Saxoniæ filia ejus transfretavit cum eo. Henry returns through Flanders to England, June 10.

Benedict, i. 313. Eodem anno, in eadem hebdomada qua rex in Angliam applicuit, quidam fons fluentis aquæ, juxta ecclesiam Sancti Winini in Occidentalibus partibus terræ regis Scotiæ infra Cunigham, non longe a castello de Yrewin, manavit sanguine per octo dies et totidem noctes sine intermissione. A fountain of blood at Kilwinning.

Eodem anno ducissa Saxoniæ, filia regis, peperit filium[1] apud Wintoniam. The duchess of Saxony has a son.

Eodem anno comes Theobaldus de Blais, avunculus Philippi regis Franciæ, venit in Angliam in peregrinatione ad Sanctum Thomam Cantuariensem. Pilgrimage of Count Theobald.

Benedict, i. 316. Eodem anno Henricus dux Saxoniæ, gener regis, venit in Angliam. Arrival of Henry of Saxony.

Benedict, i. 317, 337. Eodem anno obiit comes Symon de Huntedun, quo defuncto rex reddidit[2] comitatum illum Willelmo regi Scottorum, et ipse statim coram rege dedit comitatum illum David fratri suo. Death of Earl Simon of Huntingdon.

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[1] William, surnamed of Winchester; afterwards duke of Brunswick, and ancestor of the kings of England and Hanover of that house.

[2] In April 1185: Benedict, i. 337.

A.D. 1184. Story of Gilbert Plumpton.

Benedict, i. 314, 315.

Eodem anno, cum Gilbertus de Plumtun, miles nobili prosapia ortus, ductus esset in vinculis usque Wigorniam, et accusatus esset de raptu coram domino rege a Rannulfo de Glamvilla justitiario Angliæ, qui eum condemnare volebat, injusto judicio judicatus est suspendi in patibulo; et cum duceretur ad patibulum, occurrit multitudo virorum ac mulierum, clamantium et dicentium virum justum, et innocentem non debere hæc pati. Baldewinus igitur Wigornensis episcopus, vir religiosus et timens Deum, audiens clamorem populi, et injuriam quæ fiebat misero illi, cucurrit post eum; sed ministri sceleris facinus accelerantes, ligato fune collo ejus traxerunt illum in sublime, et ecce episcopus ille Wigornensis velociter advenit, et dixit carnificibus: "Pro-"hibeo vobis ex parte Omnipotentis Dei, et sub anathemate, "ne istum hodie morti tradatis, quia dies Dominica est, et "festum Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ." Ad hanc vocem carnifices stabant stupefacti, hæsitantes quid agerent, timebant enim justitiam regis, et verebantur sententiam anathematis. Prævaluit ergo divina potentia, et propter reverentiam diei solemnis laxaverunt funem et dimiserunt eum in terra, custodiendum usque mane ad idem supplicium. Eadem nocte dominus rex pietate commotus, consilioque suorum, præcepit sic eum manere, donec ipse aliud de illo fieri præcepisset, sciebat enim quod per invidiam fecerat hæc illi Rannulfus de Glamvilla, qui eum morti tradere volebat propter uxorem suam, filiam Rogeri Gulewast, quam idem Rannulfus dare volebat in uxorem cum hæreditate sua Reinero[1] vicecomiti suo Eboraci. Sic itaque miles ille a morte liberatus, usque ad obitum regis fuit incarceratus per Rannulfum de Glamvilla.

He is saved from hanging by the bishop of Worcester, July 22.

Benedict, i. 316.

His offence and treatment by Ranulf Glanvill.

August. Council at Reading.

Benedict, i. 317.

Deinde venit dominus rex usque Redingges,[2] et celebrato ibi concilio de pastore Cantuariensis ecclesiæ

[1] *Reinero*] He was sub-sheriff and steward to Glanvill, and died on the third Crusade.

[2] *Redingges*] Radinges, B. The council was held August 5: Benedict.

Benedict, i. 317, 318.

A.D. 1184. August.

Counter claims of the monks of Canterbury and the bishops on the election of an archbishop.

eligendo, orta est lis et contentio inter monachos Cantuariæ, et episcopos Angliæ. Volebant enim monachi illi eligendi primam habere vocem, et protulerunt cartam domini regis, per quam ipse illis concesserat et confirmaverat liberam electionem: episcopi vero nitebantur probare cartam illam non debere teneri, tum quia contra jus et in detrimentum Anglicanæ ecclesiæ facta fuit, tum quia ad eos spectabat Metropolitani sui electio. Et propter hanc controversiam non potuit inter eos illa vice convenire.

Benedict, i. 319.

Dec. 2. Council at London for the election of an archbishop.

Iterum, per mandatum domini règis, episcopi Angliæ et monachi Cantuarienses convenerunt apud Lundonias in præsentia domini regis ad eligendum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ præsulem: quibus contendentibus, Gilbertus Lundoniensis episcopus, qui primam vocem eligendi ex antiquo ecclesiæ suæ jure habebat, elegit Baldewinum Wigornensem episcopum ad archiepiscopatum Cantuariæ, iv. nonas Decembris, et omnes episcopi assensum præbuerunt electioni illi: sed soli monachi Cantuariensis ecclesiæ contradixerunt, et facta appellatione ad dominum papam, abierunt; et episcopi Angliæ obtulerunt[2] domino regi electum suum. Ad quorum electionem et præsentationem dominus rex recepit eum in osculo pacis et dilectionis. Similiter fecerunt Ricardus et Gaufridus et Johannes, filii regis.

Benedict, i. 320.

The bishops elect Baldwin of Worcester.

Benedict, i. 321.

The king visits Canterbury and uses his influence with the monks.

Deinde venit dominus rex Cantuariam ad malitiam monachorum exstinguendam; et habito colloquio cum illis obtinuit adversus eos quod illi eligerent sibi in archiepiscopum præfatum Baldewinum; et fecerunt ita: nam Alanus[1] prior ecclesiæ Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ venit Lundonias cum saniore parte capituli sui, et cum litteris ratihabitionis. Qui convenientes in unum in capitulo monachorum Westmonasterii, elegerunt sibi et Cantuariensi ecclesiæ in archiepiscopum prædictum Baldewinum Wigornensem episcopum; et ne viderentur assensum præbuisse electioni episcoporum, suum cantaverunt "Te

At Westminster the monks elect Baldwin.

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[1] Alan, prior 1177—1186; afterwards abbot of Tewkesbury.

[2] December 16, Benedict.

A.D. 1184. December. Baldwin elected archbishop.

"Deum laudamus," et perduxerunt eum ad altare, et recepto eo in pacis osculo præsentaverunt eum regi, qui iterum recepit eum in osculo pacis et dilectionis; similiter fecit Ricardus comes Pictaviæ, regis filius. Benedict, i. 321.

Peace made between the sons of the king.

Deinde dominus rex firmavit pacem et finalem concordiam, scripto, et sacramentis confirmatam, inter Ricardum et Gaufridum et Johannem filios suos, coram Alienor regina matre eorum, et Henrico duce Saxoniæ et aliis multis. Benedict, i. 319.

Visit of the archbishop of Cologne to England.

Eodem anno[1] archiepiscopus Coloniæ venit in Angliam in peregrinatione ad Sanctum Thomam Cantuariæ; cui rex Angliæ occurrens cum gaudio suscepit, et adversus eum effecit quod ipse perdonavit Henrico duci Saxoniæ iram et malivolentiam suam, et eum in pristinam dilectionis familiaritatem recepit. Benedict, i. 318.

He is reconciled with Henry the Lion and promises Richard, the emperor's daughter.

Prædictus autem archiepiscopus Coloniensis, ad petitionem regis Angliæ, concessit Ricardo comiti Pictaviæ, regis filio, filiam Friderici Romanorum imperatoris dari in uxorem. Sciebat enim ipsum imperatorem hoc velle, et plurimum desiderasse. Benedict, i. 319.

Philip of Flanders invades Hainault.

Deinde prædictus archiepiscopus, et Philippus comes Flandriæ, qui cum eo in Angliam venerat, reversi sunt in Flandriam, et magno congregato exercitu, invaserunt terram comitis de Henou, et devastaverunt eam, propter injurias quas ipse fecerat comiti Flandriæ. Benedict, i. 322.

Deaths of the empress; the abbot of Selby; the bishops of Chester and Rochester; the abbot of S. Mary's, York; the earl of Huntingdon.

Eodem anno obiit[2] imperatrix Romanorum, uxor Frederici imperatoris.

Eodem anno obiit Gilbertus de Ver, abbas de Selebi.[3]

Eodem anno obiit Gerardus cognominatus Pucella, episcopus Cestriæ. Benedict, i. 320.

Eodem anno obiit Walrannus Rofensis episcopus.

Eodem anno obiit Clemens, abbas Sanctæ Mariæ Eboraci.[4]

Eodem anno obiit comes Symon de Huntedun.[5]

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[1] *anno*] A blank for the name of the archbishop, Philip of Heinsberg.

[2] *obiit*] A blank for the name of the empress: Beatrice of Burgundy, died November 15.

[3] Abbot 1160—1184; a piece of local information from Hoveden's own knowledge.

[4] Abbot 1161 — 1184; died August 18. Mon. Angl. iii. 538.

[5] Died November 18, 1184.

Benedict, i. 320. Eodem anno obiit Jocelinus Saresbiriensis episcopus. A.D. 1184. Deaths of the bishops of Salisbury and Exeter, and the earl of Warwick.

Eodem anno obiit Bartholomæus Exoniensis episcopus.[1]

Eodem anno obiit[2] comes de Warewic.

Benedict, i. 322. Eodem anno obiit filia Friderici Romanorum imperatoris, quæ maritanda erat Ricardo comiti Pictaviæ, ut supra dictum est.

Eodem anno combusta est ecclesia Sancti Juliani Cenomanensis. Fires at le Mans and Glastonbury.

Eodem anno combusta est abbatia de Glastingbyri.

Eodem anno dominus rex Angliæ sollicitus de pace facienda inter ducem Saxoniæ et imperatorem Fredericum, consilio archiepiscopi Coloniensis misit nuncios suos, videlicet Hugonem de Nunant[3] Lexoviensem archidiaconum, et quosdam alios de clericis et familiaribus suis, ad Lucium summum pontificem, ut auxilio illius præfatus imperator recepisset ducem Saxoniæ in amorem. Venientes itaque nuncii regis ad curiam domini papæ, invenerunt eum in Italia apud Veronem; et dum ibi moram cum eo facerent, venit illuc Fredericus Romanorum imperator ad loquendum cum domino papa,[4] ad cujus instantiam prædictus imperator dedit duci Saxoniæ licentiam redeundi in patriam suam, et relaxavit ei omne sacramentum quod ei fecerat de exilio exsequendo; et dominus papa absolvit eum de sacramento illo, quod ipse imperatori fecerat. Henry sends an embassy to the pope and emperor on behalf of the duke of Saxony. The emperor relaxes his terms. Benedict, i. 323.

Eodem anno obiit Thomas filius Bernardi, qui post decessum Alani de Neovilla[5] constitutus erat summus justitiarius omnium forestarum Angliæ a domino rege: quo defuncto, dominus rex divisit forestas suas Angliæ in diversas partes, et unicuique partium præfecit quatuor justitiarios, videlicet duos clericos et duos milites, et duos servientes de domo et familia ipsius custodes venationis et viridis super omnes alios forestarios, tam regis quam militum et baronum; New forest regulations made.

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[1] Bishop 1162—1184; died December 15.

[2] *obiit*] A blank for the name of the earl, William de Beaumont.

[3] Afterwards bishop of Lichfield, 1188—1198.

[4] The pope and emperor were at Verona together, November 4, 1184. R. de Diceto, 624.

[5] Alan de Nevill was chief justice of forests 1166—1176; Thomas Fitz Bernard, 1178—1184.

A.D. 1184. Forest assize. et misit eos placitare placita forestæ secundum suprascriptam [1] assisam forestæ. Benedict, i. 323.

At Worcester Rhys ap Griffin swears fealty to the king. (July.) Eodem anno dominus rex venit Wigorniam, processurus inde cum exercitu magno in Gualliam ad debellandum Walenses, qui terram suam devastaverant, et homines suos interfecerant: cujus impugnationem Resus filius Grifini pertimescens, rege præstante sibi conductum, venit Wigorniam, et ibi juravit regi Angliæ fidelitatem, et quod filium suum daret regi et nepotes suos in obsides; quos cum adducere vellet, noluerunt cum eo ire. Benedict, i. 314. Benedict, i. 317.

New bishop. Eodem anno [2] dominus rex dedit Willelmo Priori ecclesiæ Sancti Augustini de Bristoue episcopatum de Pangor. Benedict, i. 320.

Magnus king of Norway killed. Eodem anno Swerus presbyter, qui dicitur Birkebain, interfecit Magnum regem Norweiæ.

Approaching conjunction of planets. Eodem anno astrologi tam Hispanenses quam Siculi, et fere universi orbis conjectores tam Græci quam Latini, unam eandemque proferentes sententiam de conjunctinne planetarum scripserunt. Unde quidam astrologus qui Corumphiza dicebatur in hac forma scripsit. Benedict, i. 324.

Epistola Corumphizæ astrologi de conjunctione planetarum.[3]

Astrological prophecy of Corumfiza. "In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen. Novit Deus Omnipotens, et ostendit ratio numeri, quoniam planetæ tam superiores quam inferiores convenient in Libra,

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[1] *suprascriptam*] supradictam, G.; subscriptam, Benedict, who gives here a copy of the assize. The assize is given above, p. 243. On the importance of this particular as fixing the authority of the MSS., see Vol. i., preface, p. lxxvi. and Ben. Pet. i., preface, p. lxi.

[2] *Eodem anno*] December 3, at Westminster. It was Llandaff, not Bangor, to which William, prior of S. Augustine's, was elected. Bangor was not vacant at this time, nor before 1190. The same mistake occurs in Benedict.

[3] Rigord, in his life of Philip II., gives this epistle (ed. Pithoeus, 178, 179), and another by the wise men of Egypt to the same purpose. It is omitted on MS. C.

The conjunction of the planets passed off without any sufficient fulfilment of the prophecy; which in the East was explained after its failure as to be interpreted of the invasion of the Tartars: *Modern Universal History,* ii. 12. The author of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* refers it to the destruction of Palestine in 1187. *Itin.* i. 1. Rigord asserts the entire failure. Matthew Paris, however (possibly

Benedict, i. 324. " scilicet Septembri, anno ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu " Christi, æterni et veri Dei, millesimo centesimo octogesimo " sexto; Arabum vero anno quingentesimo octogesimo secundo. " Præcedet autem in eodem anno conjunctionem illam eclipsis " solis particularis, igneique coloris, in prima scilicet hora " vicesimæ secundæ diei mensis Aprilis, quam præcedet eclipsis " lunæ totalis ejusdem mensis Aprilis, scilicet, die quinto, prima " scilicet hora noctis, quæ præcedet diem Mercurii, si Deus " voluerit, immo quia vult, volet, voluit, et non desinet hoc vo- " luisse. Anno igitur prædicto planetis, jussu Dei [inunum con- " currentibus], in Libra, in signo scilicet aereo et ventoso, cum " cauda Draconis ibidem existente, terræmotus accedet mirabilis " in regionibus præcipue in quibus fieri consuevit, destruetque " loca terræmotibus consueta, ærumnisque perditionis obnoxia. A.D. 1184. Astrological prophecies of Corumfiza.

Benedict, i. 325. " Nam partibus Occidentis orietur ventus vehemens et validis- " simus, denigrans aera et fœtore corrumpens venenoso. Inde " mortalitas et infirmitas plures occupabunt, et audientur fra- " gores et voces in aere terrificantes corda audientium, et elevabit " ventus arenam et pulverem a superficie terræ, operietque " civitates in planitie sitas, et maxime in arenosis regionibus: " in quinto scilicet climate destruetur penitus Meca, Barsara, " Baldac, Babilonia; nec aliqua relinquetur quin operiatur " terra, et destruentur arena et pulvere, ut fere fiant inhabi- " tabiles regiones Ægypti et Æthiopiæ. Et ab Occidente per- " tinget hæc calamitas usque in partes Orientis. In partibus " quoque Occidentalibus orietur discordia, fientque seditiones " in populo; et erit unus ex iis qui infinitos congregabit exer- " citus, facietque bellum secus littus aquarum, in quo tanta " strages efficietur, quod impetus sanguinis effusi adæquabi- " tur undis excrescentibus. Pro certo habeatur a singulis, " quod futura conjunctio mutationes regnorum, excellentiam " Francorum, Sarracenicæ gentis destructiones, et Christi legis " pietatem majorem et exaltationem maximam, et eorum qui " postmodum nascentur prolixiorem vitam, quicquid dicant " alii, mihi significat, si Deus voluerit."

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following Ralph de Diceto's account of the earthquake in Calabria in 1185, which he says was partially felt in the north of England), alleges that there was in 1186 an earthquake throughout the world, which was felt even in England; p. 144: but this earthquake is placed by Benedict and Hoveden on the 15th, and by Ralph of Coggeshall on the 17th of April, 1185. See below p. 303. Walter Map refers to floods prevailing from May to Septuagesima, 1187, and to the damage done to the crops and fisheries: *De Nugis Curialium*, 22, 23: but the calamity is connected with the fall of Jerusalem both here and in M. Paris.

A.D. 1184. Astrological prophecies of William, a clerk of the Constable of Chester.

[1] Similiter Willelmus astrologus, clericus Johannis constabularii Cestriæ, scripsit de supradictis planetarum conjunctionibus in hac forma. (Not in Benedict.)

Epistola Willelmi astrologi de supradictis planetarum conjunctionibus.

Conjunction of planets, Aug. 30, 1186.

"Anno ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo octogesimo sexto, mense Augusto, die ejus tricesimo completo, "nocte sequente, hora nona, gradu Virginis vicesimo nono, "qui gradus terminorum, et terminus malorum dicitur, "accendente Leone, plura portendit ista conjunctio: minor "appellatur. Malum præest huic figuræ.

Sept. 7, 1186.

"Hanc sequitur Martis et Saturni conjunctio in quarto "gradu Libræ, septima die Septembris, hora octava, feria "prima. Sol horæ dominus. Sagittarius horoscopus. Hæc "conjunctio media dicitur. In hac conjunctione fortunæ "præsunt. Malitia hoc climate mitigatur.

Oct. 10, 1186.

"Sequitur Jovis et Saturni conjunctio, quæ major dicitur, "gradu Libræ octavo, die decima Octobris, feria sexta, hora "nona. Mercurius horæ dominus, Capricornus horoscopus, "Marte in quarto decimo gradu juncto caudæ draconis. Hæc "conjunctio portendit mira, tonitrus et fulgura cum scintillis "igneis in aere discurrentia.

Sept. 16, 1186.

"Sed eorum conjunctione omissa,[2] de conjunctione omnium "planetarum in Libra temporibus nostris per effectus prius "incognita, et posteris non cognoscenda: quod alii sub ænigmate protulerunt, nos figuraliter detegamus. Hæc autem "conjunctio sexta decima die Septembris erit, feria tertia, "hora prima, dominus horæ Mars, Sole oriente, et planetis in "locis suis, ut subsequitur. Horoscopus Libra, gradus primus. "Sol gradus xxx. Virginis. Jupiter gradus ii., minuta iii. "Venus gradus iii., minuta xlix. Saturnus gradus viii., "minuta vi. Mercurius gradus iv., minuta θ. Mars gradus "ix., minuta xviii. Cauda gradus xviii., minuta xxiii. Pars "gwerræ gradus xv. Luna gradus xvii., minuta viii. Pars "fortunæ gradus xix. Secundum Libra, gradus xxv. Tertium, "Scorpius gradus xxiv. Quartus Capricornus, gradus primus. "Quintus Aquarius, gradus v. Sextus Pisces, gradus vii. "Septimus Aries, gradus primus.

"Cum igitur Saturnus omnibus sit circulo altior, de eo "primitus dicamus. Ipse est paganorum significator, et om-

[1] This paragraph and the letter following are omitted in B. and C.

[2] *omissa*] amissa, A.

(Not in Benedict.) A.D. 1184. Astrological prediction of William clerk of the Constable of Chester.

" nium legi Christianorum adversantium. Cum igitur in " figura sphæræ sit in exaltatione sua, triplicitate Tr. F. G. " S. M. de victoria sua ipsi judicant: cum Sol sit in casu " suo petens conjunctionem planetarum superiorem. Longe " tamen aliter, et de figuræ judicio sentimus. Sol enim sig- " nificat magnates Christianorum, qui in hac figura petit con- " junctionem Jovis. Jupiter eam impotens Veneri committit, " et ipsa Saturno. Mercurius per retrogradationem eam " rescindens retrogradando legis eorum elationem, et nostræ " depressionem, natura indicaret. Mercurio eandem disposi- " tionem Jovi transportante, Jove autem nulli committente, " legis nostræ perseverantiam designat. Cum autem Sol in " figura sit præpotens, vir inter nos magnæ famæ consurgit " Christianus, cujus nomen usque ad finem Arin prædicabitur. " Sed quia conjunctio sit in signo mobili, ejusdem viri ter- " minus antequam Saturnus signum suum peragraverit, finie- " tur. Et quia Jupiter prophetias significat, hic tandem inter " prophetas connumerabitur. In hac figura Mars separatus a " Saturno, naturam Saturni committit caudæ. Quæ non reti- " nens hanc dispositionem, quasi per retrogradationem, quod " sibi commissum fuerat, iterum defert usque ad Martem. " Sed quia Mars in orbe solis comburitur, impeditus et inter " duos malos, Saturnum et caudam, obsessus et eorum natu- " ram in se retinens, significat ex sui proprietate, tristitias, " contentiones, timores, horrenda, interfectiones, substantiarum " ablationes. Cauda quoque separationes, detrimenta, pericula, " rerum diminutiones: et quia Mars cum cauda suam in ascen- " dente committit malitiam, ideo supersedeo hujus figuræ ju- " dicio juxta Albumasar in Centiloquio, 'Averte oculos a " 'figura in qua Mars fuerit in angulo, maxime cum fuerit " 'Scorpius ascendens, aut ipse cum cauda.' Et quoniam omni " astrologo patet huic climati præesse Saturnum, Luna eo " participante, ipsum immunem prædictæ malitiæ esse per- " pendi non posse. Unde solum superest remedium, ut pri- " mates sibi consulant, Deo serviant, dæmonem fugiant, ut " Dominus eorum pœnas avertat imminentes, Amen."

Item de supradicta planetarum conjunctione.

Epistola fratris Anselmi Wigornensis monasterii de supradicta planetarum conjunctione.[1]

Benedict, i. 325. Wonderful occurrence at Worcester.

" Universis litteratis, et præcipue scholaribus, ad quorum " præsentiam præsens pagina pervenerit, Anselmus, Wigor-

[1] This epistle is omitted in B.

A.D. 1184. Oct. 31. Trance of a lay brother at Worcester.

"nensis monasterii frater humilis, in Domino salutem. Mirabilis Deus in sanctis Suis et operibus, Qui miracula pro Suis nunquam cessat operari. Et quia nemo ponit lucem sub modio, sed super candelabrum, ut luceat universis, miraculum supra modum est mirabile, quod in domo nostra contigit pridie kalendas Novembris, ut ad absentium saltem scripto posset devenire notitiam, in scripto commendavi. Noscat itaque vestra discretio, quod quidam fratrum nostrorum ex toto laicus, cum in mentis excessu laborasset novem diebus et novem noctibus, velut exanimis ante quoddam altare prostratus in modum crucis jacuit: et quia vir religiosus erat, et sanctæ conversationis frater, nullus nostrum ausus erat eum inde removere. In decima die, hora tertia, voce demissa modoque lamentabili, mira tamen lamentatione, versus istos decies aut sæpius, eodem ordine quo hic scribuntur cecinit.

Benedict, i. 325.

Benedict, i. 326.

Poem recited by him during the trance.

"Humani generis casum, subitamque ruinam
"Infert huic orbi perniciosa lues.
"Ætatis teneræ pueros premit unica clades,
"Cum senibus pariter est peritura nece.
"Corporis aerii vitio liquor inficietur:
"Totaque letifero rore madebit humus.
"Hinc miseranda lues orietur, et unica clades.
"Unica causa necis, unica causa mali.
"Nam simul Herculei Sol tanget terga[1] leonis,
"Exuret geminus viscera sicca calor.
"Si tunc mille forent Lacheses, et cuique manus tot,
"Atropos hæc carpet[2] omnia fila simul.
"Mortis enim gladio populi peccata piabit
"Ultio digna Dei. Me miserum quid agam?
"Ecce micat gladius, qui totum conteret orbem.
"Ecce manus Domini; quo miser hinc fugiam?
"Ecce furor Domini! fugiamne, vel hic latitabo?
"Quove Deum fugiam, cum sit ubique Deus?
"Si nequeat flecti precibus divina voluntas,
"Granum cum palea conteret ira Dei.
"Esse necesse probat sententia philosophorum,
"Rursus in antiquum cuncta redire chaos.
"Sic tamen esse nequit, quia constat quæque fuisse,
"Pluraque, quæ veluti sunt modo, semper erunt.
"Jam super astra feror, videoque relatus ad astra
"Luminibus clausis solis utramque domum.

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[1] *terga*] erga, A. | [2] *carpet*] caret, A.

Benedict, i. 326.

A.D. 1184. Oct. 31.

Poem recited by the lay brother of Worcester during his trance.

" Nox sine sideribus lunaque, dies sine sole
" Est. Sed cum sit ita, nescio cur sit ita.
" Sidus Mercurii, Venerisque, Jovisque latent nunc.
" Non sunt, vel si sunt, deseruere polum.
" Toto Zodiaco passim spatiantur et errant
" Mars et falciferi stella nociva senis.
" Mars ferit ense, ferit Saturnus falce nociva,
" Rebus in humanis nititur esse nocens.
" Hinc feror ad Stygii jam lubrica regna tyranni,
" In quibus æternæ sunt et erunt tenebræ.
" In tantis tenebris nec sol, nec luna, nec ignis,
" Sufficit huic mœsto lumina ferre loco.
" Sic labor atque dolor, et inextricabilis ardor;
" Hic gravis est miseris pœna parata reis.
" Hic sonat assidue carmen lacrymabile, Væ, væ.
" Quantæ sunt tenebræ! væ mihi,[1] væ mihi, væ.

Benedict, i. 327.

" Cerberus ante fores furit, et tria guttura pandit,
" Tres simul horrendos mittit ab ore sonos.
" Atria tres furiæ servant, Allecto, Megæra,
" Thesiphone, quarum vultibus horror inest,
" Horridus aspectus, et fœdus anhelitus oris,
" Voxque velut tonitrus gutture rauca sonat.
" Omnibus est sceleris innata malitia mentis:
" Omnibus est animus pronus ad omne scelus.
" Ore tenus media sitiens stat Tantalus unda:
" Quæ, ne potet eam, semper ab ore fugit.
" Sisyphus hic ingens saxum revolubile volvit:
" Semper, ut ipsius sit sine fine labor.
" Ille vorax vultur Ticii vorat usque jecur, quod
" Ut semper pereat, non nisi pene perit.
" Quosdam dira fames, quosdam sitis aspera, quosdam
" Opprimit atque domat absque quiete labor.
" Hos frigus stringit, alios calor ignis adurit,
" Quemlibet, ut meruit, hic sua pœna gravat.
" Omnibus introitus, nulli patet exitus; omnes
" Devorat, et furiis deputat iste locus.
" Thesiphone diris conjuncta sororibus illis
" Distribuit pœnas, quas meruere pati.
" Nunc Styga, nunc Lethem, nunc linquo reis Acha-
" rontem:
" Ad superos iterum, vixque reverto gradum."

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[1] *væ mihi*] om. A.

A.D. 1184. Further wonders.

"Cum autem hunc extremum versum recitasset, ultimo ad se reversus, et velut a somno foret excitatus, caput erexit, et quendam fratrem, qui admirandi causa illuc cum reliquis venerat, acutissimo intuitu respiciens, ait, Benedict, i. 327.

"'Ne me mireris, ora,[1] quia tu morieris.
"'Te gravis, et subitus subruet interitus.'

"Post hæc autem ad conventum oculorum convertens aciem, non minus eleganter, quam si ab infantia Tulliana ditatus esset eloquentia, quædam tunc futura Latino prædixit eloquio. Unde quia postea contigerunt ut prædixerat, stupore repleti plurimo, ut nobiscum mirentur alii versus quos ille laicus composuit, qui nunquam ullas cognovit litteras, de scholis ad scholas, propter fabulas quas innectit, mittere decrevimus, ut earum examine nostra ventiletur controversia. Quidam autem propter fabulas innexas cætera despiciunt; alii vero sub quodam integumento, quoniam in pluribus ita accidit ut prædixerat, fabulas veritatis typum habere conantur ostendere; et quia in nullo aliter accidit quam prædixerat, frater, cujus obitum prædixit, eadem die dentes conterendo vitam cum summo dolore terminavit. Quo facto, frater ille qui versus illos prædixerat in fletum prorumpens in singulorum præsentia, quod in hac vita deliquerat corde contrito confiteri non erubuit; et, ut virum decuit religiosum, cum summa devotione communionem suscepit; qua suscepta statim emisit spiritum, dicens, 'In manus 'Tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.'" Benedict, i. 328. Death of the lay brother.

Consternation of the people.

Cum igitur hæc et his similia audisset populus, turbatus est valde, et quanto magis tempus illud pestiferum, quod prædixerant præfati astrologi, appropinquaret, tanto magis omnes pariter, clericos et laicos, divites et pauperes, maximus timor invasit, et quam plures illorum in desperationem traxit. Erat tamen eis solatium scriptum quoddam, quod Faramella filius Abdelabi Cordubensis misit Johanni Toletano episcopo in hac forma;[2]

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[1] *Ora*] A letter before *Ora* is erased in A., Benedict has *Oro*.

[2] *Erat tamen . . . forma*] C. reads, "Sed Pharamella filius Abdelabi "Cordubensis consolatus est eos "per epistolam quam misit Johanni "Toletano episcopo, in qua redar-"guit omnes astrologos super men-"dacio et errore;" omitting the following letter.

(Not in Benedict.)

A.D. 1184.

Epistola Pharamellæ filii Abdelabi Cordubensis ad Johannem Toletanum episcopum missa de consolatione.

Comforting assurance of Pharamella of Cordova.

"Pharamella filius Abdelabi Cordubensis, ex genere Arabum, nutritus et eruditus in palatio magni regis Even Jacob,[1] qui cognominatur Helimiramimoli, Johanni Toletano, eorum qui Christiani dicuntur episcopo, salutem super omnes qui invocant Deum. Qui timent Deum Creatorem omnium exaltabuntur; et qui adorant Eum puris manibus et toto corde abluto. Vidimus quosdam homines sectæ vestræ, habitu nobis et lingua dissimiles, qui et negotiatores erant, et pannos laneos diversorum colorum satis bonos venales habebant. Dicebant autem se venisse de terra longinqua, quæ dicitur terra majorum, id est, regnum Francorum. Inter cætera didicimus ab eis per interpretem Ferrandum nomine, concivem vestrum, hodie captivum nostrum, quod quidam falsi astrologi de Occidente, nescientes virtutem cœlestium corporum, et effectum quinque vagantium duorumque luminum, in epicyclis [2] et eccentricis [3] circulis suis per domos et dignitates suas sese moventium, terruerunt corda credentium in Christum vestrum, non tantum eorum qui simplices sunt, sed etiam eorum qui apud vos sapientes esse creduntur. Dicunt enim quia anno qui est annus Alligeræ quingentesimus septuagesimus secundus,[4] qui est etiam annus millesimus centesimus octogesimus sextus ab Incarnatione Domini vestri [5] Christi, mense quem dicitis Septembrem, futurus est ventus maximus, quantus esse non solet, ædificia subvertens, civitates et oppida diruens, quicquid super terram occurrit evertens. Veniet autem ventus, ut dicunt, ab Occidente, et pertinget usque in Orientem, et post ventum fœtor pessimus homines interficiens. Cujus rei nullam aliam causam reddunt, nisi quod planetæ convenient in Libra, quod est signum aerium et ideo ventosum. Quibus statim a pueris

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[1] *Even Jacob*] Abou-Youssouf Jacoub Al Mansour. Bifadl Allah, was emperor of Morocco from 1184 to 1199. He is called Boyac (a transposition of Yacob) by Hoveden and Benedict). His father was Youssouf, whom Hoveden and Benedict call Avigoz.

[2] *epicyclis*] ericiclis, A. B. G.

[3] *eccentricis*] ecentris, A.

[4] The year 572 of the Hejira is 1176 A.D., not 1186.

[5] *vestri*] Jesu, pencilled in the margin in a very early hand, A.

A.D. 1184. Epistle of comfort from Pharamella of Cordova. (Not in Benedict.)

" nostris responderi potest, quod non solum Libra signum " aerium est, sed et Gemini et Aquarius signa sunt aeria, in " quorum utroque plures planetarum nonnunquam convene- " runt, nec tamen aut ventorum, aut fœtoris, aut mortalitatis " periculum secutum est. Sed cum Saturnus et Mars duo " sunt infortunata, Jupiter autem et Venus fortunatæ sunt " stellæ et propitiæ; si in eodem signo fuerint cum eis sine " respectu, aut applicatione, aut proportionaliter se habuerint, " benignitas eorum malitiam superiorum temperabit. Mensis " autem die, qua id futurum dicunt, Mars non in Libra, sed " in xiii°. Virginis. Venus autem in Scorpione, qui est domus " Martis, totam ipsius Martis malitiam extinguet, tum propter " ejus domum, in qua regnabit, tum propter virginalem re- " spectum, quo ipsum Martem ad benivolentiam ipsius attrahit. " Jupiter autem gravitatem Saturni faciet placabilem, Mercurio " propinquiore Jovi quam Saturno. Meminisse debent tales, " quod cum Saturnus singulis triginta annis circulum suum " perficiat, in singulis signis duobus annis et dimidio moratur. " Mars autem anno et dimidio, parum minus, per singula " signa cursum explet suum. Cum ergo necesse sit intra " tricennium Saturnum continuo biennio, et dimidio fere anno " in signo Libræ moram facere; eadem necessitate contingit " antequam Saturnus Libram exeat, Martem cum Saturno in " eadem Libra esse. Quod si Mars et Saturnus per singula " tricennia sane semel et simul in Libra hucusque fuerint, et " deinceps futuri sunt, aut perniciosi venti evenerunt aut " evenient ex malitia eorum in ventoso signo existentium, " aut non. Sed quod aliquando evenerint nec in scriptis " magistrorum legimus, nec in diebus nostris vidimus. Ergo " quod non evenient certi debemus esse, quia ex eisdem argu- " mentis nunquam simile contigit accidisse. Legant igitur " astrologi vestri tabulas interiorum Persarum atque Arabum, " Hermen, Astalium, et Abidemonum, et moderni temporis " Albumassar, et computent proportionaliter habitudines stella- " rum, respectus, applicationes, separationes, parilitates, et alia, " quæ otiosis annumerare molestum est: et cum invenerint ex " simili stellarum conjunctione, id quod somniant falsum esse, " aut relinquant opinionem suam fabulosam, aut convertan- " tur ad Ysmaeliticam religionem nostram. Veruntamen se- " cundum judicia Messehellæ et Alkandi, si Deus aliter non " providerit, erit vindemia rara, messes mediocriter suffi- " cientes, strages gladii multa, naufragia plura."[1]

[1] If this be compared with what Walter Map says of the season, we shall conclude either that the Moorish astrology was more fortunate than

XXXImus annus regni regis Henrici, filii Matildis imperatricis.

Benedict, i. 333. Anno gratiæ MºCºLXXXºVº., qui erat annus tricesimus primus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex fuit in Anglia apud Windeshoveres die Natalis Domini. A.D. 1185. Henry keeps Christmas 1184–1185 at Windsor.

Benedict, i. 336. Eodem anno, die Circumcisionis Domini, obiit Gilbertus filius Fergus, qui Uthtredum fratrem suum, patrem nobilis viri Rollandi, fraudulenter cepit, et a filio suo Dunecan,[1] oculis, lingua, et testiculis privari fecit; qui etiam præfatum Dunecan filium suum regi Angliæ obsidem tradiderat de pace servanda. Jan. 1. Death of Gilbert son of Fergus.

Benedict, i. 339. Quo defuncto, Rollandus filius Uthtredi totam terram prædicti Gilberti invasit, et obtinuit. Succession of Ronald.

Benedict, i. 328. Eodem anno, Baldewinus leprosus rex Jerusalem, et Templares et Hospitalares, miserunt ad regem Angliæ, filium Matildis imperatricis, Eraclium sanctæ civitatis Jerusalem patriarcham, et summos Hospitalis et Templi magistros[2] una cum vexillo regio, et clavibus sepulcri Domini [et turris David et civitatis Jerusalem; postulantes ab eo celerem succursum, sicut ab hærede et domino Terræ Jerusalem. Est enim sciendum, quod Fulco frater Gaufridi comitis Andegaviæ, patris quoque istius Henrici, fuit rex Jerusalem, ut superius[3] dictum est. Embassy from Baldwin king of Jerusalem to his kinsman king Henry.

Benedict, i. 335. Cum autem prædictus patriarcha et magister Hospitalis venirent in Angliam, rex Angliæ occurrit eis in villa de Redinges, et eos cum gaudio suscepit. Qui statim ad pedes regis provoluti, cum fletu magno et singultu, verba[4] salutationis ex parte regis et Henry meets the ambassadors at Reading.

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the Christian, or, considering the positive way in which the prophecy of the storm is contradicted, that this explanation was written after the dangerous day had passed.

[1] According to Benedict, i. 79, and Hoveden himself, p. 69, above, it was Malcolm, the son of Gilbert, not Duncan, who perpetrated this atrocity.

[2] The Master of the Hospital was Roger de Moulins; the Master of the Temple who died at Verona on his way, R. de Diceto, 625, was Arnold de Toroge.

[3] *ut superius*] This favourite mistake, making Fulk the brother, instead of the father of Geoffrey, has been made already, vol. i. 186.

[4] *verba*] Hoveden omits the speech of Heraclius, which is given in Benedict, i. 335.

A.D. 1185. Interview of the king and ambassadors at Reading.

principum et universæ plebis terræ Jerosolimitanæ proferebant, et exponentes causam adventus eorum, tradiderunt ei vexillum regium, et claves sepulcri Domini, et claves turris David et civitatis Jerusalem, ex parte regis et principum terræ Jerosolimitanæ, et litteras ex parte Lucii papæ in hac forma ; Benedict, i. 335.

Epistola Lucii papæ ad Henricum regem Angliæ pro subvectione facienda terræ Jerosolimitanæ.

Letter of Lucius III. urging Henry to undertake a new crusade.

" Lucius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Henrico illustri " Anglorum regi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum " cuncti prædecessores tui præ cæteris terræ principibus armo- " rum gloria et animi nobilitate longe retro claruerint, eosque " fidelium populus habere in sua didicerit adversitate patronos, " merito ad te, non tantum regni sed paternarum virtutum " hæredem, quadam securitate præsumpta, recurritur, ubi " populo Christiano imminere periculum, immo exterminium " formidatur ; ut per brachium regiæ magnitudinis, membris " Ejus impendatur præsidium, Qui te, ut ad tantæ gloriæ et " prælationis apicem pervenires, Sua pietate concessit, et te " contra Sui nominis impugnatores nefarios murum inex- " pugnabilem ordinavit. Proinde [2] noverit serenitas tua, jam " crebris et molestis super hoc pulsata querelis, qualiter " terra Jerosolimitana, specialis hæreditas Crucifixi ; in qua " nostræ salutis sunt prænunciata mysteria, et ipsius rei ex- " hibitione completa ; quam Ille Qui cuncta condidit in Suam " sortem peculiari privilegio deputavit ; perfidæ et spurcissimæ " gentis attrita et convallata pressuris, nisi ei celeri remedio " succurratur, prona sit ad ruinam ; et inde, quod absit, " sustineat irreparabilem religio Christiana jacturam. Ille " enim Saladinus, sancti et tremendi nominis immanissimus " persecutor, ita spiritu furoris incanduit, et totius nequitiæ " suæ vires ad internecionem populi fidelis exercet, ut, nisi " immanitatis ejus vehemens impetus quasi objectis obicibus " reprimatur, certam spem fiduciamque suscipiat, quod Jor- " danis influat [3] in os ejus, et terra aspersione vivifici san- " guinis consecrata, spurcissimæ superstitionis ipsius contagio Benedict, i. 332. Job, xl. 18.

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[1] This letter is given also by William of Newburgh, iii. 12 ; and by Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Inst. Princip.*, ii. 25.

[2] *Proinde*] Primum, Savile.

[3] *influat*] corrected for *fluenta*, in A.

Benedict, i. 332.

A.D. 1185.

Epistle of the pope urging a new crusade.

" polluatur, et quam gloriosi et nobiles prædecessores tui a " dominio gentis incredulæ multis laboribus et periculis " exemerunt, rursus nefando tyranni nequissimi dominio sub- " jugetur. Ob hanc itaque necessitatis et imminentis doloris " instantiam, magnificentiam tuam apostolicis litteris duximus " exorandam, imo dilatatis præcordiis summa acclamatione " pulsandam, quatenus ad honorem Ipsius respiciens Qui te " constituit in sublime, et, juxta nomen magnorum qui sunt " in terris, nomen tibi contulit gloriosum, ad desolationem " præfatæ terræ pietatis studio te convertas; et ut Ejus con- " fusio in hac parte tollatur, Qui pro te in ipsa terra voluit " haberi ludibrio, operam adhibeas efficacem; quatenus præ- " decessorum tuorum vestigia subsecutus, quam ipsi de " principis tenebrarum faucibus eripuerunt, in cultu magni " Dei per tuam diligentiam, auxiliante Domino, conservetur. " Eo autem curiosius celsitudinem tuam in tanta oppressionis " angustia convenit laborare, quod terram ipsam regis in- " telligis præsidio destitutam, et totam spem defensionis suæ " ipsius proceres in tuæ magnitudinis duxerunt patrocinio " collocandam. Quod inde clarius tua serenitas potest agnos- " cere, quod summos terræ illius et magnificos defensores, " venerabilem fratrem nostrum Eraclium patriarcham, et " dilectum filium nostrum magistrum Hospitalis, ad tuam ex- " cellentiam destinarunt, ut ex ipsorum præsentia, considerata " dignitate, perpenderes quanta fuerit necessitatis angustia, " pro qua eorum sustinent tam diu carere præsidio, ut per " ipsos facilius ad vota sua tuam devotionem inclinent. Viros " igitur præfatos, tanquam ab Ipso Domino tibi destinatos, " benigne suscipias et debita caritate pertractes, eorumque " postulationibus tanto facilius adquiescas, quanto gravitatis " et honestatis intuitu favor est eis et gratia exhibenda. Sane " recolat prudentia tua, et sollicita secum meditatione revolvat " promissionem illam, qua de impendendo sæpe dictæ terræ " præsidio tuam celsitudinem obligasti; et ita in hac parte " te cautum et studiosum exhibeas, ut te in tremendo judicio " tua conscientia non accuset, et Ejus, Qui non fallitur, districti " Judicis interrogatio non condemnet."

Benedict, i. 333.

Benedict, i. 336.

The king fixes March 13 for his answer to the embassy.

His auditis, dominus rex respondit rem bene processuram, Deo volente; et statuit eis terminum suæ responsionis primam Dominicam Quadragesimæ apud Lundonias. Ad quam Dominicam dominus rex, et patriarcha, et episcopi et abbates, et comites et barones regni[1] Angliæ;

[1] *regni*] regi, A.

A.D. 1185. March 10. Council at London.

Benedict, i. 336.

et Willelmus rex Scotiæ, et David frater ejus, cum comitibus et baronibus terræ suæ, convenerunt Lundoniis, et habito inde cum deliberatione consilio, placuit universis quod dominus rex consuleret inde dominum suum Philippum regem Franciæ. Et sic soluto concilio dominus rex dedit universis hominibus suis, tam clericis quam laicis, licentiam capiendi crucem. Unde factum est, quod Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Rannulfus justitiarius Angliæ, et Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, et alii quamplures episcopi transmarini et cismarini, et fere omnes comites et barones et milites Angliæ, Normanniæ, et Aquitanniæ, et Britanniæ, et Andegaviæ, et Cenomanniæ, et Turoniæ, crucem ceperunt.

Henry determines to consult king Philip.

The nobles take the cross.

Benedict, i. 337.

Wonderful story of the time.

In cujus captione quiddam mirabile dictu contigit, Quadam enim die, dum mulier quædam gravida puerum gestaret in alvo, et tempus pariendi instaret, fugit a domo patris sui, nolens a parentibus suis in delicto illo comprehendi; et ecce tempestas valida pluviæ et ventus apprehendit eam fugientem in campo solivagam, et petentem a Domino auxilium, et domum refugii; et quia oratio ejus statim non erat exaudita a Domino, decidit in desperationem, dicens: "Si tu Deus despicis "orationem meam, diabolus succurrat mihi;" et statim apparuit ei diabolus in specie juvenis, nudus pedes, succinctus ad viam, et ait mulieri, "Sequere me;" et transeuntes viam invenerunt ovile quoddam in campo, et præcucurrit diabolus, et in ovili illo præparavit ignem, et sedile de stramine novo. Et mulier illa secuta est eum, et in domum veniens calefaciebat se ad ignem, et ait, "Sitio, et fame torqueor." Cui respondit diabolus, "Sustine parumper, et ego afferam "tibi panem et potum." Et dum iret, duo viri transeuntes per viam illam, et videntes ignem in ovili illo, mirati sunt quid hoc esset; et accedentes intraverunt ovile; et invenientes eam gravidam juxta ignem jacentem, interrogaverunt quis esset qui fecerat ei ignem

A woman in childbirth succoured by the devil.

illum: et illa respondit, "Diabolus;" et illis interrogantibus ubi est ille? respondit, "Esurivi et sitivi, et "ille abiit ad quærendum mihi cibum et potum." Et aiunt illi: "Fiduciam habe in Domino Jesu Christo, "et in gloriosa virgine Maria matre Ejus, et Ipsi "liberabunt te de manu inimici; et inquire ab eo "futura." Et his dictis abierunt ad villam, quæ prope erat, et narraverunt clero et populo quæ viderant et audierant in via. Interim rediit diabolus, et afferens secum panem et aquam confortavit mulierem; et illa incurvata peperit filium, quem diabolus ille recipiens loco obstetricis calefaciebat ad ignem: et ecce sacerdos præfatæ villæ, fide Catholica et cruce et aqua benedicta armatus, venit cum clero et populo multo ad ovile illud; et invenit eam enixam puerum, quem diabolus in ulnis suis tenebat. Et aspersit aquam benedictam in Nomine Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis. Quam diabolus nequaquam sustinere valens fugit, et puerum secum asportans ultra illis non comparuit: Mulier autem ad se reversa ait: "Nunc scio "vere quia eripuit me Dominus de manu inimici." Et narravit eis se a diabolo illo audisse, quod ex quo Jesus Christus spoliaverat infernum, non erat tantus luctus neque dolor in inferno, quantus erat propter captionem crucis; sed dolor ejus vertetur in gaudium, quia tanta erit cruciatorum iniquitas et peccatum, quod Dominus delebit eos de libro vitæ; et multi eorum, relicta crucis religione, fient crucis et nominis Christi persecutores. Quod de post facto apparuit.

A.D. 1185.

A woman in childbirth succoured by the devil.

What the devil told her.

Benedict, i. 336.

March 31. John knighted and sent to Ireland.

Deinde dominus rex venit usque Windeshoveres, et ibi in Dominica qua cantatur Lætare Jerusalem, quæ illo anno pridie kalendas Aprilis evenit, fecit Johannem filium suum militem, et statim misit eum in Hyberniam, et inde eum regem constituit.

Benedict, i. 337.

April 15. Earthquake in England.

Interim terræmotus magnus auditus est fere per totam Angliam, qualis ab initio mundi in terra illa non erat auditus. Petræ enim scissæ sunt; domus lapideæ ceciderunt; ecclesia Lincolniensis metropolitana scissa est a summo deorsum. Contigit autem terræmotus iste in crastino diei

A.D. 1185. April 15. Earthquake. Dominicæ in Ramis Palmarum, videlicet decimo septimo kalendas Maii.[1] Et in crastino illius terræmotus dominus rex Angliæ, et Eraclius patriarcha, et Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, et multi de principibus Angliæ, transfretaverunt inter Dovere et Withsand. Dominus autem rex Angliæ, cum in Normanniam venisset, magnum congregavit exercitum; mandans Ricardo filio suo, comiti Pictaviæ, qui Pictaviam contra eum munierat, et Gaufridum comitem Britanniæ fratrem suum expugnaverat; quod nisi reddiderit Alienor matri suæ totam Pictaviam liberam et quietam, ipse visitaret eum in virga ferrea, et potenti virtute debellaret. Ad cujus mandatum prædictus Ricardus, relicta hostilitate, reddidit matri suæ Pictaviam, et ad patrem suum rediens mansit cum eo sicut filius mansuetus.

Benedict, i. 337.

The king goes to Normandy, April 16.

Richard is compelled to surrender Poictou to his mother.

Benedict, i. 338.

May 1. Great storm. Interim kalendis Maii, ipso die Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi, circa meridiem visa est eclipsis solis totalis; quam secuta sunt tonitrua cum fulgure et tempestate magna. Ex quorum ictu homines et animalia interierunt, et domus multæ incensæ combustæ sunt.

Henry and Philip promise aid to Jerusalem, but the patriarch departs in disgust. Deinde Philippus rex Franciæ et Henricus rex Angliæ, habito colloquio de subventione[2] facienda terræ Jerosolimitanæ, promiserunt se bonum auxilium illi facturos tam in hominibus quam in pecunia. Sed hæc omnia præfatus patriarcha parvipendebat; sperabat enim quod esset reducturus secum ad defensionem Jerosolimitanæ terræ præfatum regem Angliæ, vel aliquem de filiis suis, aut aliquem alium virum magnæ auctoritatis: sed quia hoc esse non potuit, repatriaturus dolens et confusus a curia recessit.

Palls sent to Rouen and Canterbury. Eodem anno Walterus Rothomagensis electus pallium recepit a papa Lucio; similiter Baldewinus Cantuariensis electus pallium recepit[3] a papa Lucio; et statim[4] consecravit Gilebertum de Glamvilla in Rofensem episcopum, dono regis Angliæ.

April. John goes to Ireland. Eodem anno Johannes filius regis in Hyberniam veniens, a Johanne Dubliniensi archiepiscopo, et cæteris patris sui

Benedict, i. 339.

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[1] See note p. 290, above.

[2] *subventione*] corrected in A. for subvectione.

[3] May 19, 1185.

[4] September 29, 1185: Gervase, 1477; R. de Diceto, 629.

Benedict, i. 339. hominibus, qui præcesserant, honorifice est susceptus. A.D. 1185. Et quia ipse omnia proprio suo inclusit marsupio, nolens solidariis suis stipendia sua solvere, maximam exercitus sui partem in conflictibus pluribus contra Hibernenses factis amisit; et tandem ad inopiam redactus, constitutis tamen justitiis et militibus suis per loca, ad terram illam custodiendam, rediit in Angliam.

His avarice and ill success.

He returns to England. December.

Eodem anno, mense Decembris,[1] obiit papa Lucius; cui successit in papatu Urbanus[2] papa tertius. Qui statim, ut Benedict, i. 340. ejus notitia divulgaretur, in hac forma scripsit sanctæ ecclesiæ prælatis;[3]

Lucius III. dies; Urban III. succeeds.

Epistola Urbani papæ Tertii.

A.D. 1186. Jan. 12.

Circular letter of Urban III. announcing his promotion.

" Urbanus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus " fratribus archiepiscopis et episcopis, et dilectis filiis, abba- " tibus, prioribus, et cæteris ecclesiarum prælatis, ad quos " litteræ [istæ] pervenerint, salutem et apostolicam benedic- " tionem. Cœlestis altitudo consilii firmam retinens in sua " dispositione censuram, sacrosanctam Romanam ecclesiam, " ad cujus regimen sumus licet insufficientes assumpti, supra " petram fidei soliditate fundavit: illud ei tribuens in aposto- " licæ confessionis fortitudine firmamentum, cui nec procella " turbinis, nec prævalere possit spiritus tempestatis. Unde " ipsa universalis mater ecclesia usque ad consummationem " sæculi manentem secum retinens Salvatorem, ita juxta Can- " ticum Salomonis, Quem dilexit amplectitur, ut pro nulla " rerum varietate vel temporum, ab unitate suæ fidei, vel " pietatis proposito separetur. Licet enim vel crebra dece- " dentium mutatione pastorum in varia discrimina frequenter " incidit, vel per mundanæ malignitatis incursum persecu- " tiones innumeras pertulerit et labores; nunquam tamen " eam gratia Divina deseruit, quo minus robur ejus in qualibet " tentatione proficeret, et inde obtineret spei suæ gaudium, " unde susceperat fidei firmamentum. Sic igitur ante paucos " hos dies faciente cum ea Domino signum in bonum, quam- " vis ipsam de transitu pii patris Lucii non modicus dolor

[1] November 25, at Verona. See Jaffé, *Reg. Pontificum.*

[2] *Urbanus*] Uberto Crivelli, archbishop of Milan, elected November 25.

[3] *Qui statim . . . prælatis*] Omitted in C. with the following letter.

A.D. 1186. Jan. 12. Urban III. announces his promotion to the papacy.

"tristitiaque turbavit, statum tamen ejus in unitate spiritus "et vinculo pacis Divina providentia conservavit, ut post "vespertinos fletus lætitia matutina succederet; et ipsa velut "columba pulcherrima suis lætificata gemitibus, sine ruga "prorsus et macula, candoris sui pulchritudinem retineret. "Defuncto siquidem piæ recordationis patre ac prædecessore "nostro domino papa Lucio, et reverentissimo ejus corpore "honorifice tumulato, habitus est a fratribus de successoris "electione tractatus, in quo tanta fuit unitas omnium, tanta-"que ad invicem concordia singulorum, ut Ille intelligatur "operatus in eis, in Cujus manu corda sunt omnium, et per "Quem adunatur diversitas animorum. Cæterum cum plures "essent in ecclesia Dei viri venerabiles et prudentes, in quos "eorum vota concurrere consultius, ut credimus, et dignius "potuissent, ad insufficientiam nostram oculos intenderunt: "et factum est, sicut Domino placuit, ut nos, quibus ad digni-"tatis tantæ fastigium nec vires nec merita suffragantur, in "patrem sibi elegerint et pastorem. Nos autem, licet nobis "conscii propriæ infirmitatis essemus, ita ut crederemus eorum "proposito non immerito resistendum; ne tamen ex dilatione "negotii, vel pertinacia reluctandi, aliquod in ecclesia peri-"culum proveniret, consensimus licet inviti injuncti oneris "subire laborem, ab Eo sperantes dirigi gressus nostros, Qui "beato Petro in fluctibus naviganti, et fiduciam præstitit ut "in mare descenderet, et potenter occurrit ut dubitans non "periret. Nunc igitur in eo loco et officio constituti, in quo "valde indigemus omnium fidelium suffragiis adjuvari, ad "vos, tanquam ad speciales ecclesiæ Romanæ filios, cum "fiducia et securitate recurrimus, vosque benedictionis apo-"stolicæ prævenientes alloquio, litteris familiaribus admone-"mus, rogamus attentius, et exhortamur in Domino, quatenus "transitum supradicti patris et domini nostri Lucii devotis "orationum suffragiis prosequentes, fidem et devotionem, "quæ nobis pro reverentia Beatorum Petri et Pauli aposto-"lorum, et apostolicæ sedis, communiter debetur ab omnibus, "vos specialiter impendatis, ita quod ex hoc, et a Deo præ-"mium consequi, et majorem semper gratiam valeatis in "oculis nostris et totius ecclesiæ promereri. Datum Veronæ, "ii. idus Januarii."

Benedict, i. 340. Ps. xxxv. 5. Eph. v. 27. Benedict, i. 341.

Urban III. permits Henry II. to make one of his sons king of Ireland.

Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ misit nuncios suos ad Urbanum papam, et multa ab eo impetravit, quibus papa Lucius fortiter resistebat; quorum unum hoc fuit, quod ab eo impetravit, quod unus, quem vellet, de filiis suis coronaretur de regno Hyberniæ; et hoc confirmavit ei dominus papa bulla sua, et in argumentum voluntatis et confirmationis

Benedict, i. 339.

Benedict, i. 339. suæ misit ei coronam de penna pavonis auro contextam. A.D. 1185.

Benedict, i. 341. Eodem anno, paulo ante festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula, cum prædictus patriarcha Jerosolimam redisset, et nihil auxilii ad defensionem terræ secum reportasset, timor magnus cecidit super inhabitatores terræ Jerosolimitanæ. Unde factum est, quod quidam frater Templi, natione Anglicus, nomine Robertus de Sancto Albano,[1] relicta lege Christiana, abiit ad Saladinum regem Babiloniæ, et promisit ei se traditurum illi civitatem Jerusalem; et facta inde securitate, Saladinus dedit illi neptem suam in uxorem, et tradidit ei exercitum magnum, et constituit eum principem exercitus sui et ducem. Qui statim profectus est cum exercitu suo usque ad Planities Sancti Georgii, et ibi divisit exercitum suum in tres turmas; quarum duas misit in regiones circumjacentes ad devastandum eas: et devastaverunt omnem terram a Monte Regali usque Neapolim; et Jerico, et civitas Sebasta, et aliæ civitates nonnullæ destructæ sunt. Prædictus autem Robertus cum tertia parte exercitus sui processit usque ad civitatem Jerusalem: et paucitas illa hominum quæ in civitate erat, in Domino confidens, et per posternas egrediens, et lignum crucis Dominicæ pro vexillo sibi præferens, in virtute Domini percussit aciem in qua præfatus Robertus erat, et ipse in fugam conversus terga dedit percutientibus; et Jerosolimitani secuti sunt eum et exercitum ejus in ore gladii, et multos ex illis interfecerunt; Robertus tamen vix evasit.

Apostasy and rebellion of Robert of S. Alban's in Palestine.

Benedict, i. 342.

He is defeated in battle near Jerusalem.

Deinde cum Saladinus terram Jerosolimitanam bello aggredi proposuisset, Templares et Hospitalares, et cæteri terræ Jerosolimitanæ principes, dederunt ei sexaginta millia Bisantiorum, pro treugis habendis usque ad octavas Paschæ proximo venturi.[2] Interim defuncto Willelmo le Marchis

Saladin makes a truce with the princes of Palestine.

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[1] The treachery of Robert of St. Alban's seems to belong to the year 1184. Bohadin, *V. Saladini*, 59; R. de Diceto, 623.

[2] *proximo venturi*] Apparently 1187, as the truce was renewed from that date by Guy of Lusignan; see below, p. 316, and Benedict, i. 342, note 1.

A.D. 1185. Resignation and death of Baldwin IV.

comite Jopen, Baldewinus leprosus rex Jerusalem deposuit se a regimine regni, et constituit Baldewinum puerum, filium prædicti Willelmi et Sibillæ, sororis suæ, sibi hæredem, et eum coronari fecit in regem in sancta civitate Jerusalem; et paulo post obiit; et Baldewinus puer regnavit loco illius fere per duos annos; et Sibilla mater ejus nupsit Guidoni de Lezinan,[2] de qua ipse genuit duas filias. Benedict, i. 331.

Baldwin V. reigns two years.

Annus XXX^mus II^us regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis.

A.D. 1186. Henry II. keeps Christmas 1185–1186 at Domfront.

Anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo octogesimo sexto, qui erat annus tricesimus secundus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem Henricus fuit in Normannia die Natalis Domini apud Danfrunt. Et post Natale, habito colloquio[3] inter ipsum et Philippum regem Franciæ apud Gisorz, juravit quod ipse liberaret Ricardo filio suo, comiti Pictaviæ, Alesiam sororem regis Franciæ in uxorem. Et rex Franciæ concessit præfato Ricardo cum prædicta sorore sua Gisortium, et omnia quæ Lodowicus pater suus concesserat cum Margareta filia sua Henrico regi Angliæ filio. Et juravit quod ipse nunquam deinceps quæstionem adversus eos inde moveret. Benedict, i. 343. Benedict, i. 344.

Interview with Philip on the subject of Richard's marriage.

The king makes Hugh prior of

Post colloquium[4] autem illud rex Angliæ transfretavit in Angliam; et dedit[5] Hugoni, priori domus de [Witham][6] Benedict, i. 345.

[1] The dates of the death of Baldwin IV. and his nephew are obscure, and Hoveden is here perhaps the best authority. Baldwin IV. probably died in 1184; as Baldwin V.'s reign of "fere per "duos annos" ends before August 1186.

[2] *Lezinan*] This sketch of the succession is gathered from two or three distinct places in Benedict.

[3] *colloquio*] March 10: R. de Diceto, 630.

[4] Henry crossed from Barfleur, and landed at Southampton, April 27. Benedict, i. 345.

[5] *dedit*] The election of S. Hugh took place at Eynsham, May 25: R. de Diceto, 631. Benedict gives several important particulars with reference to it, i. 346.

[6] *Witham*] blank in A.; Hugh of Avalon, prior of Witham; bishop of Lincoln 1186—1200.

Benedict, i. 315, 352, 360. quæ est de ordine Cartusiensi[1] in episcopatu de Ba, episcopatum Lincolniensem; quem Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus mox consecravit. A.D. 1186. Witham, bishop of Lincoln.

Benedict, i. 348. Deinde venit rex cum magno exercitu usque Carleolum, volens ulterius procedere ad debellandum Rollandum, filium Uchtredi filii Fergus, propter injurias et dissaisinas quas ipse fecerat Dunecano filio Gilberti filii Fergus; sed prædictus Rollandus venit illuc ad regem, et fecit pacem cum eo. Henry reduces Ronald lord of Galloway.

Benedict, i. 349, 360. Rex vero ibidem fecit Paulinum de Ledes[2] eligi ad episcopatum Carleoli; quem idem Paulinus refutavit. Et ut Paulinus episcopatum illum recipere vellet, obtulit ei rex quod episcopatum illum ditaret de trecentis marcarum redditibus, videlicet de ecclesia de Bamburg, et ecclesia de Scartheburg, et capellaria de Tikehil, et duobus maneriis regis prope Carleolum. Paulinus of Leeds refuses the bishopric of Carlisle.

Benedict, i. 346, 360. Eodem anno Philippus rex Francorum dedit Belæ[3] regi Hungeriæ Margaretam sororem suam in uxorem, quæ extiterat Henrici regis Angliæ filii uxor. Marriage of Queen Margaret.

Benedict, i. 350, 361. Eodem anno Gaufridus comes Britanniæ, filius Henrici regis Angliæ, in conflictu militari pedibus equinis contritus, Parisius obiit;[4] et in ecclesia cathedrali ejusdem civitatis sepultus est. Death of Geoffrey.

Benedict, i. 350, 361. Eodem anno[5] quidam Hibernensis amputavit caput Hugonis de Lasci in Hybernia. Death of Hugh de Lacy.

Ermegard filia Ricardi vicecomitis de Bellomonte, nupsit Willelmo regi Scotiæ.

Benedict, i. 347, 351. Eodem anno dominus rex Angliæ pater dedit Ermengard, consanguineam suam,[6] filiam Ricardi vicecomitis de Bello Monte, Willelmo regi Scotiæ in uxorem. Marriage of William the Lion.

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[1] *Cartusiensi*] Carturiensi, A.

[2] Paulinus of Leeds, master of St. Leonard's Hospital at York: Ben. Pet. i. 349.

[3] Bela III., 1174—1196.

[4] *obiit*] August 19; R. de Diceto, 630.

[5] *Eodem anno*] July 25; R. de Diceto, 626; who places this event in 1185.

[6] *consanguineam suam*] Richard, viscount of Beaumont, was the son of Roscelin, viscount of Beaumont,

A.D. 1186. (Sept. 5.) Henry gives William the castle of Edinburgh.

Et fecit eos desponsari in capella sua de Wdestoke a Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et ibidem fecit eis nuptias magnas in domibus suis per quatuor dies[1] continuos. Et dominus rex Angliæ reddidit ibi regi Scotiæ Castellum Puellarum, quod idem rex Scotiæ statim dedit prædictæ Ermengard uxori suæ in dodarium, et in augmentum dodarii sui dedit ei centum libratas reddituum, et quadraginta milites feodatos. Benedict, i. 351.

Hubert Walter dean of York.

Eodem anno, dum idem rex Angliæ moram fecerat[2] apud Carleolum, Robertus Butevilein, decanus Eboracensis ecclesiæ, obiit: cui successit in decanatu Hubertus Walteri, clericus Rannulfi de Glamvilla, dono regis. Benedict, i. 360.

New bishops of Worcester and Exeter.

Eodem anno dominus rex Angliæ dedit Willelmo de Northale[3] episcopatum Wigornensem, et Johanni, subdecano Salesberiensis ecclesiæ, episcopatum Exoniensem; quos Baldewinus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis[4] consecravit. Benedict, i. 352, 360.

Item de Hugone episcopo Sancti Andreæ et Johanne episcopo Dunkeldensi.

Renewal of the S. Andrew's dispute.

Eodem anno cum Urbanus papa, conquerente Johanni Dunkeldensi episcopo, audisset controversias quæ vertebantur inter ipsum Johannem et Hugonem episcopum Sancti Andreæ, in hac forma scripsit regi Scotiæ;[5]

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by Constance, an illegitimate daughter of Henry I. Benedict, i. 347.

[1] *quatuor dies*] The marriage was celebrated on the 5th of September.

[2] *fecerat*] corrected to faceret, in margin, A.

[3] *Northale*] Northe, G. William of Northall was bishop of Worcester from 1186 to 1190; and John the Chanter bishop of Exeter from 1186 to 1192.

[4] *Cantuariensis*] Cantuar', A. Savile reads Cantuariæ, with B., but the consecration of the bishop of Worcester took place at Westminster, with that of St. Hugh, on the 21st of September; that of the bishop of Exeter took place on October 5th. R. de Diceto, 631.

[5] *Eodem . . . Scotiæ*] Omitted in B. and C. with the two letters following.

Epistola Urbani papæ ad Willelmum regem Scotiæ.[1]

A.D. 1186. July 31.

(Not in Benedict.)

"Urbanus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Willelmo illustri "Scottorum regi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. "Cum ex injuncto nobis a Deo administrationis officio, ad "universas ecclesias, proximas nobis et longe positas, aciem "nostræ teneamur considerationis extendere; et si qua in eis, "vel ministris earum, irrationabiliter attentata noverimus "ad factum congruum revocare; non debent ex eo sæculi "principes commoveri, si quando ad correctionem eorum, "quæ perperam facta fuerint, manus nostras duxerimus ex-"tendendas; cum et ipsi secundum sibi traditam potestatem "auxilio nobis in his esse debeant, et cum necesse fuerit, "aliquorum pertinacia exigente, contumacium nequitiæ fortius "obviare. Regia siquidem excellentia non ignorat, quam "gravis inter venerabiles fratres nostros, Johannem Dun-"keldensem et Hugonem Sancti Andreæ episcopos, fuerit "exorta dissensio. Et licet magnos utraque pars labores "subierit et expensas, et tempore felicis memoriæ Lucii "papæ, prædecessoris nostri, apud sedem apostolicam diutius "litigaverint, negotium tamen non potuit finem habere. Unde, "cum iidem episcopi nuper ad nostram præsentiam accessis-"sent, et contendissent super hoc aliquamdiu in auditorio "nostro; de consilio fratrum nostrorum, prædicto Dunkeldensi "episcopo agendi licentiam super episcopatum Sancti Andreæ "tribuimus contra illum, et eidem Sancti Andreæ episcopo "ad propria revertendi, ad nostram præsentiam sufficienter "instructo in constituto sibi termino redituro; ita quod si "tunc non venerit, venerabilis frater noster Jocelinus, Glas-"cuensis episcopus, et dilecti filii de Melros, et de Neubotle, "et de Dunfermelin abbates, eum ex tunc ab officio epi-"scopali suspendant, et si postmodum contumax fuerit, "vinculo excommunicationis astringant, nec relaxent senten-"tiam, donec nostro se conspectui repræsentet. Nolumus "enim ut, negotio ipso diutius in suspenso manente, præ-"scripta Sancti Andreæ ecclesia grave rerum suarum detri-"mentum incurrat, sed potius, cognita veritate, per nos finem "congruum, auxiliante Domino, sortiatur. Præcipimus etiam

Urban III. writes to the king of Scots; reminding him of the still pending questions respecting S. Andrew's.

He has heard both the bishops and fixed a term for Hugh to return to Rome on pain of suspension.

[1] This and the accompanying letter are amongst Hoveden's most important additions to his predecessor on the subject of the St. Andrew's election. They occur only in MSS. A. and G.

A.D. 1186. July 31. The bishop of Glasgow is charged to defend the relations of bishop John. (Not in Benedict.)

"præfatis Glascuensi, et collegis suis, quod dilectos filios "nostros Aiulfum decanum de Lodoneio, et Odonem senes-"callum, et Rogerum de Fedic, et alios clericos et amicos "præfati Dunkeldensis episcopi, a qualibet molestia, nostra "freti auctoritate, defendant; et possessiones vel alia bona "eorum, seu redditus ipsius episcopi, non permittant a quo-"quam invadi. Si qui vero contra ipsorum prohibitionem "super his venire præsumpserint, censura eos canonica, "nulla appellatione obstante, compescant. Ut igitur quæ "mandamus valeant sine difficultate qualibet adimpleri, mone-"mus regiam excellentiam, et hortamur in Domino, atque "in remissionem peccatorum injungimus, quatenus pro amore "justitiæ, et reverentia Beati Petri et nostra, in negotio illo "juxta mandati nostri tenorem procedi permittas; et prædictos "decanum, senescallum et R. de Fedic, atque alios con-"sanguineos et amicos prædicti Dunkeldensis episcopi, et "episcopatum et alios redditus ejus regia protectione defen-"das; et nec tu ipse illos in aliquo aggraves, nec sinas ab "aliis aggravari. Ita quod causa ipsa valeat sine impedi-"mento terminari, et regia magnificentia de justitiæ opere "apud Deum præmium indeficiens, et nomen bonum apud "homines consequatur. Noveritis autem memoratis episcopis "in virtute nos obedientiæ injunxisse, ut nec ab ecclesiis, "nec a clericis sibi subditis, accipiant aliquid expensarum "intuitu, quas in prosecutione memorati negotii sunt facturi, "sed de propriis solummodo redditibus sibi procurent necessaria "providere. Nolumus enim ut facto ipsorum ecclesiæ, vel "personæ aliæ regni tui debeant incurrere detrimentum. "Regiam insuper excellentiam volumus non latere, quod "supradictus Dunkeldensis ita honeste suum est negotium "prosecutus, et honori regio detulit, quod nihil omnino "proposuit quod in derogationem regii nominis valeat re-"dundare, vel quo tua serenitas adversus eum debeat com-"moveri. Unde si quid ab æmulis ejus in contrarium fuerit "celsitudini tuæ suggestum, talium verbis aurem regiam "non apponas. Datum Veronæ, ii. kalendas Augusti."

and the king is exhorted to do the same.

Both parties are to continue the suit, at their private expense.

Epistola ejusdem papæ ad Jocelinum Glascuensem episcopum, et ad abbates de Melros et de Neubotle et de Dunfermelin, super eodem negotio.

The pope writes to the bishop of Glasgow;

"Urbanus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri "Jocelino Glascuensi episcopo, et dilectis filiis de Melros, et de "Neubotle, et de Dunfermelin abbatibus, salutem et apostolicam

(Not in Benedict.)

" benedictionem. Cum ex injuncto nobis a Deo administra- A.D. 1186. July 31.
" tionis officio ad universas ecclesias, proximas nobis et longe and the
" positas, aciem nostræ considerationis teneamur extendere, et si abbots of Newbattle,
" qua in eis vel ministris earum irrationabiliter attentata noveri- Melrose, and
" mus, ad factum congruum revocare, non debent ex eo sæculi Dunfermline; on the
" principes commoveri. Vestra siquidem discretio non ignorat dispute
" quam gravis inter venerabiles fratres nostros, Johannem about S. Andrew's.
" Dunkeldensem et Hugonem Sancti Andreæ episcopos, fuerit
" exorta dissensio; et licet magnos [1] utraque pars labores subi-
" erit et expensas, et tempore felicis memoriæ Lucii papæ, præ-
" decessoris nostri, apud sedem apostolicam diutius litigaverint,
" negotium tamen non potuit finem habere. Unde cum iidem
" episcopi nuper ad præsentiam nostram accessissent, et conten-
" dissent super hoc aliquamdiu in auditorio nostro, tandem de
" consilio fratrum nostrorum prædicto Dunkeldensi episcopo
" agendi licentiam super episcopatu Sancti Andreæ tribuimus
" contra illum, et eidem Sancti Andreæ episcopo ad propria re-
" deundi, ad nostram præsentiam sufficienter instructo in consti-
" tuto sibi termino redituro. Et ne carissimus in Christo filius He charges
" noster, illustris Scottorum rex, prosecutionem ipsius negotii them to defend the
" sua potestate impediat, nostris eum litteris commonemus, ut friends of bishop John,
" in negotio illo juxta mandati nostri tenorem procedi permittat,
" et dilectos filios nostros, A. decanum Laodoniæ, et O. senes-
" callum, et R. de Fedic, et alios præscripti Dunkeldensis
" consanguineos et amicos, regia protectione defendat, nec eos
" ipse in aliquo aggravet, nec sinat ab aliis aggravari. Ne
" igitur præscriptum negotium diutius maneat in suspenso,
" et ecclesia Sancti Andreæ per hoc rerum suarum detrimen-
" tum incurrat, discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta man-
" damus, et in obedientiæ virtute præcipimus, quatenus ea, and to
" quæ vel per vos ipsos vel per alios de ipsius negotii tenore report their proceedings
" scire poteritis, redigentes in scriptum, nobis sub sigillorum to himself.
" vestrorum munimine designare curetis, ut nos ex vestra
" insinuatione instructi, consilio fratrum nostrorum adhibito,
" sicut procedendum fuerit, in negotio procedamus. Si qui
" vero in prædictum decanum, O. senescallum, R. de Fedich,
" vel alios Dunkeldensis episcopi amicos, et possessiones seu
" alia bona ipsorum, aut episcopatus vel aliorum reddituum
" ipsius episcopi ausu temerario manus injecerint, per censu-
" ram eos canonicam, auctoritate nostra suffulti, sine appella-
" tionis obstaculo, compescatis. Prædictis autem episcopis ex
" parte nostra vetetis, quod et nos fecimus viva voce, ne ab

[1] *magnos*] ex. ins. A.

A.D. 1186. July 31. Bishop Hugh is to appear at Rome on pain of suspension.

(Not in Benedict.)

"ecclesiis seu clericis sibi subditis accipiant aliquid expensarum intuitu, quas in prosecutione memorati negotii sunt facturi; sed de propriis solummodo redditibus sibi necessaria subministrent. Nolumus enim, ut facto ipsorum ecclesiæ, vel aliæ ipsius regni personæ debeant incurrere detrimentum. Præfato autem episcopo Sancti Andreæ auctoritate nostra districtius injungatis, ut in termino quem utrique parti statuimus, sufficienter instructus ad præsentiam nostram accedat. Quod si non venerit, ex tunc eum ab episcopali officio, appellatione postposita, suspendatis. Quod si nec sic adquieverit, excommunicationis vinculo eum innodetis, nec sententiam relaxetis, donec nostro se duxerit conspectui præsentandum. Regiæ insuper excellentiæ intimetis, quod supradictus Dunkeldensis episcopus ita honeste suum est negotium prosecutus, et honori regio detulit, quod nil omnino proposuit quod in derogatione regii nominis valeat redundare, vel quo adversus eum debeat commoveri. Unde ipsum instanti exhortatione curetis inducere ut si ab æmulis ejus in contrarium fuerit suggestum, eorum verbis aurem regiam non apponat. Datum Veronæ, ii. kalendas Augusti."

Bishop John has done nothing against the king in his conduct of the business.

In consequence of these letters John goes to Rome, Hugh delays and is suspended and excommunicated.

Harum igitur auctoritate litterarum, Jocelinus Glascuensis episcopus, et collegæ sui, cum tempus, quod a summo pontifice statutum erat prædictis Dunkeldensi et Sancti Andreæ episcopis veniendi Romam appropinquasset, semel, secundo, tertio summonuerunt prædictos episcopos iter suum arripere. Dunkeldensis autem profectus est, sed episcopus Sancti Andreæ, terminum sibi statutum transgressus, ire distulit; et præfati judices delegati suspenderunt eum ab episcopali officio, et deinde propter suam contumaciam excommunicaverunt, secundum formam apostolici mandati.[1]

Philip demands the wardship of Geoffrey's daughter.

Benedict, i. 353.

Eodem anno Philippus rex Franciæ postulavit ab Henrico rege Angliæ custodiam filiæ Gaufridi comitis Britanniæ, quam ipse moriens reliquit sibi hæredem. Quod rex Angliæ nullo modo facere voluit; sed misit ad eum Walterum Rothomagensem archiepiscopum [2] et Willelmum de Mandevilla comitem Albemarliæ, et Rannulfum de Glamvilla justitiarium Angliæ; ad quorum instantiam rex Franciæ

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[1] *Harum . . . mandati*] Omitted in C. *Harum . . . litterarum*, om. B.

[2] The archbishop had an interview with Philip, October 9; and landed at Dover, on his return, October 18: R. de Diceto, 631.

Benedict, i. 353. treugas dedit, et pacem tenere promisit usque ad festum Sancti Hylarii proximo venturi. A.D. 1186. Truce with France.

Benedict, i. 354. Eodem anno[1] Ricardus de Vals, miles regis Franciæ, firmavit castellum in villa sua de Vals, inter Gisortium et Trie, quod Henricus de Ver, constabularius Gisortii sub prædicto Willelmo comite de Albemarle videns, grave tulit; et volens opus illud impedire, si posset, venit illuc cum gente sua, et homines prædicti Ricardi de Vals exierunt obviam illi; et facto congressu, Radulfus filius Ricardi de Vals interfectus est, et multi de hominibus prædicti Ricardi ibidem vulnerati fugerunt. Præfatus vero Henricus de Ver, non ausus ad Gisortium redire, abiit ad Ricardum comitem Pictavis. Quod cum regi Franciæ constaret, præcepit quod omnes qui erant de terra regis Angliæ, tam clerici quam laici, qui essent in terra sua inventi, caperentur, et catalla eorum. Baillivi autem regis Angliæ de terris transmarinis similiter fecerunt de hominibus regis Franciæ, et de catallis eorum, quæ inventa fuerunt in bailliis eorum: sed paulo post rex Franciæ consilio suorum præcepit quod homines regis Angliæ liberarentur, et catalla sua eis reddi; similiter fecerunt baillivi regis Angliæ de hominibus regis Franciæ, et catallis eorum. (November.) Richard de Vals fortifying a castle on the frontier of Normandy, is attacked by Henry de Vere. (Benedict, i. 355.) Philip prepares for war, and seizes all Englishmen in France; but speedily releases them.

Benedict, i. 358, 361. Eodem anno Constantia comitissa Britanniæ, filia comitis Conani, quam Gaufridus comes Britanniæ, maritus ejus, moriens reliquit gravidam, peperit filium suum primogenitum in ipsa sancta nocte Paschæ, et vocatum est nomen ejus Arturus. Birth of Arthur of Brittany, (Mar. 29, 1187.)

Benedict, i. 358, 361. Eodem anno[2] Baldewinus puer rex Jerosolimitanus, filius Willelmi le Marchis, obiit; cui successit in regnum Sibilla mater ejus jure hæreditario, sed, antequam coronaretur, factum est divortium inter ipsam et Gwidonem de Lezinant, maritum suum, per Eraclium patriarcham, et per Templares et Hospitalares, qui volebant ut ipsa nupsisset Walranno[3] comiti Tripolis, vel alicui alii viro Death of Baldwin V., and succession of Sibylla.

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[1] *Eodem anno*] Benedict is much more full on this dispute; and the date, November 28, for the battle is given by R. de Diceto, 632.

[2] *Eodem anno*] Before the month of August.

[3] *Walranno*] Raymond III. was count of Tripoli, but both Hoveden and Benedict call him Walerann. He was married, as appears below, at the time, to Eschiva, the lady of Tiberias, widow of Walter prince of Galilee.

A.D. 1186. Divorce and re-marriage of Guy and Sibylla.

nobili de principibus terræ Jerosolimitanæ. Sed ipsa mira calliditate decepit eos, dicens, "Si divortium factum fuerit inter me et maritum meum, volo quod vos faciatis "me securam fide et sacramentis, quod quemcunque ego "elegero, vos recipietis in regem et dominum;" quod cum factum fuisset, introduxerunt eam in templum, et prædictus patriarcha coronavit eam: et paulo post, cum omnes orationibus insisterent, ut Deus et Dominus Omnipotens provideret terræ illi regem idoneum, præfata regina accepit coronam regiam in manibus suis, et posuit eam super caput Gwidonis de Lezinan, mariti sui, dicens, "Ego eligo te in regem et dominum "meum, et terræ Jerosolimitanæ, quia quos Deus con-"junxit, homo separare non debet." Ad hanc vocem omnes stabant attoniti, sed propter jusjurandum, quod fecerant, nemo ausus erat ei contradicere; et accedens patriarcha unxit eum in regem; et divino officio celebrato, Templares introduxerunt regem et reginam in domum suam, et fecerunt eis convivium magnum.

Benedict, i. 358.

Discontent and treason of the count of Tripoli.

Comes autem Tripolis, anxius et dolens quod regina refutaverat eum, abiit ad Saladinum regem Babiloniæ, et inito cum eo fœdere, machinabatur mala multa in perniciem regis et regni.

Benedict, i. 359, 360.

Renewal of the truce for three years.

Saladinus vero petiit supradictas treugas, quas ipse usque ad Pascha dederat, prorogari per tres annos subsequentes; cujus petitioni præfatus rex Gwido, consilio Templariorum, adquievit, licet constaret ei quod in proximo ventura esset copiosa peregrinorum multitudo, tam de Anglia quam de aliis regnis, per prædicationem patriarchæ.

Arrival of the pilgrims from England.

Venit itaque post Pascha Jerosolimam copiosa militum cæterorumque peregrinorum multitudo; sed quia treugæ elongatæ fuerant, perpauci remanere volebant. Tamen Rogerus de Mulbrai et Hugo de Bello Campo remanserunt ibi in servitio Dei.

XXX^{mus} III^{tius}. annus regni regis Henrici, filii Matildis imperatricis.

Benedict, ii. 3.

Anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo octogesimo septimo, qui est annus tricesimus tertius regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex fuit in Anglia die Natalis Domini apud Geldeford.

A.D. 1187. Henry keeps Christmas 1186–1187 at Guildford.

Eodem anno post Natale Domini Urbanus papa misit in Angliam Octovianum[1] sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ subdiaconum cardinalem, et cum eo Hugonem de Nunant, quibus ipse commisit legatiam in Hybernia ad coronandum ibi Johannem filium regis; sed dominus rex coronationem illam distulit, et prædictos legatos duxit secum in Normanniam, ad colloquium inter ipsum et Philippum regem Franciæ. Transfretavit itaque rex Angliæ,[2] et applicuit apud Witsand in Flandria, et prædicti legati cum eo. Et paulo post, habito colloquio inter ipsum et regem Franciæ ad Vadum Sancti Remigii, inter eos convenire non potuit, propter intolerabiles exigentias quas rex Franciæ sibi fieri postulavit; et sic sine spe pacis et concordiæ recesserunt.

Arrival of legates to crown John king of Ireland. Benedict, ii. 4. Henry takes them to Normandy. Benedict, ii. 5. Negotiations with Philip.

Benedict, ii. 6.

Eodem anno post Pentecosten, Philippus rex Franciæ, magno congregato exercitu, obsedit Ricardum et Johannem, filios regis Angliæ, in Castro Radulfi. Quod rex Angliæ audiens, venit illuc cum magno exercitu ad succurrendum filiis suis obsessis. Cui rex Franciæ cum exercitu suo occurrens, disposuit acies suas ad bellum campestre; sed per Dei misericordiam, et mandatum summi pontificis Urbani, nec non per consilium archiepiscoporum et episcoporum, et aliorum principum utriusque regni, statuerunt[3] inter se treugas per biennium; ita quod rex Franciæ haberet Yssoudun

After Whitsuntide (May 17), Philip besieges Richard and John in Châteauroux. Preparations for a pitched battle. Truce for two years.

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[1] Octavian, cardinal deacon of SS. Sergius and Bacchus; who became bishop of Ostia in 1189. Hugh of Nunant, the nephew of bishop Arnulf, of Lisieux, and archdeacon of Lisieux, became bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in 1188.

[2] The king crossed from Dover to Whitsand, February 17: Benedict, ii. 4. The conference at Gué S. Remy, took place on the 5th of April: *ib.* 5.

[3] *statuerunt*] June 23: Benedict, ii. 6, 7.

A.D. 1187. June. et Ursum de Freteval, usque ad terminum treugarum. Et sub hac conditione deponentes arma, ad propria remearunt. Benedict, ii. 7.

Sudden friendship between Philip and Richard.

Et post pacem illam Ricardus comes Pictaviæ remansit cum rege Franciæ contra voluntatem patris sui; quem rex Franciæ in tantum honorabat, quod singulis diebus in una mensa ad unum catinum manducabant, et in noctibus non separabat eos lectus. Et propter illum vehementem amorem qui inter illos esse videbatur, rex Angliæ nimio stupore arreptus, mirabatur quid hoc esset, et præcavens sibi in futurum, frequenter misit nuncios suos in Franciam ad revocandum Ricardum filium suum; qui simulans se pacificum, et ad patrem suum venire volentem, transitum fecit per Chinonem, et maximam partem thesaurorum patris sui, invito custode,[1] secum asportavit, et castella sua Pictaviæ inde munivit, nec tamen ad patrem suum venire voluit: et hoc Dei providentia factum esse creditur, ne rex pater simulata dilectione filii deciperetur, nec festinaret promovere illum ad regni gubernacula, sicut et alium promoverat, qui eum, ut supradictum est, injustis vexationibus supra modum inquietavit. Benedict, ii. 9.

Alarm of Henry at this, overruled for good.

Richard returns to his duty.

Sed tandem hoc fit Dei misericordia, quod Ricardus comes Pictaviæ, spreto pravorum consilio, ad patrem suum rediit, et iterum homo suus devenit coram multis tam clericis quam laicis, et super sacrosancta evangelia juravit ei fidelitatem contra omnes homines, et quod a consilio suo non recederet. Quo facto rex Angliæ profectus est in Britanniam, et obsidione cepit castellum de Muntrelais, quod Herveius de Liuns[2] et Guiumar frater ejus occupaverant post mortem Gaufridi comitis Britanniæ. Benedict, i. 357.

Henry retakes Montrelais.

Death of Donald MacWilliam.

Eodem anno[3] Duvenaldus filius Willelmi, filii Dunecan, inimicus Willelmi regis Scotiæ, quem Scotti nominabant Macwillam, interfectus est in Murevia. Benedict, ii. 7, 8.

Eodem anno [Ysabel][4] regina Franciæ, filia comitis de Benedict, ii. 9.

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[1] *custode*] "Stephano Tirco-"nensi," Benedict: probably Stephen of Turnham, seneschal of Anjou.

[2] Hervé viscount of the Leonois, and Guiomar his brother, had taken Montrelais before the feast of S. Andrew 1186. Benedict, i. 357.

[3] *Eodem anno*] The history of this campaign is given at much greater length in Benedict, ii. 7, 8, 9.

[4] *Ysabel*] A blank has been left for this name in A.; and filled up in another hand in accordance with a contemporaneous note in the margin. B. and G. have *Ysabel*.

Benedict, ii. 9. Henou, peperit filium suum primogenitum tertio nonas Septembris, feria quinta, et vocatum est nomen ejus Lodowicus. A.D. 1187. Sept. 3. Birth of a son to Philip.

Idem de Saladino.

Benedict, ii. 10. Eodem anno Saladinus rex Babiloniæ, cum immensa Turcorum suorum multitudine, ex occasione dissensionis quæ fuit inter regem et comitem Tripolis, venit in terram Jerosolimitanam. Contra quem venerunt fratres Templi et Hospitalis, cum copiosa plebis multitudine. Et facta inter illos congressione, prævaluit paganorum exercitus adversus Christianos: Christiani autem in fugam sunt conversi; ex quibus multi sunt interfecti, et multi capti. Et eodem die, videlicet kalendis Maii, sexaginta fratres Templi, et summus magister domus Hospitalis[1] cum pluribus domus suæ fratribus, interfecti sunt. Saladin invades Palestine, and defeats the Templars and Hospitallers, May 1.

Saladinus igitur, summa potitus victoria, castella, civitates, et munitiones Christianorum quamplures invasit et cepit; et deinde regressus in regionem suam magnum congregavit exercitum; et, ut dicitur, per consilium comitis Tripolis, Benedict, ii. 10, 11. qui erat inimicus regis, intravit[2] terram Jerosolimitanam die Veneris proxima post festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, cum octingentis millibus militum, et eo amplius: et cepit Thabariam, excepta castri munitione, in qua se domina loci[3] cum paucis militibus receperat. Quæ cum nunciata essent regi, de consilio comitis Tripolis, qui nuper secum fœdera pacis fraudulenter inierat, rex processit versus Thabariam per unam dietam. Deinceps comes Tripolis, dux et prævius itineris, totum exercitum in eminentem locum, et saxosum constituit. Ibi vero imminentibus hostibus, undique necessitate compulsus, rex de baronum consilio bellum committere dignum duxit, et ad eorum instantiam magistro et militibus Templi primos ictus concessit. Ergo militia Templi sicut leo fortis in hostes concurrens partem stravit, partemque fugavit. Cæteri vero regio spreto mandato, non processerunt ad pugnam, He brings up a new army in July and takes Tiberias. The king risks a battle.

[1] Roger de Moulins.

[2] *intravit*] The following particulars are derived from a letter of the Genoese to pope Urban II., which is given entire in Benedict, and in the Continuation of William of Tyre in the Royal MS. 14 C. 10. Part also of it is given in abstract in the narrative of Benedict, and Hoveden's text is drawn partly from the letter itself and partly from the abstract of it.

[3] *domina loci*] Eschiva, the wife of count Raymond of Tripoli, and widow of Walter, lord of Tiberias, and prince of Galilee.

A.D. 1187. July. Treason among the Christians.

nec ullum eis præstavere succursum, unde Templi milites retenti et trucidati sunt. Postmodum Saladini exercitus Christianorum exercitum, laborioso itinere confectum, et nimio caloris æstu prægravatum, aqua omnino deficiente, partim[1] igne circumdedit. Tunc sex ex militibus regis, scilicet Baldewinus de Fortuna, et Raimundus Buccus, et Laodicius de Thabaria, cum aliis tribus sociis, diabolico spiritu arrepti, ad Saladinum confugerunt, et sponte Sarraceni facti, de omni esse et proposito et continentiis Christianorum eum instruxerunt. Saladinus vero, qui de discrimine belli antea anxius dubitabat, resumpsit vires, et cum tubis et infinita multitudine bellatorum in Christianos, qui propter loca saxosa et invia pugnare non poterant, assultum fecit, et eos omni genere pugnandi impugnavit, et expugnavit. Tandem Thekedinus, nepos Saladini, Gwidonem regem Jerusalem, fugam arripientem, et crucem Dominici ligni cepit, interfecto Ruffino[2] episcopo de Accon, qui eam portavit, et hoc digno Dei judicio. Ipse enim, contra consuetudinem prædecessorum suorum, majorem fiduciam habens in armis terrenis quam in cœlestibus, processit ad pugnam loricatus. Qui mox ictu sagittæ perforatus interiit. Cæteri omnes fere confracti, capti, trucidati, et vinculis mancipati sunt, ab ipsis Parthis, proh dolor! campo omnino superato. Sed solus comes Tripolis, proditionis hujus conscius, cum suis evasit illæsus. Statim vero Saladinus militiæ Templi et Hospitalis milites segregari fecit ab aliis, et coram se decapitari, et ipse principem Raimundum de Castellione[3] propria sua manu interfecit. Deinde civitatem Accon cepit, et adjacentia loca, et munitiones fere omnes de partibus illis.

Benedict, ii. 11.

Benedict, ii. 12.

Guy of Lusignan and the True Cross are taken, and the bishop of Acre killed.

Massacre of the knights and death of Reginald of Châtillon.

Interim Conradus le Marchis, frater supradicti Willelmi comitis Joppen, facto homicidio in civitate Constan-

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[1] *partim*] Here Hoveden misreads his authority. The word in the letter of the Genoese is Parthi, followed of course by *circumdederunt*. Our author took pthi for ptī, and had to supply a new nominative case, *Saladini exercitus*.

[2] These particulars are stated in the same language by Ralph of Coggeshall, who probably took them from Hoveden.

[3] *Raimundum de Castellione*] Reginald of Châtillon, prince of Kerak and of the country beyond Jordan, by his marriage with Stephania of Thoron: he had governed Antioch during the life of his first wife Constantia, daughter of Bohemond II., and is still frequently called prince of Antioch. The mistake of *Raimundum* for *Rainaldum* is common; but the Genoese give it in their letter *Reinaldum*, rightly.

tinopolitana, fugam iniit, relicta uxore sua, nepte Ysakii imperatoris Constantinopolitani; et eodem die, quo Saladinus victoriam[1] habuit de Christianis, venit ipse Conradus Tyrum, et invenit eam vacantem, nam omnes fere cives illius interfecti erant in supradicto prælio. Cum ergo Saladinus illuc venisset, et liberum sperasset habere ingressum, restitit illi Conradus, et ingressum negavit; vidensque Saladinus se ibi nil posse per moram proficere, abiit, et cepit Baruth civitatem,[2] et utramque civitatem quæ dicitur Gibelet, et Sydonem, et Cæsaream civitatem, et Joppen, et Nazareth, et Sanctum Georgium, et Sanctum Habraham, et Bethleem, et Cayphas et Castellum Novum, et Saphet, et Jaunai, et montem Tabur, et Fabam, et Caffarmundel, et Cavam Templi, et Calenzun, et Merle Templi, et Castellum de Planis, et Rames, et Leturun as Chevalers, et Castellum Arnaldi, et Castellum Burguinnun, et Tarente, et la Blanchevarde, et Galaciam, et Gaszeres, et Darun, et la Ruge Cisterne, et castellum Sancti Petri, et Sanctum Laszarum de Bethania, et Sanctam Mariam de Monte Syon, et civitatem Jerusalem. Regina vero uxor Gwidonis regis recepit se, cum familia et duabus filiabus suis, in civitate Ascalona, et eam munivit victualibus et bellatoribus. Quam ipsa postmodum in secundo anno sequenti[3] tradidit Saladino pro redemptione Gwidonis mariti sui: et sic liberavit eum a carcere Saladini.

A.D. 1187. Conrad of Montferrat saves and defends Tyre.

Benedict, ii. 22, 23.

Saladin takes nearly all the strongholds of Palestine.

Surrender of Ascalon.

Benedict, ii. 93.

[1] *victoriam*] With this word begins the fragment contained in the MS. I. (Trin. Coll. Camb. O. 9. 23).

[2] The known dates of the captures of these strongholds are: Tiberias, July 5; Acre, July 9; Nazareth, Rouge Cisterne, Cæsarea, Haifa, between July 5 and 20 (Bohadin, 71); Sidon, July 27; Byblus, between July 30 and August 6; Beirout, August 6 (Bohadin, 72); Joppa, Lydda, Jabneh, Darum, and Ramlah, between August 6 and September 4 (*Chron. Terræ Sanctæ*, cap. xvii.); Latroon (le Turun as Chevalers), Castrum Arnaldi (Beit Nûba), between September 7 and 21. Bethlehem, Bethany, and the abbey of the Assumption in the valley of Jehosaphat, were destroyed on the march to Jerusalem in September; Jerusalem itself was taken on the 6th of October; Safed was not taken until November 1188. Bohadin, 88.

[3] *in secundo anno sequenti*] Given by Benedict under the year 1188; but Ascalon had really been surrendered to Saladin on the 4th of September 1187. Guy was released in May 1188.

A.D. 1187. Defence of Tyre.

Omnes vero qui de Accon confugerant, et multitudo profugorum Christianorum receperunt se in Tyro, et fecerunt Conradum dominum et advocatum suum. Antiochia vero et Margatum, cum tota fere terra principis, se bene munierunt[1] contra Saladinum. Benedict, ii. 12.

Death of the count of Tripoli.

Cumque comes Tripolitanus gentem suam a cultu divino subvertere voluisset, et terram suam tradere proposuisset Saladino, inventus est mortuus in lecto suo, similis dormienti, et uxor illius cum tota gente sua tradidit se et civitatem Tripolim Raimundo[2] principi Antiochiæ; et ipse statuit inde Jocelinum filium suum dominum. Benedict, ii. 21.

Death of Urban III. Oct. 20. Gregory VIII. succeeds.

Cum igitur papa Urbanus audisset quod temporibus suis captus esset rex Jerosolimitanus, et Crux Dominica, et civitas Sancta Jerusalem, doluit vehementer et incidit in ægritudinem, et mortuus est decimo tertio kalendas Novembris,[3] apud Ferrariam; cui successit in papatu Albertus cancellarius suus, et vocatus est papa Gregorius octavus. Benedict, ii. 14.

Self-denying ordinance of the cardinals.

Cardinales vero, de assensu domini papæ, inter se firmiter promiserunt, quod abjectis omnibus divitiis et deliciis, prædicarent[4] crucem Christi, non solum verbo, sed opere et exemplo, et euntes mendicando accipient crucem primi, et præcederent alios in terram Jerusalem. Statuerunt etiam de assensu domini papæ firmissimam treugam inter omnes principes Christianitatis usque ad septennium; ita quod quicunque guerram contra Christianum medio tempore moverit, maledictioni Dei et domini papæ, atque excommunicationi omnium præ- Benedict, ii. 15.

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[1] *Omnes....munierunt*] Another extract from the letter of the Genoese.

[2] *Raimundo*] Bohemond III., prince of Antioch: his son Raymond, not Jocelin, succeeded to the county of Tripoli.

[3] *Novembris*] Hoveden here gives the right month, while the chronicle of Benedict gives October. But the latter chronicle is more careful about ascribing the grief of Urban to the loss of the Holy City. It is almost impossible that Urban could have heard of the capture of Jerusalem, which took place on the 6th of October. Sixteen days was a quick voyage from Palestine to Sicily; and he was in Northern Italy. We know, moreover, from Peter of Blois, that he had been ill for some days before his death. See *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 555.

[4] *prædicarent*] Correction for prædicabant, A. It is *prædicabunt* in the original letter, *prædicarent*, B. G. I. MS. I. reads also *accipe-rent* for *accipient*.

Benedict, ii. 15. latorum universalis ecclesiæ subjacebunt: firmiter etiam inter se promiserunt, quod de cætero nulla munera recipient ab aliquo, qui causam habeat in curia, sed ea tantum recipere poterunt, quæ fuerint pro eorum necessitate et sustentatione donata, vel missa: et non ascendent in equum, quamdiu terra, in qua pedes Domini steterunt, fuerit sub pedibus inimici.[1] A.D. 1187.

Benedict, i. 328. Est etiam notandum, et divinæ providentiæ ascribendum, quod tempore illo, quo civitas Jerosolima et Antiochia ereptæ fuerant de potestate paganorum, per expugnationem Adimari Podiensis episcopi, et aliorum quamplurium episcoporum et virorum religiosorum, et Hugonis Philippi Francorum regis germani, et Godefridi ducis Lothariensis, et Stephani comitis Carnotensis; et Roberti ducis Normannorum, fratris Willelmi regis Angliæ secundi tunc regnantis, qui Robertus in duello vicit Curberand principem militiæ paganorum; et Roberti comitis Flandriæ; et duorum germanorum Godefridi ducis, videlicet Eustacii comitis Bononiensis, et Baldewini; et Raimundi comitis de Sancto Ægidio; et Boimundi filii Roberti Wischard; et aliorum multorum nobilium virorum, papa qui tunc erat dicebatur Urbanus, et patriarcha Jerosolimitanus dicebatur Eraclius, et imperator Romanus dicebatur Fredericus; similiter et nunc, quando terra Jerosolimitana erepta fuit de potestate Christianorum per expugnationem Saladini, papa dicebatur Urbanus, et patriarcha Jerusalem Eraclius, et imperator Romanus Fredericus.[2] Et est sciendum, quod a tempore

Coincidences between the two captures of Jerusalem in 1099 and 1187.

Benedict, i. 329.

Benedict, i. 331.

[1] *Cardinales....inimici*] This is an extract from a letter of Peter of Blois to Henry II., which is given in full in Benedict. The confusion between the future indicative and imperfect subjunctive, resulting from the different use of the tense of *promiserunt*, is noticeable. In one instance, the future (accipient) is retained where acciperent is clearly required. After *statuerunt*, Hoveden seems to have despaired of altering the form of the sentence.

[2] The coincidence of the names of Urban II. and Urban III., who were popes when Jerusalem was taken and lost in 1099 and 1187, has led both our chroniclers into difficulties. The Chronicle of Benedict invents a patriarch Heraclius at Jerusalem in 1099, to answer to the Heraclius of 1187; and Hoveden adds a new Frederick to the list of emperors. The patriarch in 1099 was named Simeon: W. Tyr. i. 11. There may have been some reminiscence of the fact that Heraclius was the emperor who took the

A.D. 1187. Date of the loss of Jerusalem.

illo, quo Jerosolima erepta fuit de manibus paganorum per prædictos expugnatores, usque ad tempus illud, quo rex Wido eam perdidit; interlapsi fuerunt quater viginti et septem anni. Benedict, i. 331.

[1] *Epistola fratris Terrici,[2] magni præceptoris Templi Jerusalem, ad præceptores et fratres Templi.*

Terricus informs the Templars of the misfortunes of Palestine.

"Frater Terricus, pauperrimæ domus Templi dictus magnus "præceptor, omnisque fratrum pauperrimus et fere omnino "adnihilatus conventus, universis præceptoribus et fratribus "Templi ad quos litteræ istæ pervenerint, salutem, et in "Illum suspirare, in Quo sol et luna mirantur. Quot quantis-"que calamitatibus ira Dei, nostris peccatis exigentibus, nos "in præsenti flagellari permiserit, nec litteris nec flebili "voce, proh dolor! explicare valemus. Turci enim immensam "suarum gentium multitudinem congregantes, Christianorum "nostrorum fines acriter invadere cœperunt; contra quos nos "nostrarum gentium phalanges coadunantes, infra octavas "Beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli in eos congredi, et "versus Tyberiadem, quam violenter, castro solo relicto, ce-"perant, iter arripere præsumpsimus. Cum nos in scopulis "pessimis impulissent, nos ita acriter impugnaverunt, quod "Sancta Cruce et rege nostro captis, et omni multitudine "nostra interfecta, et fratrum nostrorum, ut in veritate "credimus, eodem die cc. et xxx. decollatis, exceptis illis "lx. qui prima die Maii interempti sunt, vix dominus Benedict, ii. 13.

The invasion by Saladin, and the capture of the king and the cross.

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true cross from the Persians, as mentioned in the speech attributed to William of Tyre, in the Contin. W. Tyr., lib. xxiii. c. 10. Henry IV. was king of Germany in 1099, and the only other persons at the time possessing any sort of claim to the title of emperor in the West, were his sons Conrad and Henry, who had both been crowned kings.

[1] This letter occurs also in R. de Diceto, 635; in the Chronicle of Reichersberg (ed. J. P. de Ludewig, p. 320); and in the Cont. Will. Tyr., in MS. Reg. 14 C. 10, lib. ii. cap. 6. At this point the ancient portion of MS. D. (Claudius B. vii.) begins.

[2] There is a difficulty as to the time at which Terricus served the office of Grand Master; for Gerard of Bidesford is mentioned as grand master in 1187, and as taken at the battle of Hittin in July. The *Art de Verifier les Dates* makes Terricus succeed Arnold de Toroge in 1184; but if that is correct he must have resigned before Gerard was appointed. Possibly he succeeded after the capture of Gerard at Hittin, or acted as his deputy. He calls himself *quondam præceptor*, in January 1188.

Benedict. ii. 14. A.D. 1187. Jerusalem, Ascalon, Tyre, and Berytus are not yet taken.

" comes Tripolis, et dominus Reginaldus[1] Sydonis, dominus-" que Ballovius, et nos, de illo miserabili campo vix evadere " potuimus. Deinde pagani Christianorum nostrorum sanguine " debacchati, versus civitatem Accon, cum omni sua multi-" tudine venire non distulerunt; quam violenter capientes, " totam terram fere invaserunt; Jerusalem, et Ascalon, et " Tyro, et Beriton[2] nobis et Christianitati solis adhuc relictis. " Istas etiam civitates, omnibus earum fere civibus interfectis, " nisi divinum et vestrum præsto sit auxilium, nullo modo " retinere poterimus. Civitatem etiam Tyrum in præsentiarum " acriter obsidentes, violenter die noctuque expugnare non " cessant, et tanta est eorum copia, quod totam terræ faciem, " a Tyro usque ad Jerusalem, et usque ad Gazam, velut " formicæ cooperuerunt. Nobis ergo, et Christianitati Orien-" tis, ad præsens omnino deperditæ, quantocius succurrere dig-" nemini, ut per Deum et vestræ fraternitatis eminentiam, " residuas civitates vestro fulti adminiculo salvare possimus. " Valete."

Tyre is being besieged.

Benedict, ii. 22. Capture of Roger Mowbray and death of Hugh Beauchamp.

In eodem prælio quo captus fuit rex Guido Jerusalem, captus fuit Rogerus de Mulbrai, quem in anno sequenti fratres Hospitalis et Templi redemerunt de manu paganorum; qui paulo post obiit. Et in eodem prælio Hugo de Bello Campo[3] interfectus est.

Benedict, ii. 29. Second marriage of Constance of Brittany.

Eodem anno rex Angliæ dedit Constantiam comitissam Britanniæ, matrem Arturi, Rannulfo comiti Cestriæ in uxorem.

Archbishop Baldwin is obliged to remove his new college from Canterbury to Lambeth.

Eodem anno Baldewinus, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, nova ædificia et basilicam construxit prope muros civitatis Cantuariæ, et præbendas in ea assignavit de ecclesiis monachorum Cantuariæ: sed iisdem monachis inde conquerentibus, Urbanus papa prohibuit, ne fierent, et sic in vanum laboraverunt, qui ædificabant ea. Sed idem archiepiscopus transtulit ea usque Lamee ex opposito de Westmuster ultra Tamisiam.

Benedict, ii. 29. Richard takes the cross.

Eodem anno Ricardus comes Pictaviæ cepit crucem Jerosolimitanæ peregrinationis.

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[1] *Reginaldus*] lord of Sidon. Ballovius is probably Balian of Ibelin.

[2] *Beriton*] Berytus was taken August 6th; this letter must have been written therefore before the news of the capture had reached the writer.

[3] *Bello Campo*] Bello Monte, I.

Epistola papæ Gregorii Octavi ad universos Christi fideles.

A.D. 1187. Oct. 29. Gregory VIII. addresses the faithful on the afflictions of Palestine.

"Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universis Christi Benedict, ii. 15.
" fidelibus ad quos litteræ istæ pervenerint, salutem et
" apostolicam benedictionem. Audita tremendi severitate
" judicii, quam super terram Jerusalem Divina manus exercuit,
" tanto sumus nos et fratres nostri horrore confusi, tantisque
" afflicti doloribus, ut non facile nobis occurreret quid agere,
" aut quid facere deberemus, nisi quod psalmista deplorat et
" dicit, 'Deus, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem Tuam: coin- Ps. lxxix. 1.
" 'quinaverunt templum sanctum Tuum, posuerunt Jerusalem
" 'in pomorum custodiam, carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis
" 'terræ, et escas volatilibus cœli,' etc. Ex occasione quippe Benedict, ii. 16.
" dissensionis, quæ malitia hominum ex suggestione diaboli
" facta est nuper in terra, accessit Saladinus cum multitudine
" armatorum ad partes illas, et occurrentibus eis rege et epi-
" scopis, et Templariis et Hospitalariis, baronibus ac militibus,
" cum populo terræ, et Cruce Dominica, per quam, ex memoria
" et fide passionis Christi, Qui pependit, et genus humanum
" redemit in ea, certum solebat esse tutamen, et contra paga-
" norum incursus desiderata defensio, facta congressione inter
" eos, et superata parte nostrorum, capta est Crux Dominica,
" trucidati episcopi, captus est rex, et universi fere aut occisi
" gladio, aut hostilibus manibus deprehensi, ita ut paucissimi
" per fugam dicantur elapsi. Ipsi quoque Templarii et Hos-
" pitalarii in ejus oculis decollati. Superato autem exercitu,
" qualiter subsequenter invaserint, et rapuerint universa, ita
" ut non nisi pauca loca remansisse dicantur, quæ non in
" eorum devenerint potestatem, non credimus nostris litteris
" explicandum. Nos autem, licet cum propheta dicere habea-
" mus, 'Quis det capiti meo aquam, et oculis meis fontem Jer. ix. 1.
" 'lacrymarum? et plorabo nocte ac die interfectos populi
" 'mei;'' non tamen adeo dejicere nos debemus, ut in diffi-
" dentiam decidamus, et credamus Deum ita populo suo
" iratum, ut quod communium faciente multitudine peccato-
" rum fieri permisit iratus, non cito per misericordiam pœni-
" tentia placatus alleviet, et post lacrymationem et fletum,
" exultationem inducat. Quisquis sane in tanta lugendi ma-

The capture of the king and of the true cross: the murder of the Templars and reduction of the strongholds.

[1] Given also by William of Newburgh, iii. 21. It seems to have been written before the news of the capture of Jerusalem reached the pope.

Benedict, ii. 16. "teria, si non corpore, saltem corde non luget, non tantum A.D. 1187. Oct. 29.
"fidei Christianæ, quæ cum omnibus dolentibus docet esse "dolendum, sed ipsius et humanitatis nostræ oblitus; cum Lamentations thereupon.
"ex ipsa periculi magnitudine, ac feritate barbarica Christi-"anorum sanguinem sitiente, ac totam suam in hoc apponente "virtutem, ut prophanare sancta, et titulum Dei valeant "auferre de terra, quod nos tacemus, discretus quisque valeat "æstimare. Sane cum prophetæ toto prius studio laborave-"runt, postmodum apostoli et sequaces eorum, ut Divinus "cultus esset in terra illa, et ad omnia climata mundi ex ea "deflueret, immo, quod maximum et ineffabile est, Deus, "Qui voluit incarnari, per Quem facta sunt universa per "ineffabilem sapientiam, et incomprehensibilem misericordiam "Suam, per infirmitatem carnis, esuriem, sitim, crucem, et The fate of Palestine under the Law and under the Gospel.
"mortem, et resurrectionem, salutem nostram ibi voluit ope-
Ps. lxxiv. 12. "rari, juxta quod dicitur, 'Qui operatus est salutem in medio "'terræ per Seipsum,' ad hoc dignatus est laborare: nec "lingua dicere nec sensus cogitare potest, quantum nobis et "universo dolendum sit populo Christiano, quod id nunc "perpessa est terra illa, quod sub veteri populo legitur per-"tulisse. Nos autem credere non debemus, quod ex injustitia
Benedict, ii. 17. "judicis ferientis, sed ex iniquitate potius populi delinquentis "ista pervenerint; cum legamus quod quando populus con-"vertebatur ad Dominum, persequebatur unus mille, et decem "fugabant decem millia; immo ipso populo quiescente, exer-"citum Sennacherib angelica manu consumptum. Sed et
Num. xiii. 33. "terra illa devoravit habitatores suos, et nec diu habere "quietum statum, nec transgressores legis divinæ potuit "retinere; doctrinam et exemplum tribuens illis qui ad "cœlestem Jerusalem intenderent; quod non possunt ad eam "nisi per exercitium boni operis, et per tentationes plurimas "pervenire. Potuerunt autem ista timeri jam pridem, quando Warning of the consequence of the sins of the people.
"Arroasia[1] et alia terra in potestatem transiit paganorum; "et fuisset bene provisum, si populus qui remansit ad "pœnitentiam rediisset, et Deum, Quem prævaricatione offen-"derat, conversione placasset. Nec enim subito venit ira "Ejus; sed ultionem differt, et tempus tribuit pœnitendi. "Tandem vero, Qui in misericordia judicium non amittit, "vindictam Suam, et ad pœnam transgredientium et cautelam "salvandorum, exercet. Porro nos, qui in tanta terræ illius "contritione, non solum peccatum habitatorum illius, sed et

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[1] Edessa, taken in 1143 or 1144; the capture of which led to the second crusade.

A.D. 1187. Oct. 29.

Causes of these miseries.

"nostrum et totius populi Christiani, debemus attendere, ac "vereri ne quod reliquum est illius terræ depereat, et in "alias etiam potestas eorum desæviat regiones; cum ex omni-"bus partibus inter reges et principes, civitates et civitates, "dissensiones audiamus et scandala, et lugere cum propheta "et dicere valeamus, 'Non est veritas, non est scientia Dei "'in terra; mendacium, homicidium, et adulterium inundave-"'runt, et sanguis sanguinem tetigit.' Unde hoc universis "et cogitandum imminet et agendum, ut peccata nostra cas-"tigatione voluntaria emendantes, per pœnitentiam et opera "pietatis convertamur ad Dominum Deum nostrum, et in "nobis primo quod male gessimus emendemus, deinde feri-"tatem et malitiam hostium attendamus; et quod illi contra "Deum tentare non timent, nos pro Deo agere nullatenus "hæsitemus. Cogitate itaque, filii, qualiter in hunc mundum "venistis, et qualiter exituri estis, et qualiter transeant uni-"versa, et pariter transeatis et vos; et pœnitendi ac bene "agendi tempus, quantum spectat ad vos, cum gratiarum "actione recipite, et date vestra, date post vos ipsos; quia "non estis ex vobis, nec quicquam a vobis habetis, qui nec "culicem unum potestis facere super terram. Nec dicimus "dimittite, sed præmittite in cœleste horreum, quæ habetis, "et deponite apud Eum apud Quem ærugo ea non demolitur "aut tinea, nec fures effodiunt et furantur; laborantes ad "recuperationem terræ illius, in qua pro salute nostra Veri-"tas de terra orta est, et sustinere pro nobis crucis patibu-"lum non despexit; et nolite ad hoc lucrum vel gloriam tem-"poralem attendere, sed voluntatem Dei, Qui pro fratribus "animas in Seipso docuit esse ponendas, et Ei vestras com-"mendate divitias, quas, sive volentes sive nolentes, nescitis "tandem quibus hæredibus sitis relicturi. Non est equidem "novum, quod terra illa judicio Divino percutitur; sed nec "est insolitum, ut flagellata et castigata misericordiam conse-"quatur. Poterit Dominus quidem sola eam voluntate ser-"vare; sed non habemus Ei dicere, cur ita fecerit? voluit "enim forsitan experiri, et in notitiam ducere aliorum, si "aliquis sit intelligens aut requirens Deum, qui oblatum sibi "pœnitentiæ tempus hilariter amplectatur, et animam ponendo "pro fratribus consummetur in brevi, et compleat tempora "multa. Attendite qualiter Machabei, zelo Divinæ legis ac-"censi, pro fratribus liberandis extrema quæque pericula "sunt experti, et non solum substantias, sed et personas pro "fratrum docuerint salute ponendas; et hortantes seipsos "atque dicentes, accingimini, et estote filii potentes, quoniam "melius est nobis mori in bello, quam videre mala gentis

Benedict, ii. 17.

Hosea, iv. 1.

Lessons to be drawn from them.

Benedict, ii. 18.

Exhortation to good works.

S. Matt. vi. 20.

Ps. lxxxv. 11.

There are hopes after all.

Wisd. iv. 13.

1 Macc. iii. 58.

Benedict, ii. 18. A.D. 1187. Oct. 29. The glory of the Maccabees.

"nostræ et sanctorum. Et quidem illi sub una constituti "lege fuerunt; vos per incarnationem Domini nostri Jesu "Christi ad lucem veritatis adducti, et multis exemplis in- "structi sanctorum, sine trepidatione aliqua faciatis, et non "timeatis dare terrena, et pauca, et breviter duratura, qui- "bus illa bona promissa sunt et reposita, quæ nec oculus "vidit nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascenderunt, et "de quibus dicit Apostolus, 'quod non sunt condignæ pas- "'siones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam, quæ revelabitur "'in nobis." Eis autem, qui corde contrito et humiliato "spiritu itineris hujus laborem assumpserint, et in pœnitentia "peccatorum et fide recta decesserint, plenam suorum cri- "minum indulgentiam, et vitam pollicemur æternam. Sive "autem supervixerint, sive mortui fuerint, de omnibus pec- "catis suis, de quibus rectam confessionem fecerint, impositæ "satisfactionis relaxationem, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia, "et apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate et nostra, se "noverint habituros. Bona quoque ipsorum, ex quo crucem "acceperint, cum suis familiis, sub sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, "nec non et archiepiscoporum et episcoporum, et aliorum "prælatorum ecclesiæ Dei protectione consistant, et nullam "de his, quæ in susceptione crucis quiete possederunt, donec "de ipsorum reditu, vel obitu certissime cognoscatur, susti- "neant quæstionem; sed bona eorum integra interim maneant "et quieta; ad dandas quoque usuras, si tenentur alicui, non "cogantur: nec eant in vestibus pretiosis, et cum canibus "sive avibus, aut aliis quæ ostentationi potius et lasciviæ "quam necessariis videantur usibus deservire; sed in modesto "apparatu et habitu, in quo pœnitentiam potius agere quam "inanem affectare gloriam videantur. Datum Ferrariæ, iv. "kalendas Novembris, Indictione sexta."

1 Cor. ii. 9. Rom. viii. 18. Promises to the crusaders. Benedict, ii. 19.

Epistola Gregorii papæ Octavi ad universos Christi fideles pro eodem negotio.

Oct. 29. Gregory VIII. issues an order for fasting.

"Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universis Christi "fidelibus ad quos litteræ istæ pervenerint, salutem et apo- "stolicam benedictionem. Nunquam melius superni Judicis "ira pacatur, quam cum, ex mandato Ipsius, carnalia in nobis "desideria extinguuntur. Proinde quia Jerosolimitanæ terræ "discrimen, quod irruentibus Sarracenis nuper evenit, ex "peccato maxime habitatorum terræ ac totius populi Christiani "accidisse non dubitamus; nos de fratrum nostrorum com- "muni consilio, multis episcopis approbantibus, statuimus, ut "omnes usque ad quinquennium, saltem per omnes sextas

A.D. 1187. Oct. 29. Papal injunctions as to fasting.

"ferias in cibo Quadragesimali jejunent; et missa, ubi cantanda fuerit, ad nonam cantetur, quod ab Adventu Domini usque ad Natale Domini statuimus observandum: feria vero quarta et Sabbato omnes indifferenter, qui bene valent, a carnibus abstineant. Nos autem et fratres nostri in secunda quoque feria nobis et familiis nostris esum carnis interdicimus, nisi forte aut infirmitas aut magna solemnitas vel alia evidens causa visa fuerit impedire; sperantes quod sic nobis ignoscet Dominus, et relinquet post Se benedictionem. Hoc igitur adeo statuimus observandum, ut quicunque transgressor extiterit, quasi prævaricator Quadragesimalis jejunii habeatur. Datum Ferrariæ, iv. kalendas Novembris." Benedict, ii. 19. Joel, ii. 14.

Audientes igitur principes terræ mandata et admonitiones summi pontificis, viribus totis anhelabant ad liberationem terræ Jerosolimitanæ.

The emperor Frederick prepares for the crusade.

Unde factum est, quod Fredericus Romanorum Imperator, et archiepiscopi et episcopi, et duces et comites et barones imperii, signum crucis susceperunt. Similiter exemplo illorum, quam plures principes de universis Christianorum nationibus præparaverunt se ad subventionem terræ Jerosolimitanæ. Benedict, ii. 58.

Suasio magistri Berteri Aurelianensis ad crucem capiendam.

Eratque quidam clericus dictus magister Berterus Aurelianensis, qui ad crucem accipiendam multorum animos excitavit, dicens:—

Lament of Berter of Orleans. Benedict, ii. 26.

(1.) "Juxta threnos Jeremiæ,
"Vere lugent Syon viæ;
"Quod solemni non sit die
"Qui sepulcrum visitet,
"Vel casum resuscitet
"Hujus prophetiæ.
"Contra quod propheta scribit,
"Quod de Syon lex exibit:
"Nunquam ibi lex peribit,
"Nec habebit vindicem:
"Ubi Christus calicem
"Passionis bibit.
"Lignum crucis,
"Signum ducis,
"Sequitur exercitus,

Benedict, ii. 26.

A.D. 1187. Lament of Berter of Orleans.

" Quod non cessit,
" Sed præcessit,
" In vi Sancti Spiritus.

Benedict, ii. 27.

(2.) " Ad portandum onus Tyri
" Nunc deberent fortes viri,
" Suas vires experiri,
" Qui certant quotidie;
" Laudibus militiæ,
" Gratis insigniri.
" Sed ad pugnam congressuris
" Est athletis opus duris,
" Mon mollitis Epicuris.
" Non enim qui pluribus
" Cutem curant sumptibus,
" Emunt Deum precibus.[1]
" Lignum crucis, etc., ut supra.
(3.) " Novi rursum Philistei,
" Capta cruce, crucis rei,
" Receperunt archam Dei;
" Archam novi fœderis,
" Rem figuræ veteris,
" Post figuram rei.
" Sed cum constet quod sint isti
" Præcursores Antichristi,
" Quibus Christus vult resisti,
" Quid, qui non restiterit,
" Respondere poterit,
" In adventu Christi?
" Lignum crucis, etc.

Benedict, ii. 28.

(4.) " Crucis spretor crucem premit,
" Ex qua fides pressa gemit.
" In vindictam qui non fremit?
" Quanti fidem æstimat,
" Tanti crucem redimat,
" Si quem crux redemit.
" Quibus minus est argenti,
" Si fideles sint inventi,
" Pura fide sint contenti.
" Satis est Dominicum
" Corpus ad viaticum
" Crucem defendenti.
" Lignum crucis, etc.
(5.) " Christus tradens Se tortori
" Mutuavit peccatori :

[1] *precibus*] The metre requires *pluris.*

A.D. 1187. Lament of Berter of Orleans.

Benedict, ii. 28.

" Si peccator non vis mori
" Propter pro te mortuum,
" Male solvis mutuum,
" Tuo Creatori.
" Sane potest indignari,
" Cui declinas inclinari,
" Dum in crucis torculari
" Pro te factus hostia,
" Tibi tendit brachia,
" Nec vis amplexari.
" Lignum crucis, signum ducis, etc.
(6.) " Cum attendas, ad quid tendo,
" Crucem tollas, et vovendo
" Dicas, Illi me commendo,
" Qui corpus et animam
" Expendit in victimam,
" Pro me moriendo.
" Lignum crucis, etc."

Epistola papæ Gregorii Octavi ad omnes ecclesiarum prælatos.[1]

Oct. 27. Letter of pope Gregory VIII. ratifying those acts of his predecessor done within three months before his death, which contain no prejudice to any one.

(Not in Benedict.)

" Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, omnibus prælatis ecclesiarum ad quos litteræ istæ pervenerint, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quoniam ad episcoporum maxime spectat officium afflictis et laborantibus subvenire, unumque illorum, licet deficientibus meritis nostris, Deus esse nos voluit; prospicere tenemur, et volumus, ne quis ex fortuitis casibus per Romanæ visitationem ecclesiæ, laboris sui, quem ad eam veniendo sustinuit, debito frustraretur effectu. Inde siquidem fuit quod nos, multorum prospicere volentes expensis, et allevare labores, de consueta sedis apostolicæ misericordia duximus statuendum, ut litteræ prædecessoris nostri domini Urbani, a tribus mensibus ante ipsius obitum destinatæ, pro facienda justitia et litigiis dirimendis, quæ tamen manifestum alicujus præjudicium non contineant, aut calumniam æquitatis; eundem habeant tempore nostræ administrationis effectum, quem habere si adhuc viveret debuissent. Cessante igitur exceptione de mandatoris morte, perficite quod mandavit agendum, et nemo ad nos pro excusatione hujusmodi, accepta per illum justitiam obtinendi fiducia, cogatur vacuus laborare. Datum Ferrariæ, sexto kalendas Novembris."

[1] This letter does not occur in MSS. B. C. D. I. It is in *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. 111, with the date Oct. 29, and partly in R. de Diceto, 636.

Papa Gregorius VIII. moritur.

Benedict, ii. 19, 20. Eodem anno obiit papa Gregorius octavus, mense Decembris, qui vix per duos menses papatum tenuit, et sepultus est apud Pise: cui successit Paulinus[1] Prænestinus episcopus, et vocatus est Clemens papa tertius. A.D. 1187. Gregory VIII. dies and Clement III. succeeds.

Benedict, ii. 28. Eodem anno combusta est fere tota civitas Cicestriæ, cum ecclesia sedis pontificalis, et domibus episcopi et canonicorum. Fire at Chichester.

Benedict, ii. 24. Eodem anno Saladinus obsedit Jerosolimam,[2] et obtulit Jerosolimitanis treugas usque ad medium mensis Maii, si permiserint eum ponere vexillum suum infra turrim David, et esse ibi per octo dies. Quo facto, multi Christianorum, qui prius acriter resistebant Sarracenis, castella et casella sua tradiderunt Saladino. Reports from Palestine.

Benedict, ii. 5. Eodem anno, [3] obiit Gilbertus Lundoniensis episcopus. Gilbert Foliot dies.

Eodem anno[4] Jacinctus cardinalis, tunc temporis totius Hispaniæ legatus, multos degradavit abbates, meritis suis vel propria temeritate. Cumque vellet degradare episcopum Colimbriæ, Aldefonsus rex Portugalensis non permisit episcopum illum degradari. Sed incontinenti mandavit supradicto cardinali ut a terra sua decederet, vel pedem suum amputaret. Quo audito, legatus ille statim recessit Romam iturus, et episcopus Colimbriæ remansit in sede sua cum pace. Est autem sciendum, quod prædictus rex Aldefonsus Portugalensis occupavit super paganos, vi et virtute potenti, sex civitates, videlicet Ulixisbonam, Colimbriam, Ferensem civitatem, et castellum optimum quod dicitur Sancta Herena,[5] et alia multa castella. Cumque obsedisset civitatem Silviæ, et eam usque ad turres civitatis obtinu- Legation of cardinal Hyacinth in Portugal, and his discomfiture. Alfonso king of Portugal wins several cities from the Mahometans.

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[1] Paul Scolaro, cardinal bishop of Præneste, 1180–1187; elected December 19.

[2] This is a piece of confusion between the sieges of Jerusalem and Antioch; more largely confused in the Chronicle of Benedict, which see, vol. ii. p. 24, note 6.

[3] February 18; Benedict, ii. 5.

[4] *Eodem anno*] An important addition by Hoveden; written in MS. A. in a different hand from the text preceding and following.

[5] Only four cities are here mentioned; two lines are left blank in A. for the names of the other two.

A.D. 1187.

Siege of Silvia.

Capture and ransom of king Alfonso.

isset, pagani, qui in turribus erant, composuerunt cum illo, ita quod si ipsi infra sex dies sequentes succursum non haberent, traderent illi omnes turres illas: interim tertia die, data licentia exercitui suo vagandi per provinciam, cum ipse dormiret in tentorio suo tanquam securus, supervenit Ferrandus rex de Sancto Jacobo cum exercitu magno ex una parte, qui etiam filiam ejusdem regis Portugalensis sibi in uxorem duxerat, et Saraceni ex alia parte, in quorum adventu prædictus rex Portugalensis a somno expergefactus aufugit in equo veloci, et cum exiret per portam civitatis, fractum est crus ejus in vecte portæ, et cum inde per inimicos suos transiret, insequentes eum per xxv. milliaria, nec tamen eum capientes, ipse et equus suus ceciderunt in puteum altum; quod videntes pastores extraxerunt eum, et tradiderunt eum regi Ferrando de Sancto Jacobo. Qui dedit ei de redemptione xxv. oppida, quæ ipse super eum adquisierat, et xv. summarios oneratos auro, et xx. dextrarios, et aliis regi assistentibus, ut citius liberaretur,[1] dedit multa.

Annus XXX^{mus}IIII^{us} regni regis Henrici filii Matildis Imperatricis.

A.D. 1188. Henry keeps Christmas 1187–1188 at Caen.

Anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo octogesimo octavo, qui erat annus tricesimus quartus regni regis Henrici, filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex fuit in Normannia apud Cadomum die Natalis Domini; et inde recedens venit ad Barbefluctum, inde transfretaturus in Angliam. Benedict. ii. 29.

Philip threatens to invade Normandy.

Quo audito, Philippus rex Franciæ magnum congregavit exercitum, jactans impudenter se vastaturum Normanniam et cæteras terras regis Angliæ transmarinas, nisi ipse reddiderit ei Gisortium, cum pertinentiis suis, vel si non fecerit Ricardum comitem Pictaviæ, filium suum, accipere sibi in conjugem Alesiam sororem suam. Quod cum gi Angliæ constaret, reversus est in Normanniam, et accepto colloquio inter ipsum et regem Franciæ, inter Gisortium et Trie, duodecimo kalendas Februarii, die Sanctæ Agnetis virginis et martyris, convenerunt illuc cum archiepiscopis et episcopis, et

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[1] *liberaretur*] liberatur, A.

Benedict, ii. 30.

A.D. 1188. Jan. 21. Conference between Henry and Philip, between Gisors and Trie.

comitibus et baronibus regnorum suorum. Cui colloquio interfuit archiepiscopus Tyri,[1] qui repletus spiritu sapientiæ et intellectus, miro modo prædicavit verbum Domini coram regibus et principibus, et convertit corda eorum ad crucem capiendam. Et qui prius hostes erant, illo prædicante et Deo cooperante, facti sunt amici in illa die, et de manu ejus crucem receperunt: et in eadem hora apparuit supra eos signum crucis in cœlo. Quo viso miraculo, plures catervatim ruebant ad susceptionem crucis. Prædicti vero reges in susceptione crucis, ad cognoscendam gentem suam, signum evidens sibi et suis providerunt. Rex namque Franciæ et gens sua susceperunt cruces rubeas; et rex Angliæ cum gente sua suscepit cruces albas; et Philippus comes Flandriæ cum gente sua suscepit cruces virides: et sic unusquisque, ad providendum sibi et itineri suo necessaria, reversus est in regionem suam.

Various coloured crosses adopted by the nations.

De decimis datis ad subvectionem Terræ Jerosolimitanæ.

Benedict, ii. 31.

Ordinance of the Saladin tithe, issued by Henry at Le Mans.

Henricus igitur rex Angliæ, post crucis susceptionem, venit Cenomannum, ubi consilio suorum ordinavit, quod

" (I.) Unusquisque decimam reddituum et mobilium suorum " in eleemosynam dabit ad subvectionem terræ Jerosolymi- " tanæ hoc anno; exceptis armis et equis et vestibus militum, " et exceptis equis et libris et vestibus et vestimentis et " omnimoda capella clericorum, et lapidibus preciosis tam " clericorum quam laicorum: facta prius excommunicatione " ab archiepiscopis, episcopis, archipresbyteris singulis in " singulis parochiis super unumquemque qui decimam præ- " taxatam legitime non dederit, sub præsentia et conscientia " illorum qui debent interesse.[2]

" (II.) Colligatur autem pecunia ista in singulis parochiis, " præsente presbytero parochiæ et archipresbytero, et uno

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[1] *archiepiscopus Tyri*] Thiri, I. Blank in A. for the Christian name. It is questionable whether this was William of Tyre the historian, as commonly supposed; or a successor named Joseph, or Joscius, mentioned by Le Quien in the Oriens Christianus. He is called William, however, in the Continuator of William of Tyre in the MS. Reg. 14 C. 10, lib. ii. cap. xi.

[2] *facta . . interesse*] This clause does not appear in this place in the assize as given in the Chronicle of Benedict; but lower down in the second article after " clerico epi- " scopi."

A.D. 1188. January. Ordinance of the Saladin Tithe.

"Templario et uno Hospitalario, et serviente domini regis Benedict, ii. 31.
"et clerico regis, et serviente baronis et clerico ejus, et cle-
"rico episcopi; et si aliquis juxta conscientiam illorum
"minus dederit, quam debuerit, eligentur de parochia qua-
"tuor vel sex viri legitimi, qui jurati dicant quantitatem
"illam quam ille debuisset dixisse, et tunc oportebit illam
"superaddere quod minus dedit.

"(III.) Clerici autem, et milites, qui crucem acceperint, "nihil de decima ista dabunt, sed de proprio suo et dominico, "et quicquid homines eorum debuerint ad opus illorum, col-"ligetur per supradictos, et eis totum reddetur.

"(IV.) Episcopi autem per litteras suas in singulis paro-"chiis episcopatuum suorum, facient nunciari in die Natalis, "et Sancti Stephani, et Sancti Johannis, ut unusquisque "decimam prætaxatam infra Purificationem Beatæ Virginis "Mariæ penes se colligat, et sequenti die deinceps, illis "præsentibus qui dicti sunt, ad locum quo vocatus fuerit, "unusquisque legitime persolvat."

February. Ordinances of the crusade.

"(I.) Præterea[1] statutum est a domino papa, quod qui-"cunque clericus vel laicus crucem susceperit, ab omnibus "[peccatis], de quibus pœnituerit et confessus fuerit, auctori-"tate Dei et Beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, liberatus "est et absolutus.

"(II.) Dispositum est autem a regibus, et archiepiscopis, "et episcopis, et aliis principibus terræ, quod omnes illi, tam "clerici quam laici, qui hoc iter non arripient, decimas "reddituum et mobilium suorum hujus anni, et omnium "catallorum suorum, tam in auro quam in argento, et om-"nibus aliis, dabunt, exceptis vestibus et libris et vestimen-"tis clericorum, et capellanorum, et lapidibus pretiosis tam "clericorum quam laicorum; et exceptis equis et armis et Benedict, ii. 32.
"vestibus militum ad usum proprii corporis pertinentibus.

"(III.) Dispositum est etiam, quod omnes clerici, milites "et servientes, qui hoc iter arripient, decimas terrarum sua-"rum et hominum suorum habebunt, et nihil pro se dabunt.

"(IV.) Burgenses vero et rustici, qui sine licentia domi-"norum suorum crucem acceperint, nihilominus decimas "dabunt.

"(V.) Dispositum est etiam, quod nullus enormiter juret, "et quod nullus ludat ad aleas vel ad decios, et quod nullus "post proximum Pascha utatur vario, vel grisio, vel sabe-

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[1] *Præterea*] The following articles are givenby Gervase, c. 1522, in his account of the council of Geddington. See also W. Newb. iii. 23.

Benedict, ii. 32.

"lina, vel escarleta, et quod omnes contenti sint duobus "ferculis ex empto; et quod nullus aliquam mulierem secum "ducat in peregrinatione, nisi forte aliquam lotricem peditem, "de qua nulla habeatur suspicio; et quod nullus habeat "pannos decisos vel laceatos.

A.D. 1188. February. Ordinances of the Crusade.

"(VI.) Dispositum est etiam, quod quicunque clericus vel "laicus redditus suos ante susceptionem crucis invadiaverit, "exitus hujus anni integre habeat, et transito anno creditor "redditus rehabeat, ita quod fructus, quos inde receperit, in "solutione debiti computentur, et debitum post susceptionem "crucis, quamdiu debitor erit in peregrinatione, non usuret.

"(VII.) Statutum est etiam quod omnes clerici et laici, "qui in hac peregrinatione proficiscentur, possunt licite in-"vadiare redditus suos, sive ecclesiasticos, sive laicos, sive "alios, a Pascha cum iter arripuerint, usque ad tres annos; "ita quod creditores, quicquid de creditoribus contingat, "fructus omnes reddituum, quos in vadio habebunt, a præ-"dicto Pascha usque ad tres annos integre percipiant.

"(VIII.) Dispositum est etiam, quod quicunque in peregri-"natione decesserit, pecuniam suam, quam secum in pere-"grinatione attulerit, ad sustentationem servientium suorum, "et ad auxilium terræ Jerosolimitanæ, et ad sustentationem "pauperum dividet, juxta consilium discretorum virorum qui "ad hoc constituentur."

Benedict, ii. 30.

January. The names of the bishops present at the enactment of the Saladin Tithe.

Hæc omnia supradicta statuta sunt et disposita ab Henrico rege Angliæ in præsentia Ricardi filii ejus comitis Pictaviæ, et Willelmi[1] Turonensis archiepiscopi, et Baldewini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, et Walteri Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, et in præsentia Johannis Ebroicensis episcopi, et Radulfi[2] Andegavensis episcopi, et R.[3] Cenomanensis episcopi, et M.[4] Namnetensis episcopi, et in præsentia Hugonis de Nunant Cestrensis electi, et Lisiardi Sagiensis electi, et in præsentia baronum Andegaviæ et Cenomanniæ et Turonorum, apud Cenomannum.[5]

Benedict, ii. 32. 33.

Henry returns to England, Jan. 30.

His igitur præordinatis, rex Angliæ constituit servientes suos, clericos et laicos, ad prædictas decimas colligendas per omnes terras suas transmarinas: et postea transfretavit,

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1 *Willelmi*] Properly Bartholomew of Vendome; unless Turonensis is in this place a mistake for *Tyrensis*, which is improbable.

2 *Radulfi*] Ralph de Beaumont.

3 *R.*] Reginald.

4 *M.*] Matthew.

5 This paragraph is omitted in MS. C., which also greatly abridges the ordinances of the Crusade, and transposes the following sentences.

A.D. 1188. January. et applicuit in Anglia apud Winchelese, Sabbato, tertio kalendas Februarii. Benedict, ii. 33.

Consecration of Hugh of Nunant. Interim Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, in Angliam veniens ante regem, consecravit[1] Hugonem de Nunant in episcopum Coventrensem.

February. Council of Geddington for the furtherance of the crusade. Dominus vero[2] rex, statim postquam in Angliam applicuit, magnum congregavit concilium[3] episcoporum, abbatum, comitum et baronum, et aliorum multorum tam clericorum quam laicorum, apud Gaintingtun: ubi in publica audientia recitari fecit omnia supradicta capitula, quæ constituerat de cruce capienda. Quibus recitatis, Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Gilbertus Rofensis episcopus vicarius ejus, mirifice prædicaverunt illo die, coram rege et principibus suis, verbum Domini, et salutiferæ crucis mysterium. Ad quorum prædicationem multi, tam clerici quam laici, crucem receperunt. Ex tunc dominus rex misit servientes suos, clericos et laicos, per singulos comitatus Angliæ, ad decimas colligendas secundum prædictam præordinationem in terris suis transmarinis constitutam. Exaction of the Saladin Tithe. Sed de singulis urbibus totius Angliæ fecit eligi omnes ditiores, videlicet de Lundonia cc., et de Eboraco c., et de aliis urbibus secundum quantitatem et numerum eorum, et fecit omnes sibi præsentari diebus et locis statutis. De quibus cepit decimam mobilium suorum, secundum æstimationem virorum fidelium qui noverant redditus et mobilia eorum: si quos autem invenisset rebelles, statim fecit eos incarcerari, et in vinculis teneri, donec ultimum quadrantem persolverent. Similiter fecit de Judæis terræ suæ, unde inæstimabilem sibi adquisivit pecuniam.

William king of Scots offers to pay 5,000 marks for the tithe. Deinde[4] misit Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, et alios clericos et laicos, ad Willelmum regem Scottorum, pro decimis colligendis in terra sua: quo audito, rex Scotiæ Benedict, ii. 44.

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[1] *consecravit*] January 31, at Lambeth: Gervase, 1520.

[2] *vero*] autem, B. D. I.

[3] *concilium*] February 11: Gervase, 1522 ; *Epp. Cantuar.* 166.

[4] *Deinde*] Hoveden's version of this transaction differs materially from that given in Benedict. According to the latter, William had promised Henry 4000 marks for the restoration of his castles before the king sailed for Normandy. Henry demanded the tithe in addition, and William promised it conditionally on his obtaining the consent of his barons. When the bishop of Durham applied for the tithe, he was met by William and his barons at Birgham in Lothian, and received a downright refusal from the latter to pay any such tithe, whether or no the king had sworn it.

Benedict, ii. 44. occurrit eis inter Werc et Brigeham in Loenais;[1] et non permittens eos terram suam pro decimis colligendis intrare, obtulit se daturum domino suo regi Angliæ quinque millia marcarum argenti pro supradictis decimis et pro castellis suis rehabendis; sed rex Angliæ facere noluit. A.D. 1188. and the restoration of his castles.

Saladin Tithe in France. Philippus autem rex Francorum simili modo colligi fecit decimas reddituum et mobilium hominum suorum per omnes terras suas.

Benedict, ii. 34. War of Richard in Poictou. Eodem anno Ricardus comes Pictaviæ, et Raimundus comes de Sancto Ægidio, et Aimarus[2] comes de Engolismo, et Gaufridus de Rancune,[3] et Gaufridus de Lezinant,[4] et fere omnes ditiores Pictaviæ, gwerram fecerunt, omnes contra prædictum Ricardum, et ipse contra omnes: sed ipse omnes expugnavit. Et inter alios, quos de terra comitis de Sancto Ægidio ceperat, cepit Petrum Seillun, per cujus consilium præfatus comes de Sancto Ægidio mercatores quosdam de terra comitis Pictaviæ ceperat, et mala multa sibi et terræ suæ fecerat. Hunc igitur Petrum comes Ricardus in arctiori loco et duriori custodia posuit; quem cum comes de Sancto Ægidio nullatenus redimere posset, posuit exploratores per civitates et castella sua, ad comprehendendum si quos invenirent de familia regis Angliæ, vel de familia Ricardi comitis filii sui: et factum est post paucos dies, quod Robertus Poer et Radulfus Fraser, duo milites de domo et familia regis Angliæ, transitum facerent per terram comitis de Sancto Ægidio,[5] redeuntes de Sancto Jacobo, quem causa peregrinationis visitaverant; in quos homines comitis de Sancto Ægidio manus injecerunt, et vinctos tradiderunt comiti: quibus comes dixit, "Nisi Ricardus comes Pictaviæ tra-"diderit mihi Petrum servientem meum liberum, non "evadetis manus meas." Quo audito, comes Ricardus respondit, quod propter liberationem illorum nec preces

Richard takes Peter Seillun, a minister of the count of Toulouse.

Benedict, ii. 35.

The count seizes two English knights in retaliation.

[1] *Loenais*] Leonais, I.; Leoneis, Bened.

[2] Aimar succeeded his brother Wulgrin Taillefer III. in 1181, in part of his dominions, to the prejudice of his daughter Matilda, whose claims were supported by Richard.

[3] Geoffrey of Rancon, was lord of Pons in Saintonge.

[4] Lisinant, B. I., Geoffrey of Lusignan, brother of Guy king of Jerusalem. This paragraph is abridged in MS. C.

[5] *de Sancto Ægidio*] Sancti Ægidii, I.

A.D. 1188. nec pretium daret, quia sola peregrinationis reverentia sufficiebat ad liberandum eos. Præcepit ergo rex Franciæ illos dimitti, non propter amorem vel reverentiam regis Angliæ, vel Ricardi filii sui; sed propter Beati Jacobi apostoli reverentiam et dilectionem. Benedict, ii. 35.

Ineffectual mediation of king Philip.

Comes igitur de Sancto Ægidio dimisit eos, non propter præceptum regis Franciæ, sed propter redemptionem magnam quam de eis cepit. Comes autem Ricardus cum magno exercitu intravit terram comitis de Sancto Ægidio, et devastavit eam igne et gladio, et castella illius prope Tolosam obsedit et cepit. Audiens igitur rex Francorum gemitus populi Tolosani, misit nuncios suos in Angliam ad regem Angliæ, inquirens si damna, quæ Ricardus filius ejus ei et terræ suæ faciebat, per eum faceret; et petiit ab eo sibi fieri inde restitutionem. Quibus rex Angliæ respondit, quod Ricardus filius ejus nihil inde fecerat per consilium et voluntatem ipsius; et quod idem Ricardus mandavit ei per Johannem Dublinensem archiepiscopum, quod ipse in hac parte nihil fecerat, nisi per consilium regis Franciæ.[1]

Richard invades the county of Toulouse. Benedict, ii. 36.

Henry declines to answer for his son's doings. Benedict, ii. 39.

Eodem anno A. patriarcha civitatis Antiochenæ in hac forma scripsit Henrico regi Angliæ. Benedict, ii. 36.

The patriarch of Antioch writes to Henry, exhorting him to go on crusade; and relating the conquests of Saladin.

Epistola A. Antiochiæ patriarchæ, ad Henricum regem Angliæ.

"A.[2] Dei gratia sanctæ et apostolicæ sedis Antiochiæ patriarcha, Henrico per eandem gratiam Anglorum illustrissimo regi, dilecto domino et amico, in Illo regnare per Quem reges regnant. Condignum et inæstimabilem dolorem nostrum, pro insperato et terribili, quod nobis, immo toti Christianitati, nuper accidit, infortunio, cum lacrymis et singultibus excellentiæ vestræ per hæc præsentia denunciamus. [3]Audiat vobiscum omne sæculum dolorem nostrum, ut sciat unde veniat, aut quo tendat noster luctus et nostra Benedict, ii. 37.

[1] *Et quod . . . . . . Franciæ*] Richard's declaration of Philip's complicity is not mentioned in Benedict in this place, or as reported by Henry to Philip. It occurs farther on, after Philip's seizure of Châteauroux in June. Vol. ii. p. 39.

[2] *A.*] Aimeric, patriarch, 1142–1187. The letter was written during the siege of Jerusalem.

[3] MS. C. omits the narrative part of this letter, from this point to *ponamus* below.

Benedict, ii. 37. "lamentatio. Quarto die mensis Julii, anno Incarnati Verbi "millesimo centesimo octogesimo septimo, Saladinus, collecta "hostium peregrina multitudine, prælium commisit cum iis qui "erant in terra Jerusalem Christianis, et fusis eorum copiis, "de ipsis pro velle suo triumphavit, vivifica cruce ludibrio "Turcorum exposita; capto rege et Magistro Templi, Raimundo[1] quoque principe propriis manibus nefandi Saladini "interfecto: et episcopis cum Templariis et Hospitalariis, et "cum omni fere multitudine militum MCC., et peditum triginta "millibus[2] in tuitione sanctæ crucis gladiis jugulatis: excepta "multitudine copiosa quæ postea, in urbibus quas cepit, est "interempta vel captivata. Satiatus denique sanguine Christianorum, Tyberiadem cepit et munivit: deinde civitatem "nobilem Accaron, Cayphas, Cæsaream, Jopen, Nazareth, "Sebasten, Neapolim, Lydden, Ramatham, Arsur, Ebron, "Bethleem, et tunc demum sanctam civitatem Jerusalem et "sepulcrum Domini obsedit, jurans quod ipsum frustatim "comminuet, et ejus minutias in profundum maris projiciet. "Pro residuis formidolosa nos detinet hæsitatio, ignorantes "diem et horam in qua subjiciantur ditioni ejus, et habitatores earum vel captiventur vel occidantur, maxime cum "victualibus et equitaturis et armis bellicis et defensoribus constet esse spoliatos. Pro hac tanta ira et indignatione Dei in nos effusa desuper, panem nostrum cum "lacrymis manducamus, et turbamur terrore horribili, ne "sepulcrum Dominicum exteris tradatur nationibus, ne pauci "qui remansimus in terra Christiana, si tardaverit succursus, "urgentibus inimicis,[3] nostras cervices gladiis ferientium supponamus. Et quoniam prudentia, et opinione, et divitiis, "cæteris regibus occidentalibus præeminetis: cujus auxilium "semper expectavimus: precamur ut Terræ Sanctæ potenti festinanter succurratis auxilio. Et si tardaveritis, sepulcrum "Dominicum, cum Antiochia nobili civitate, et terra sibi adjacente, in opprobrium sempiternum exteris subjacebit nationibus. Mementote laudis et nominis vestri, ut Deus, Qui "vos sublimavit in regnum, per vos exaltetur, et si huic tam "digno operi volueritis manum apponere, ut veniatis, vel "optatum nobis mittatis succursum, totius Terræ Sanctæ "liberatio vobis post Deum imputabitur, et nos ipsi in quantum possumus lugentes, et rea pectora nostra percutientes

A.D. 1188.

Slaughter in and after the battle of Hittin.

He urges the king to proceed to the rescue of Jerusalem and Antioch.

Benedict, ii. 38.

[1] *Raimundo*] Properly Reinaldo, Reginald of Châtillon, ex-prince of Antioch: for *quoque*, Benedict has *quondam*.

[2] *millibus*] milia, A. B. D. G. I.

[3] *inimicis*] nostris, add. I.

A.D. 1188. "ad Deum clamamus, ut Ipse donet vobis et velle et posse "id ipsum sic sic perficiendi, ad laudem et gloriam Sui nomi- "nis, quatenus in hoc mortis articulo Terræ Sanctæ et nobis "clementer succurratis. Alioquin nobis, qui variis subjacentes "periculis diutino languori succumbimus, jam necesse erit "expirare, et fuso sanguine Christianorum Dominicum sepul- "crum, et Antiochiam nobilem civitatem, cum terra sibi ad- "jacenti, in opprobrium sempiternum exteris nationibus sub- "jacere. Rogamus præterea, ut dilectos fratres nostros "Gabilonensem et Valeniensem episcopos, quos pro hoc ipso "ad vos mandavimus, commendatos habeatis. Valete." Benedict, ii. 38.

He recommends the messengers.

Epistola Henrici regis Angliæ ad patriarchas Antiochiæ et Jerusalem, et ad Raimundum[1] *principem Antiochiæ, et alios Christianos Orientalis ecclesiæ.*

The king's answer to the patriarch of Antioch.

"Venerabilibus in Christo patribus et amicis A. et E., "Antiochiæ et Jerusalem patriarchis, et R. principi Antio- "chiæ, et universo populo Christiano Orientalis ecclesiæ: "Henricus, eadem gratia rex Angliæ, et dux Normanniæ et "Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, salutem et consolationem "in Christo. Quoniam, peccatis nostris exigentibus, visitavit "Dominus temporibus nostris in virga furoris Sui iniquitates "nostras, et terram proprio redemptam sanguine, Divino per- "misit judicio manibus pollui perfidorum: ideo dignum est "ut nos, et cuncti qui Christianæ sunt religionis, et ejusdem "nominis professores, ad desolationem præfatæ terræ studio "pietatis convertamur, et auxilium ac consilium studeamus "totis viribus impertiri. Cum igitur venisset ad nos A., Dei "gratia venerabilis Valeniensis episcopus, et dolores et Benedict, ii. 39. "calamitates, quibus Orientalis ecclesia premitur, profusis "lacrymis et profundis suspiriis indicasset, quanto graviora "videmus instare pericula, tanto fortius ac celerius ad "maturum subsidium compassio nos accingit. Habentes ita- "que in Eo spem et fiduciam, Qui in Se sperantes nullatenus "derelinquit, viriliter agite, et confortetur in Domino cor Ps. xxvii. 14. "vestrum, quoniam illud credimus Ysaiæ vaticinium jam com- "pletum: 'Jerusalem, leva in circuitu oculos tuos et vide: Is. lx. 4, 5. "'omnes isti congregati venerunt tibi. Tunc videbis et "'afflues, et mirabitur et dilatabitur cor tuum, quando "'conversa fuerit ad te multitudo maris, fortitudo gentium "'venerit tibi.' Nunc autem Dominus, Qui respicit super

He expresses his sympathy.

He comforts the patriarch with the promises from the Old Testament.

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[1] Properly Bohemond III.

Benedict, ii. 39. " filios hominum, ut videat si est intelligens aut requirens A.D. 1188.
" Deum, sic Christianorum hactenus sopitos ad servitium
Ps. xiv. 3. " Suum excitavit affectus, ut unusquisque qui Domini est,
" gladium jam posuerit super femur suum; et beatum se
Exod. xxxii. 27. " quisque reputat et fidelem, qui patrem et matrem et omnia
" derelinquit, ut possit Christo et Terræ Sanctæ illatas injurias
" vindicare. Constantes igitur estote, et in promptu videbitis
" auxilium Domini vobis præparatum. Citius enim quam He promises a new crusade.
" credatis, tanta vobis per terram et mare in auxilium fidelis
" populi superveniet multitudo, quantam nec oculus vidit,
1 Cor. ii. 9. " nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit; quam qui-
" dem Dominus ad terræ vestræ subsidium præparavit. Inter
" cæteros autem principes ego, et filius meus, rejecta hujus
" mundi gloria, et spretis voluptatibus universis, omnibusque
" quæ mundi sunt postpositis, in propriis personis totis viribus
" vos cito, auctore Domino, visitabimus. Valete."

Philip invades Berry, and conquers it. Eodem anno Philippus rex Franciæ, magno congregato exercitu, intravit Berriam, et cepit Castrum Radulfi,[1] quod burgenses reddiderunt ei; et inde procedenti reddita est ei fere tota Berria, exceptis Luches et cæteris dominicis castellis regis Angliæ. Bucardus[2] vero de Vendemio reddidit se, et terram et castella sua, regi Franciæ, et adhæsit ei. (Benedict, ii. 40.) (Treachery of Buchard of Vendôme.) Inquirenti igitur regi Angliæ cur hæc sibi fierent, nunciatum est ei quod rex Francorum hæc faciebat in vindictam injuriarum, quas Ricardus comes Pictavensis sibi et comiti de Sancto Ægidio fecerat.

After an ineffectual mission to Philip, Henry crosses into Normandy, July 11. Habito igitur fidelium suorum consilio, rex Angliæ misit Baldewinum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum,[3] et Hugonem Lincolniensem episcopum, ad regem Franciæ, ut saltem iram et indignationem, quas in animo adversus eum conceperat, verbis et exhortationibus mitigarent. Quod cum fieri non posset, rex Angliæ transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam, et applicuit apud Barbeflet, quinto idus Julii: et inde veniens ad Alenzun, congregavit exercitum magnum de Normannia, et cæteris terris suis. Multi autem Walenses conducti secuti sunt eum in Normanniam.[4]

Benedict, ii. 45. Richard hunts Philip out of Berry. Interim Ricardus comes Pictavensis, magno congregato exercitu, profectus est in Berriam; cujus adventu audito, Philippus rex Francorum tradidit Willelmo des Barres Castrum

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[1] Philip took Châteauroux, June 16: R. de Diceto, 639.

[2] Buchard, eldest son of John count of Vendome, had been a partizan of the younger Henry, as his father was of the elder. See Ben. Pet. i. 63.

[3] The archbishop sailed June 16: Gerv. 1535.

[4] *in Normanniam*] om. C. D.

A.D. 1188. Radulfi custodiendum; et ipse reversus est in Franciam. Benedict, ii. 45. Comes vero Ricardus terras comitum et baronum, qui adhæserant regi Franciæ, destruxit, et multos illorum cepit. Rex autem Franciæ, propter adventum regis Angliæ, a Francia recedere non erat ausus, sed permisit exercitus suos devastare terras regis Angliæ. Philippus[1] vero Belvacensis episcopus intravit Normanniam cum exercitu suo, et combussit Blangi[2] villam comitis de Auco, et Albemarliam castellum comitis Willelmi de Mandeville, et provinciam circumjacentem deprædavit.

The bishop of Beauvais invades Normandy.

Philip attacks Trou, and Richard takes les Roches.

Et ipse rex Franciæ combussit villam de Trou, et castellum totum, nec tamen illud capere potuit; sed quadraginta de militibus regis Angliæ cepit. Hæc contra Ricardus comes Pictavensis cepit munitissimum locum qui vocatur les Roches, ultra Trou versus Vindocinum,[3] et cepit in illo loco viginti quinque milites et sexaginta servientes.

Henry insists on the restoration of Philip's conquests.

Henricus autem rex Angliæ misit Walterum Rothomagensem archiepiscopum, et Johannem Ebroicensem episcopum, et Willelmum Marescallum, ad regem Franciæ, petens ab eo Benedict, ii. 46. sibi fieri restitutionem damni quod ipse et sui ei fecerant; et nisi ablata restituerit, defidavit eum. Quibus rex Franciæ respondit, quod ipse a cœptis non desisteret, donec tota Berria, et totum Vougesin Normannicum, sibi et regno suo subjicerentur.

Philip defies him.

Henry, on August 30, enters France.

Nacta igitur occasione ex injuriis sibi a rege Franciæ illatis, Henricus rex Angliæ, magno congregato exercitu, ingressus est terram regis Franciæ, die Martis post Decollationem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et villas combussit multas, et equitavit die illo prope Mant, ubi rex Franciæ dicebatur esse. Et ibi congressi sunt Willelmus des Barres, et Drogo de Merlou cum paucis militibus Franciæ, cum Ricardo comite Pictavensi, et comite Willelmo de Mandevile, et quibusdam aliis de familia regis Angliæ: ita quod Willelmus des Barres a comite Ricardo captus, et per fidem positus fuit; sed dum milites regis Angliæ cæteris intenderent, prædictus Willelmus des Barres super unum runcinum pueri sui evasit.

William des Barres is taken and escapes.

Aug. 31. Richard goes into Berry.

Die Mercurii sequenti rex Angliæ moram fecit apud Yveri, et Comes Ricardus profectus est in Berriam, promittens regi patri suo quod bene et fideliter ei serviret.

[1] Philip, son of Robert I. count of Dreux, bishop of Beauvais 1180–1217.

[2] *Blangi*] Blandi, G.; Blanchi, Bened.

[3] *Vindocinum*] Vindocincum, B. I.

Benedict, ii. 47. Die autem Jovis, in festo Sancti Ægidii, Walenses regis Angliæ ingressi sunt terram regis Franciæ, et combusserunt Danevile castellum Symonis Daneth, et multas villas, et prædas adduxerunt, et homines interfecerunt. A.D. 1188. Sept. 1. Capture of Daneville.

Eodem die comes Willelmus de Mandevile combussit villam de Sancto Claro, quæ est de dominico regis Franciæ, et vastavit virgultum pulcherrimum quem ipse rex plantaverat. S. Clair burnt.

Eodem die, cum rex Angliæ cum paucis militibus intrasset terram regis Franciæ, ut infirmiora partium illarum exploraret, venerunt ad eum nuncii regis Franciæ, qui pacem rogabat et offerebat ei terram quam occupaverat super eum in Berri. Deinde habito inter illos colloquio apud Gisortium, cum inter illos de pace facienda non potuisset convenire, rex Franciæ in iram et indignationem commotus, succidit ulmum quandam pulcherrimam inter Gisortium et Trie, ubi colloquia haberi solebant inter reges Franciæ et duces Normanniæ, jurans quod de cætero nunquam ibi colloquia haberentur. Philip proposes peace. Ineffectual conference at Gisors. Philip cuts down the great elm.

Benedict, ii. 48, 49. Comes vero Flandriæ, et comes Theobaldus, et cæteri comites et barones de regno Franciæ, deposuerunt arma sua, dicentes quod nunquam arma gestarent contra Christianos, donec redierint de peregrinatione sua Jerosolimitana. Tunc rex Franciæ auxilio suorum destitutus, petiit a rege Angliæ colloquium. The French nobles insist on peace.

Benedict, ii. 49. Quo concesso apud Casteillun,[1] in crastino Sanctæ Fidis, cum modus pacis inter eos ordinaretur, hoc modo, quod rex Franciæ resignaret regi Angliæ quicquid in terris suis post captam treugam occupaverat; et comes Ricardus resignaret comiti de Sancto Ægidio quicquid super eum per guerram occupaverat; rex Franciæ propter ejus improbitatem petiit a rege Angliæ castellum de Pasci in obsidem, et quia rex Angliæ id facere noluit, ab invicem discordes recesserunt. Oct. 7. Another ineffectual conference at Châtillon.

Et rex Franciæ inde recedens, cepit castrum de Paluel:[2] et transitum faciens per Castrum Radulfi, duxit inde Ruttam Braibancenorum Teutonicam usque[3] Byturum, promittens eis bene stipendia sua: sed apud Byturum, injectis in eos manibus, abstulit eis equos suos et arma et pecuniam universam, et eos inermes et nudos ejecit. Comes autem Ricardus obtulit regi Franciæ venire in curiam suam, et stare juri super iis quæ fiebant inter illum et comitem de Sancto Philip takes Palluau, and removes his mercenaries from Châteauroux.

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[1] *Casteillun*] Castellum, Bened. D.; Casteilun, B. I.; Casteilliun, C.

[2] *Paluel*] Palud, Bened. B. I.

[3] *usque*] ad, ins B. I.

A.D. 1188.

Nevelon of Freteval submits to Henry.

Ægidio; ut sic saltem pax fieret inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ patrem suum: quod multum displicuit regi patri suo. Post illud autem colloquium, Nevolun, filius Ursonis de Freteval, juravit regi Angliæ fidelitatem et fidele servitium contra omnes homines; et rex Angliæ fecit ei cartam suam de honore de Lavardin et Faye: et ipse dedit regi Angliæ filium suum obsidem, et alios multos filios propinquorum suorum. Benedict, ii. 49.

Epistola Terrici Magni præceptoris domus Templi Jerusalem ad Henricum regem Angliæ.

Terricus the Templar reports to Henry on the state of Palestine.

He enumerates the places which still hold out against Saladin.

Siege and battle at Tyre.

"Carissimo domino Henrico, Dei gratia illustri Anglorum "regi, duci Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comiti Andegaviæ, "frater Terricus, quondam magnus præceptor domus Templi "Jerusalem, salutem in Eo Qui dat salutem regibus. Sciatis "quod Jerusalem cum arce David reddita est Saladino. Syrii "autem habent custodiam sepulcri usque ad quartum diem "post festum Sancti Michaelis; et ipse Saladinus in domo "Hospitalis permisit remanere decem de fratribus Hospitalis "ad custodiendum infirmos usque in unum annum. Fratres "vero Hospitalis de Belliverio optime resistunt[1] Sarracenis "adhuc, et duas jam carvanas Sarracenorum expugnaverunt, "in quorum alterius captione, omnia arma et utensilia, et vic"tualia quæ erant in castro Fabæ, quod Sarraceni destruxe"rant, viriliter lucrati sunt; adhuc etiam resistunt Saladino "Gragcus Montis Regalis, et Mons Regalis, et Saphet Templi, "et Gragchus Hospitalis, et Margatum, et Castellum Blancum, "et terra Tripolis, et terra Antiochiæ. Capta autem Jeroso"lima, Saladinus crucem de Templo Domini deponi fecit, et "eam per duos dies per civitatem in ostentum fustigando "portari fecit. Deinde fecit Templum Domini aqua rosata "intus et exterius sursum et deorsum lavari, et legem suam "desuper illud per quatuor partes miro tumultu acclamari. "A festo vero Sancti Martini usque ad Circumcisionem Do"mini obsedit Tyrum, tredecim perrariis die noctuque lapides "in eam incessanter jactantibus. In vigilia Sancti Silvestri "dominus Conradus Marchio milites et pedites per murum civi-

Benedict, ii. 40. Benedict, ii. 41.

[1] *resistunt*] Belvoir, now Kaukab, held out under the Hospitallers until January 1189; Gragcus Montis Regalis, or Kerak, until November 1188; Mons Regalis, now Shobek, until May 1189; Saphet until November 1188; Gragcus Hospitalis, Hesn al Akrad, and Margat, Merkeb, were not taken during this crusade.

Benedict, ii. 41.

"tatis disposuit, et armatis septendecim galeis, et decem aliis "naviculis, cum auxilio domus Hospitalis et fratrum Templi, "adversus galeas Saladini dimicavit, easque expugnans un- "decim ex eis retinuit, et magnum Alexandriæ amiraldum "cum octo aliis amiraldis cepit, Sarracenorum multitudine "interfecta. Reliquæ vero galeæ Saladini Christianorum ma- "nus evadentes, ad Saladini exercitum confugerunt; quibus "præcepto illius ad terram extractis, ipse Saladinus, igne "apposito, in cinerem et favillam fecit redigi; nimioque do- "lore commotus, equi sui auriculas et caudam amputans, "equum illum per totum exercitum, videntibus omnibus, "equitavit. Valete." A.D. 1188.

[1] Eodem anno Johannes Dunkeldensis episcopus, post Purificationem Beatæ Virginis Mariæ, rediit a curia domini papæ, Hugone episcopo Sancti Andreæ deposito; et attulit secum litteras domini papæ in hac forma:

February. John of Dunkeld returns from Rome.

Epistola papæ Clementis III.

Benedict, ii. 42.

"Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus "fratribus, Jocelino Glascuensi et Mathæo Aberdensi epi- "scopis, et dilectis filiis, Ernaldo abbati de Melros, et Ber- "tramno priori de Coldingham, salutem et apostolicam bene- "dictionem. Ne in dubitationis recidant scrupulum quæ "geruntur, dignum est litterarum memoriæ commendari, et "ad illorum notitiam, quorum interesse videtur, celebri ac "veridica insinuatione perferri. Meminimus autem, quod "bonæ memoriæ Urbanus papa, prædecessor noster, Hugoni, "quondam dicto episcopo Sancti Andreæ, pro controversia "quæ inter eum et venerabilem fratrem nostrum Johannem "episcopum vertebatur, sub excommunicationis interpositione "mandavit, ut ad certum diem responsurus in jure, aspectui "se apostolico præsentaret. Verum quia conscius actuum "suorum, et eventum judicii reformidans, venire contuma- "citer recusavit; nos, et pro hoc et pro aliis multis, quæ, "crebrescente fama, ecclesiæ Dei scandalum pepererunt, ip- "sum ab episcopatu Sancti Andreæ, de consilio et assensu "fratrum, perpetuo judicavimus apostolicæ sedis auctoritate "remotum, et ab usu episcopalis officii eo usque suspen- "sum, donec apostolica sedes duxerit de ipso aliter statuen-

Jan. 16. Clement III. reminds the Scottish bishops of the state of the S. Andrew's case.

Bishop Hugh having disobeyed the papal summons is deposed.

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[1] This sentence with the five letters that follow and the history of the proceedings thereon, down to *clerico suo*, p. 353, are omitted in MSS. B. C. D. I.: are found only in A. and G.

A.D. 1188. "dum; absolventes a fidelitate subjectos, qua ei tenebantur "astricti. Sane, quia vacantes ecclesias diutius regimine "pastorali carere, sanctorum canonum inhibent sanctiones, "discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quate-"nus dilectos filios nostros, capitulum Sancti Andreæ, ex "parte nostra diligentius moneatis, ut sibi talem eligant epi-"scopum et pastorem, qui digne possit episcopalis officii "dignitate potiri, specialiter autem eos, quantum vobis pos-"sibile fuerit, inducere laboretis, ut memoratum episcopum "Johannem, virum bonæ opinionis, et pro sui honestate nobis "et fratribus nostris acceptum, ad regimen et prælationem "illius ecclesiæ sine cujusquam scrupulo difficultatis assu-"mant. Quod si omnes his exequendis nequiveritis interesse, "duo vestrum ea nihilominus exequantur. Datum Pisæ, de-"cimo septimo kalendas Februarii, indictione sexta." Benedict, ii. 42.

The chapter of S. Andrew's are to be recommended to elect John.

Epistola ejusdem papæ ad Willelmum regem Scottorum pro eodem negotio.

Jan. 16.

The pope reminds the king of Scots that bishop Hugh has shown himself contumacious.

"Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Willelmo illustri "Scottorum regi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. "Oculos Divinæ Majestatis offendere non modicum æstima-"mus, si prælatorum excessus, quibus indulgere, salva con-"scientia, non possumus, per incuriam, sine coercione debita "relinquimus. Unde, cum bonæ memoriæ Urbanus papa, "prædecessor noster, Hugoni quondam dicto episcopo Sancti "Andreæ, pro controversia quæ inter eum et venerabilem "fratrem nostrum Johannem episcopum vertebatur, sub ex-"communicationis interpositione mandaverit, ut ad certum "diem responsurus in jure conspectui se apostolico præsen-"taret: et ipse conscius actuum suorum, et eventum judicii "non immerito reformidans, ex contumacia venire contempsit; "nos pro hoc et pro aliis multis, quæ crebrescente fama "ecclesiæ Dei scandalum pepererunt, ipsum ab episcopatu "Sancti Andreæ, de consilio et assensu fratrum, perpetuo "judicavimus apostolicæ sedis auctoritate remotum, et ab "usu episcopalis officii eo usque suspensum, donec apostolica "sedes duxerit de ipso aliter statuendum; absolventes a fide-"litate subjectos, qua ei tenebantur astricti. Licet enim ad "honorem et profectus tuos, quantum cum Deo possumus, "firmum habemus propositum intendendi, et in facto prædicti "Hugonis curia Romana, non absque detractione multorum, "hactenus regiæ serenitati detulerit; quia tamen clamor ipsius "ad nos, indubitata fide, pervenit, nequivimus errata sua Benedict, ii. 43.

He declares him suspended from his episcopal office.

Benedict, ii. 43.

A.D. 1188.

"ulterius sub dissimulatione clausis oculis præterire; propter "quod nihil in hac parte credimus actum, de quo debeat "animus regius quacunque ratione moveri. Rogamus autem "devotionem tuam, prece et affectione qua possumus, et "monemus in Domino; quatenus memoratum Johannem epi"scopum, quem nos et fratres nostri pro sui honestate sin"cero corde diligimus, pro reverentia apostolicæ sedis et "nostra, in visceribus caritatis commendatum habeas, et accep"tum, et remissa, si qua fuerit conceptæ indignationis offensa, "ipsum in omnibus regia clementia et benignitate pertractes. "Credimus equidem, quod de industria et probitate ipsius, "tibi et regno tuo, auctore Domino, multum accedere poterit "incrementi, et nobis usquequam gratum existet, si opta"tum apud regias aures preces nostræ sortiantur effectum. "Datum Pisæ, xvii°. kalendas Februarii, Indictione sexta."[1]

He recommends bishop John to the king's good offices.

Epistola ejusdem papæ ad Henricum regem Angliæ pro eodem negotio.

Benedict, ii. 57.

"Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Henrico illustri "Anglorum regi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. "Cum ab apostolica sede preces suscepit regalis excellentia, "auctoritas et potestas, quas ecclesiis in suo statu servandis, "et multorum saluti expedit, effectui mancipare; diligenter "eas debet regia sublimitas exaudire, et tanto fortius et "ferventius intendere, ut effectum consequantur optatum, "quanto certius fuerit, quod earum devota susceptio, et dili"gens executio, regalem gloriam respicit pariter et salutem. "Hinc est quod serenitati regiæ pro venerabili fratre nostro "Johanne, episcopo Sancti Andreæ, litteras apostolicas et "preces duximus cum fiducia destinandas, altitudinem regalis "eminentiæ, quanta possumus affectione rogantes, monentes, "atque in remissionem peccatorum omnium injungentes, qua"tenus pro reverentia Beati Petri, et nostra, et persecutionis "ejus obtentu quam certum est ipsum jam longo tempore "pertulisse, carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Willelmum "illustrem regem Scottorum moneas attentius, et inducas, et "si necesse fuerit districtione regali, qua ei præmines, et "concessa tuæ regiæ celsitudini potestate compellas, ut totius "indignationis suæ rancorem, quam erga episcopum ipsum con"cepit quorundam malitia susurronum, regiam dignitatem, et "salubria opera pietatis attendens, ei qualibet occasione remota

The pope reminds king Henry of the state of the S. Andrew's case.

He urges him to use his influence with the king of Scots.

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[1] *indictione sexta*] om. G.

A.D. 1188. "condonet, et diocesim Sancti Andreæ, quam de communi "fratrum consilio et assensu summus pontifex sibi perpetuo "confirmavit, de cætero ipsum quiete permittat et absque "calumnia possidere; cum et ipse paratus existat regiæ "majestati, prout fuerit consentaneum rationi, existere in "omnibus obediens et fidelis. Datum Pisæ, xvii°. kalendas "Februarii, indictione sexta."[1] Benedict, ii. 57.

Epistola Clementis papæ universo clero episcopatus Sancti Andreæ in Scotia pro Johanne episcopo Sancti Andreæ.

The pope expresses his paternal solicitude for the clergy of S. Andrew's.

"Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universo clero "episcopatus Sancti Andreæ, salutem et apostolicam benedic-"tionem. Licet in rebus dubiis valeant aliqui suam astutiam "seu malitiam [adumbrare]; cum tamen scrupulus fuerit et "articulus dubietatis amotus, et manifestis indiciis apparue-"rint vestigia veritatis, penitus sunt devia relinquenda, et "rectitudinis tramites inquirendi pariter et servandi, ne, "quod absit, aliter agentibus, et in sua pertinacia consisten-"tibus, post flagella præsentia pœnasque condignas, perpetuæ "mortis interitus et supplicia debeantur æterna.[2] Volentes ergo "paterna solicitudine vestræ saluti prospicere, et utilitatibus "et quieti vestræ providere; universitati vestræ per aposto-"lica scripta mandamus, atque præcipimus, et in obedientiæ "virtute injungimus, quatenus, infra quindecim dies post "harum susceptionem, venerabilem fratrem nostrum Johan-"nem, episcopum vestrum, in pontificali officio canonice sub-"rogatum, sicut patrem proprium et pastorem suscipiatis "humiliter et devote, ac ejus de cætero salubribus monitis "et mandatis, omni simultate remota, debitam reverentiam "et obedientiam impendere minime postponatis: scientes, "quod[si] postquam Hugo, qui vester olim episcopus dicebatur, "per Romanam ecclesiam a vestri episcopatus dignitate fuit "amotus, vel post ejus decessum, jam dicto Johanne episcopo "vestro superstite, aliquem fortasse episcopum elegistis, "electionem illam auctoritate apostolica vacuamus: si vero, "quod Deus avertat, in eundem episcopum Johannem, inimico

Benedict, ii. 58.

He forbids them to elect a bishop; John is their bishop; and is to be obeyed.

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[1] *sexta*] quinta, G. The date, which is inserted in the margin of MS. A., is omitted in the Chronicle of Benedict, in which this and the following letter are separated from the other letters that precede of the same date.

[2] *interitus . . . æterna*] A. reads *interius* and *deleantur*.

Benedict, ii. 58.

A.D. 1188.

" humani generis suadente, aliquam conspirationem facere " præsumpsistis; tam vos, quam totum episcopatum tam diu " volumus interdicti sententiæ subjacere, donec agnoscentes " excessum ad mandatum ipsius Johannis episcopi redeatis. " Datum Pisæ, decimo septimo kalendas Februarii, Indictione " sexta."[1]

Epistola ejusdem papæ pro eodem negotio.

Benedict, ii. 64.

The pope writes to the Scottish bishops on the S. Andrew's case.

" Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus " fratribus Jocelino Glascuensi, et Mathæo Aberdensi, et " Ricardo Morefensi episcopis; et dilectis filiis Ernulfo de " Melros, et Hugoni de Neubothle, et de Sancta Cruce, et de " Strivellina, et de Scona abbatibus; salutem et apostolicam " benedictionem. Ad ea quæ respiciunt honestatem, et salu- " tem pariunt animarum, quamvis absque monitis intendere " debeatis, et diligentem operam, juxta vestri officii debitum, " tribuere vos credamus; vestram tamen diligentiam ad ma- " jorem in his sollicitudinem exhibendam litteris apostolicis " duximus exhortandum, ut eisdem operibus laude dignis tanto " ferventius insistatis, quanto vobis salubrius erit in ipsis ad " exhortationem apostolicam exactiorem diligentiam adhibere. " Constat utique quosdam ecclesiarum prælatos, cum iis qui " scandalizati fuerint, debere pati juxta normam apostolicam, " ustionem, et cum infirmantibus infirmari. Quantas vero " persecutiones his temporibus sustinuerit ecclesia Sancti " Andreæ, quantas calamitates incurrerit et pressuras, quam " etiam graviter hactenus fuerit perturbata sub umbra indig- " nationis regiæ celsitudinis et quassata; insuper venerabilis " frater noster Johannes episcopus Sancti Andreæ, quot et " quanta pericula sustinuerit et labores, pro servanda libertate " ecclesiæ sibi commissæ, et ei a nobis et duobus nostris præ- " decessoribus confirmatæ; cum ea omnia vobis sint manifesta, " illa vestris auribus inculcare supervacuum videtur. Nunc " igitur quoniam plurimum expedire dinoscitur, ut de salute " regia, et statu præscriptæ ecclesiæ reformando, atque pace " ipsi episcopo conferenda, nos convenit sollicitudinem gerere

He reminds them of the sufferings of bishop John.

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[1] *Indictione sexta*] om. G. The date is omitted in the Chronicle of Benedict; and as bishop Hugh, who died August 4, 1188, is spoken of in the letter as dead, we may safely infer that Hoveden inserted the date without authority. If this is so, great doubt is thrown on the dates of the other letters of the batch, where it is not confirmed by other authority.

A.D. 1188.

Benedict, ii. 64

"congruentem, et circumspectionem vestram ad corroborandam "nobis idoneum reputamus; discretioni vestræ per apostolica "scripta mandamus atque præcipimus, quatenus post susceptionem litterarum nostrarum convenientes in unum, sicut "decet viros providos et discretos, carissimi in Christo filii "nostri Willelmi illustris regis Scotiæ præsentiam adeatis, et "eum moneatis diligentius, et instantius inducatis, ut episcopo "memorato rancorem indignationis suæ remittat, et in hoc "Romanam ecclesiam, quæ serenitati regiæ jam longo tempore detulit, non contemnat: sed ejus et vestris monitis, "prout regiæ gloriæ convenit et saluti, sine dilatione salubriter pareat et humiliter adquiescat, ac ipsum episcopum "præscriptum diocesim Sancti Andreæ in pace permittat habere; cum ex debito regiæ dignitatis ecclesias teneatur cum "pastoribus suis non dispergere, sed fovere; non contemnere, "sed amare; non persequi, sed tueri. Quod si monitis apostolicis in propriæ salutis periculum, quod absit, duxerit "resistendum; in regnum suæ celsitudinis, et personam suam, "et omnes fautores regios nuncietis interdicti sententiam "infra viginti dies, sine appellationis obstaculo, auctoritate "apostolica a vobis promulgandam. Illos insuper qui Hugoni obedientes exstiterunt, et ei fomentum in sua obstinatione dederunt, postquam eum sedes apostolica a diocesi "Sancti Andreæ removit perpetuo, et excommunicationis sententiam in ipsum promulgavit, simili sententia percellatis, "et publice nunciantes excommunicationis subesse tam diu "faciatis, et ab aliis arctius evitari, donec ad mandatum ecclesiæ revertantur, absolutionis beneficium ab eodem episcopo "petituri: ad hæc altaribus et calicibus, in quibus jam dictus "Hugo dum in excommunicatione positus celebravit, purificationem et sanctificationem juxta consuetudinem ecclesiæ "conferatis. Ad ecclesiam quoque Sancti Andreæ pariter "accedatis, et fratribus convocatis in unum, intretis capitulum, "et de ordine et statu ecclesiæ diligentius inquiratis; et si "quid in eadem ecclesia per supradictum Hugonem immutatum inveneritis vel statutum, auctoritate nostra id in statum "debitum inducatis; et si quid in ipsa fuerit corrigendum, "efficaciter studeatis id in melius reformare. Si vero, quod "absit, aliquos ex canonicis ad recipiendum humiliter, et devote pastorem suum prædictum duros inveneritis, et rebelles; eos instantius moneatis, ut illi reverentiam et obedientiam patri debitam exhibeant, et a maligno, atque "damnabili proposito suo desistant. Quod si contumaces "extiterint, eos ab officio pariter et beneficio suspendatis, et "excommunicationis vinculo innodetis, quo ipsos faciatis ma-

He bids them use their influence to reconcile the king with John as bishop of S. Andrew's.

Benedict, ii. 65.

He threatens the adherents of Hugh with excommunication.

The bishops are to visit S. Andrew's, and enforce obedience to bishop John.

Benedict, ii. 65. "nere ligatos, donec monitis, et mandatis ecclesiasticis ad- A.D. 1188.
"quiescant. Quod si omnes his exequendis interesse nequi-
"veritis, reliqui ea nihilominus exequantur. Datum Pisæ
"decimo septimo Kalendas Februarii, Indictione sexta."[1]

His auditis præfatus rex Scottorum tandem suorum consilio et prece victus, supradictum Johannem episcopum in gratiam suam recepit; et concessit ipsum pacifice possidere episcopatum Dunkeldensem et omnes redditus, quos ipse ante consecrationem suam habuit: ea conditione, quod ipse Johannes quietum clamaret a calumnia sua episcopatum Sancti Andreæ. Qui licet supradictis litteris domini papæ esset præmunitus, tamen in omnibus obedivit voluntati regis, et quietum clamavit episcopatum Sancti Andreæ a calumnia sua in Dei et regis misericordia; sciens quod "melior est buccella panis cum "gaudio, quam domus plena victimis cum jurgio." Hugo vero quondam dictus episcopus Sancti Andreæ, degradatus et anathematizatus Romam venit, qui data cautione standi judicio ecclesiæ a domino papa Clemente absolutus est, sed paucis supervixit diebus, nam mense Augusti[2] tanta extitit aeris corruptio Romæ, et in finibus ejus, quod multi cardinales et ditiores urbis, cum innumera plebis multitudine, interierunt; et ipse Hugo cum tota fere familia sua, et Henricus[3] Dolensis electus cum familia sua, ibidem obierunt.

Benedict, ii. 43. — Bishop John gives up S. Andrew's to the king. — Prov. xvii. 21. — Benedict, ii. 43, 44, 60. — Bishop Hugh is absolved but dies at Rome. — Other deaths at Rome. — Benedict, ii. 44, 60.

Rex autem Scotiæ dedit episcopatum Sancti Andreæ Rogero,[4] filio Roberti comitis Leicestriæ, cancellario suo, præsente Johanne Dunkeldensi episcopo, et non contradicente. Cancellariam suam dedit rex Scotiæ Hugoni[5] de Rokesburg clerico suo.

Benedict, ii. 63. — Roger of Beaumont made bishop of S. Andrew's. — Benedict, ii. 65, 66.

[1] The date is omitted in Benedict and the letter placed at the end of the year 1188. It was probably written after the death of bishop Hugh, see note p. 350, above.

[2] *mense Augusti*] This is the pestilence in which the prior Honorius of Canterbury perished. *Epp. Cantuar.* 254, 269. Hugh died Aug. 4, Fordun.

[3] *Henricus*] Son of Robert Fitz Harding, dean of Mortain. Ben. Pet. ii. 44, 60.

[4] *Rogero*] Roger was not consecrated until the first Sunday in Lent in 1199. He was son of earl Robert the justiciar.

[5] *Hugoni*] Afterwards elected, in 1199, to Glasgow. He died July 6 in the same year. Chr. Mailr.

A.D. 1188. Beverley Minster burnt, Sept. 20.

Eodem anno xii°. kalendas Octobris, feria tertia, in vigilia Sancti Mathæi apostoli et evangelistæ, tota fere villa de Beverlaco, cum nobili ecclesia Beati Johannis Archiepiscopi, combusta est. Benedict, ii. 50, 59.

Gilbert of Sempringham dies.

Eodem anno magister[1] Gilbertus de Semplingham, primus inventor et pastor illius ordinis qui dicitur de Semplingham, obiit et in ecclesia sua de Semplingham inter velatas sepultus est.

Gilbert of Ogerstan detected in embezzlement.

Eodem anno Gilbertus de Ogerstan,[2] frater Templi, a domino rege Angliæ electus et constitutus, cum aliis tam clericis quam laicis, ad decimas colligendas, deprehensus est in latrocinio. Quem cum dominus rex ratione judicii damnare posset, tamen tradidit eum magistro Templi Lundoniarum, ut secundum ordinis sui statuta tractaretur. Quem magister Templi suscipiens vinculis mancipavit, et diversis pœnis afflixit: de diversitate autem pœnarum illarum "quære" "rite, quos agitat ordinis illius labor." Benedict, ii. 47, 48.

Wonderful appearance in the sky at Dunstable.

Eodem anno quoddam mirabile dictu, sed gloriosum visu, contigit in Anglia, in vigilia Beati Laurentii martyris, feria secunda, apud Dunestaple: videlicet quod circa horam diei nonam aperti sunt cœli, et multis videntibus, tam clericis quam laicis, apparuit crux quædam, longa valde et miræ magnitudinis, et[3] Jesus Christus in ea clavis confixus;[4] manus autem Ejus extentæ erant in patibulo, et vulnera manuum et pedum et lateris Ejus sanguinolenta erant, et sanguis Ejus defluebat, sed non cecidit in terram. Erat autem hæc apparitio continua ab hora diei nona usque in crepusculum. Benedict, ii. 47. 60.

Ineffectual interview between Henry and Philip at Bonsmoulins.

Eodem anno rex Angliæ et rex Franciæ habuerunt colloquium inter Bonsmulins et Suleinni, xiv. kalendas Septembris,[5] feria sexta, in quo colloquio rex Franciæ obtulit regi Angliæ quicquid ceperat de eo per guerram, tali conditione, quod tradidisset Alais sororem suam comiti Ricardo filio suo in uxorem, et permisisset ipsi Ricardo hæredi suo fieri ho- Benedict, ii. 50.

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[1] *magister*] Johannes, ins. Savile, from MS. D. only, where however it is marked for erasure. Gilbert died Feb. 4. 1189. Mon. Angl. vi. 946, xv.

[2] *Ogerstan*] Hogestan, Benedict; Ogerston, D. Hoxton or Haggerston ?

[3] *et*] ut videbatur, ins. B. D. I. Savile.

[4] *confixus*] et spinis coronatus, ins. B. D. I. Savile.

[5] *Septembris*] Decembris, Benedict, rightly, the events of the year having been brought up to October at p. 345.

Benedict, ii. 50. magia et fidelitates ab hominibus terrarum suarum: sed rex Angliæ, non immemor injuriarum quas rex filius suus ei fecerat pro consimili exaltatione, respondit se hoc nullatenus facturum. Unde comes Ricardus plurimum indignatus, sine consilio et voluntate patris sui, devenit homo regis Franciæ de omnibus tenementis patris sui transmarinis, et fidelitatem juravit ei contra omnes homines, et adhæsit ei: et rex Franciæ reddidit[1] ei, pro homagio et fidelitate sua, Castrum Radulfi, et Ysoudun cum toto honore. Præfati autem reges statuerunt inter se treugas usque ad festum Sancti Hilarii. A.D. 1188. Richard does homage to Philip. Truce made until Jan. 13.

Benedict, ii. 51, 55, 56. Henricus vero Albanensis episcopus cardinalis, quem dominus papa miserat ad litem dirimendam inter præfatos reges, anathematizavit comitem Ricardum, eo quod ipse pacem illam disturbaverat, et reversus est in Flandriam, et obiit apud Araz.[2] Death of the bishop of Albano at Arras after excommunicating Richard.

Benedict, ii. 51. Eodem anno nuncii regis Franciæ, quos ipse miserat, ad Ysakium imperatorem Constantinopolitanum, domum reversi narraverunt,[3] quod Soltanus de Yconio[4] maritavit filiam suam filio Saladini, et Saladinus filiam suam filio Soltani; et quod Daniel[5] propheta Constantinopolitanus prophetaverat, quod anno illo, quo Annunciatio Dominica in die Paschæ evenerit, Franci restaurabunt terram promissionis, et stabulabunt equos suos in palmaria de Baldach, et figent tentoria sua ultra arborem siccam, et lolium separabitur a tritico. Et dicebant, quod apud imperatorem Constantinopolitanum plus honoris exhibebatur nunciis Saladini in palatio, quam omnibus aliis in summa dignitate locatis: et quod Saladinus assensu imperatoris Constantinopolitani misit Constantinopolim idolum suum, ut ibi publice adoraretur; sed per gratiam Dei, antequam illuc pervenisset, Venetienses[6] ceperunt illud in mari, et cum ipsa navi ductum est Tyrum. Et dixerunt Reports brought from Constantinople by the French. Benedict, ii. 52. Saladin's idol has been taken at sea.

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[1] *reddidit*] "promisit ei se red-"diturum," Benedict; "reddidit ei "Castrum Radulfi verbo tantum "et non opere," Ben. ii. 60. The paragraph is abridged in C.

[2] *Araz*] Arabatum, G.

[3] *narraverunt*] "in hac forma "scripserunt regi Franciæ." The report is given in the form of a letter by Benedict and Ralph de Diceto, c. 641. It is here greatly abridged.

[4] *Soltanus de Yconio*] Kilidg Arslan II.

[5] *Daniel*] David, Bened.

[6] *Venetienses*] Venienses, A. C.; Venicienses, B. D. I.; Veneti, G.; Januensibus, Diceto.]

A.D. 1188. Legend of the golden gate.

quod quidam Græcus senex de Astralix dixit eis, quod implebitur prophetia quæ scripta est in porta aurea, quæ non fuit aperta ducentis annis retro, scilicet, "Quando veniet "rex Flavus Occidentalis, tunc ego per me ipsam aperiar;" et tunc Latini imperabunt et dominabuntur in civitate Constantinopolitana. Dixerunt etiam quod imperator promisit Saladino centum galeas, et Saladinus promisit ei totam terram promissionis si ipse impedierit viam Francorum. Unde imperator ille Constantinopolitanus prohibuit, ne aliquis in tota terra sua crucem caperet: et si casu aliquo aliquis de terra sua crucem suscepisset, statim capiebatur, et in carcerem mittebatur. Erat tamen hæc prophetia et astronomia Græcorum et Turcorum, quod infra hoc triennium una pars Turcorum gladio periret, et altera fugeret ultra arborem siccam, et tertia baptizaretur.

Benedict, ii. 52.

Alliance of the emperor with Saladin.

Prophecies.

Benedict ii. 53.

Vision of a Cistercian on the fate of Henry II.

Benedict, ii. 55.

Eodem anno quidam monachus ordinis Cisterciensis, vir quidem religiosus et timens Deum, vidit visionem hujuscemodi super Henricum regem Angliæ: apparuit siquidem dormienti illi vir quidam miræ magnitudinis, decorus facie, vestibus albis indutus, et ait illi; "Vide, lege "hæc de rege; Levavi signum meum super eum, venter "uxoris suæ intumescet contra eum, et in tormento tor-"mentum patietur, et inter velatas velabitur."

The emperor Frederick takes the cross.

Benedict. ii. 55, 56, 62.

Eodem anno Fredericus Romanorum imperator, accepta cruce [1] de manu Henrici Albanensis episcopi cardinalis, sicut virum prudentem et circumspectum decebat, satis provide sibi et itineri suo necessaria providebat. In primis enim reconciliavit se Deo et sanctæ ecclesiæ et Clementi Romano pontifici, et postea in hac forma scripsit Saladino;

Epistola Frederici Romanorum imperatoris ad Saladinum Sarracenorum præsidem.[2]

Frederick's letter of defiance to Saladin.

Benedict, ii. 62.

"Fredericus [3] Romanorum imperator semper Augustus, et "hostium imperii magnificus triumphator, Saladino præsidi

[1] March 27, 1188, at Mentz. Ansbert (ed. Dobrowsky), p. 18.

[2] This letter occurs also in the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, I. xviii.; in Ralph de Diceto, c. 640; in the *Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ*, Martene and Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, vol. v. cap. 39.

[3] *Fredericus*] Dei gratia, ins. Bened. and all the other copies.

Benedict, ii. 62.

A.D. 1188. The emperor Frederick's defiance of Saladin.

" Sarracenorum, quondam illustri exemplo Pharaonis fugere " Israelem. Devotionis tuæ litteras multis retro temporibus " ad nos destinatas super arduis negotiis tibi quidem, si fides " verbis suffuisset, profuturis, prout majestatis nostræ decuit " magnificentiam, suscepimus, et epistolarum nostrarum allo- " quiis magnificentiæ tuæ consulere dignum duximus. Nunc " vero quia Terram Sanctam prophanasti, cui æterni Regis " imperamus imperio,[1] in tanti sceleris præsumptuosam et " plectibilem ausibilem audaciam debita animadversatione " decernere imperialis officii sollicitudo nos admonet. Quam- " obrem nisi occupatam terram Judææ, Samariæ et Palæsti- " norum ante omnia restituas, adjuncta satisfactione sacris " constitutionibus pro tam nefariis excessibus taxata, ne mi- " nime legitimum videamur quærere bellum, a capite kalen- " darum Novembrium, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ mille- " simo centesimo octogesimo octavo, revoluto anni spatio, " terminum tibi præfigimus ad experiendam belli fortunam in " campo Taneos in virtute vivificæ crucis, et in nomine veri

Benedict, ii. 63.

" Joseph. Vix enim credere possumus hoc te latere, quod " ex scriptis veterum et historiis antiquis nostri temporis " factum redolet. Numquid scire dissimulas ambas Æthio- " pias, Mauritaniam,[2] Persiam, Syriam, Parthiam,[3] ubi Marci " Crassi[4] nostri dictatoris fata sunt præmaturata, Judæam, " Samariam, Maritimam, Arabiam, Chaldeam, ipsam quoque " Ægyptum, ubi, proh dolor, civis Romanus Antonius, vir " insignis, virtute præditus, citra nitorem temperantiæ, et secus " quam decebat militem a tanto culmine rerum emissum, " minus sobriis Cleopatræ inserviebat amoribus? Numquid " etiam scire dissimulas Armeniam et innumerabiles alias " terras nostræ ditioni subjectas?

" Norunt hæc reges quorum cruore gladii Romani sunt " crebrius inebriati, et tu quidem in ipsa rerum experientia, " Deo auctore, intelliges quid nostræ victrices aquilæ, quid " cohortes diversarum nationum, quid furor Teutonicus etiam " in pace arma capessans, quid caput indomitum Rheni,[5] quid " juventus, quæ nunquam fugam novit, quid procerus Bava-

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[1] *imperio*] in præside Judeæ, Samariæ, Palæstinorum, add. Itiner., Chron. Terr. Sanct., and R. de Diceto. The words are here omitted probably as unintelligible, and the three last are, perhaps, misplaced. *In præside* may have been an early error for *in Perside*, but it is not easy to find a place for the words.

[2] *Mauritaniam*] Mauritimam, A. B. D. G. I.

[3] *Parthiam*] Parciam, A.B.D.G.I.

[4] *Crassi*] Grassi, A. B. D. G. I.

[5] *Rheni*] Reni, A. G.; regni, B. D. I.

A.D. 1188. Frederick's defiance of Saladin.

"rus,[1] quid Swavus astutus, quid Francia circumspecta, quid "Anglia provida et ingeniosa, quid Albania, quid Cambria,[2] "quid in gladio ludens Saxonia, quid Turingia, quid West-"fallia, quid agilis Braibantia, quid nescia pacis Lotoringia, "quid inquieta Burgundia, quid Alpini salaces, quid Frisonia "in amento[3] prævolans, quid Reemia[4] ultro mori gaudens, "quid Boemia[5] suis feris ferior, quid Austria, quid Friscia,[6] "quid Rutonia,[7] quid partes Illyricæ, quid Leobardia,[8] quid "Tuscia, quid Anconitana Marcia,[9] quid Venetus pirotaus,[10] "quid Pisanus nauclerus; denique quid dextera nostra, quam "senio arguis effetam,[11] gladio vibrare didicit, dies illa plena "reverentiæ jocunditatis, triumpho Christi præfixa te docebit." Benedict, ii. 63.

Death of the bishop of Winchester.

Eodem anno, festo Sancti Thomæ apostoli ante Natale Domini, obiit Ricardus Wintoniensis episcopus. Benedict, ii. 58.

Frederick marches from Regensburg;

Eodem anno Fredericus[12] Romanorum imperator, tradito filio suo Henrico Alemannorum regno, iter peregrinationis Jerosolimitanæ arripuit, discedens a civitate sua, quæ dicitur Rainesburg, et nolens committere se ventis et mari per terram ire disposuit; cumque Constantinopolim veniret, Ysakius imperator benigne suscepit eum, et necessaria ministravit ei et suis. Deinde transivit in manu forti et brachio extento per terram Soltani de Yconio, cumque perveniret in Armenia, terra Rupini de La Muntaine, ad flu-vium qui dicitur Salef, et major pars exercitus sui per Benedict, ii. 56, 61, 62.

is received by Isaac Comnenus; Benedict, ii. 88.

enters Armenia; Benedict, ii. 89.

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[1] *Bavarus*] Bamuarus, A. B. I.; Banuarus, D.

[2] *quid Anglia . . . . . Cambria*] omitted in the *Itinerarium*, in the *Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ*, and in Ralph de Diceto. The words, however, are found in the version of Benedict.

[3] *amento*] armento, B.

[4] *Reemia*] Boemia, Itiner., Chron. Terr. Sanct., R. de Diceto.

[5] *Boemia*] Bolonia, Itin.; Bolenia, Chr. Terr. Sanct. and R. de Diceto.

[6] *Friscia*] Stiria, Chron. Terr. Sanct.

[7] *Rutonia*] Bugrensia, Itin. and R. Diceto; Bugrensa, Chr. Terr. Sanct.

[8] *Leobardia*] Leonardia, Itin., R. Dic.; Lombardia, Chr. Terr. Sanct.

[9] *Anconitana Marcia*] Amonitana Narcia, A. B. D. G. I.

[10] *pirotaus*] proretha, Itin., R. Dic., and Chr. Terr. Sanct.

[11] *effetam*] So MS. G. The other MSS., A. B. C. D. I., read *effectum*.

[12] Frederick Barbarossa marched from Regensburg, May 11, 1189, (Ansbert, p. 21); reached Adrianople Nov. 22 (Ansbert, p. 57), where he wintered; crossed the Dardanelles, Mar. 23–28, 1190 (Ansbert, p. 73; Tageno, ap. Freher, i. 411); entered the Turkish territory, April 26 (Ansbert, p. 84); and perished in the Salef, June 10.

Benedict, ii. 89. vadum transiret fluvium illum, ipse alios sequens ce- A.D. 1188. perishes in the Salef; cidit de equo suo in flumine, et ipse solus summersus est: et tractum in terram sui evisceraverunt eum, et viscera et cerebrum, et carnem suam aqua coctam, et ab ossibus separatam, sepelierunt in civitate Antiochiæ; ossa and is buried at Tyre. autem illius, linteaminibus mundis involuta, Conradus dux Suavæ, filius ejus, tulit secum usque ad civitatem Tyri, et ibi sepelivit ea.

Benedict, ii. 53. Eodem anno a domino papa et cardinalibus statutum The pope orders prayers to be made for Jerusalem. est, quod ab universali ecclesia fieret sine intermissione oratio ad Dominum pro pace et liberatione terræ Jerusalem, et Christianorum captivorum qui in vinculis Sarracenorum detinebantur. Fiebat autem singulis diebus in ecclesia Beati Order of prayers. Pauli[1] in hunc modum; ad missam, dicto a sacerdote, "Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum:" et a choro, "et cum "spiritu tuo," antequam "Agnus Dei" inciperetur, sacerdos vel præcentor incepit antiphonam hanc, "Tua est potentia, "Tuum regnum. Domine Tu es super omnes gentes;" "Da "pacem Domine in diebus nostris?" In die Dominica cum isto Psalmo: "Quare fremuerunt gentes." Et in die Lunæ cum isto Psalmo: "Deus in nomine Tuo salvum me fac." Et in die Martis cum isto Psalmo; "Deus repulisti nos et de- "struxisti nos." Et in die Mercurii cum isto Psalmo: "Ut quid Deus repulisti in finem?" Et in die Jovis cum isto Psalmo: "Deus venerunt gentes in hæreditatem "Tuam." Et in die Veneris cum isto Psalmo: "Deus quis "similis erit Tibi?" Et in die Sabbati cum isto Psalmo: "Deus ultionum Dominus." Dictis itaque Psalmo, et Antiphona prædicta, sequitur "Kyrie eleyson," "Christe eleyson," Benedict, ii. 54. "Kyrie eleyson." "Pater noster." "Et ne nos," "Ostende "nobis Domine misericordiam Tuam." "Fiat misericordia "Tua Domine super nos." "Domine non secundum peccata "nostra facias nobis." "Ne memineris iniquitatum nostrarum "antiquarum." "Adjuva nos Deus salutaris noster." "Sal- "vum fac populum Tuum Domine." "Esto eis Domine turris "fortitudinis." "Nihil proficiat inimicus in eis." "Fiat pax "in virtute Tua." "Domine Deus virtutum converte nos." "Domine exaudi orationem meam." "Dominus vobiscum." "Oremus." "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, in Cujus manu

[1] *Beati Pauli*] om. C. Beati Petri apud Lundonias, Benedict. *Pauli* is written over an erasure in A.

A.D. 1188. "sunt omnium potestates, et omnia jura regnorum, respice ad "Christianum benignus exercitum,[1] ut gentes, quæ in sua "feritate confidunt, potentia dexteræ Tuæ comprimantur, per "Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum." Benedict, ii. 54.

Archbishop Baldwin oppresses the monks of Canterbury.

Eodem anno Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus saisivit in manu sua, per regis potentiam, prioratum Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ; et expulsis monachis officialibus ab officiis eorum, servientes suos loco illorum instituit, et monachis victualia denegavit. Benedict, ii. 59, 60.

Death of prior Honorius.

Eodem anno [Honorius][2] prior Cantuariensis ecclesiæ Romam profectus pro liberatione domus suæ, obiit Romæ, et omnes monachi sui quos secum duxerat. Benedict, ii. 60.

The bishop of Durham reinstates his monks.

Eodem anno Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, post susceptionem crucis, reddidit priori et conventui Dunelmi custodiam et curam prioratus, ducentis marcis et eo amplius obligatam, quam ipse jam fere per biennium in manu sua tenuerat causa lucri. Benedict, ii. 60.

John of Anagni is sent as legate.

Eodem anno dominus papa, audito obitu Henrici Albanensis episcopi cardinalis, quem ipse miserat ad dirimendam litem inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ, misit Johannem Anagninum cardinalem pro eodem negotio. Benedict, ii. 61.

Eodem anno Willelmus rex Scottorum misit nuncios suos ad Clementem summum pontificem, et ab eo litteras protectionis suæ obtinuit in hac forma;

Epistola Clementis papæ ad Willelmum regem Scottorum de exemptione ecclesiarum terræ suæ.[3]

March 13. The pope takes the

"Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Christo "filio Willelmo illustri Scottorum regi, salutem et apostoli- Benedict, ii. 234.

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[1] *exercitum*] auxilium, Benedict.

[2] *Honorius*] Blank in A.; omitted in C. G.

[3] This letter with the sentence preceding it is written in A. in the second hand, which frequently has inserted the last entries of several years; contemporaneous with that in which the rest of the text is written. The letter itself appears in Benedict at the end of the history of the year 1191; and in Hoveden in the history of 1191 it is given again with the same date, ascribed to Celestine III. instead of Clement III. If it belongs to Celestine the date is 1192; see Benedict, ii. 234.

Benedict, ii. 234.

A.D. 1188 March 13. Scottish churches under his immediate protection.

"cam benedictionem. Cum universi Christi jugo subjecti ad "sedem apostolicam patrocinium invenire debeant et favorem, "illos tamen specialius convenit munimine protectionis confo-"veri, quorum fidem ac devotionem in pluribus est experta, "ut ad ipsius dilectionis favorem tanto amplius provocentur, et "ejus reverentiæ devotiori affectione subdantur, quanto beni-"volentiæ ipsius et gratiæ pignus se noverint certius assecu-"tos. Ea propter, carissime in Christo fili, reverentiam ac "devotionem, quam ad Romanam te habuisse a longis retro "temporibus ecclesiam novimus, attendentes, præsentis scripti "pagina duximus statuendum, ut Scotticana ecclesia aposto-"licæ sedi, cujus filia specialis existit, nullo mediante debeat "subjacere, in qua hæ sedes episcopales esse noscuntur, "ecclesiæ videlicet Sancti Andreæ, Glascuensis, Dunkeldensis, "Dumbinensis,[1] Brehinensis,[2] Aberdonensis, Moraviensis, "Rosenensis, Katinensis; et nemini liceat nisi Romano pon-"tifici, vel legato ab ipsius latere destinato, in regnum Scotiæ "interdicti vel excommunicationis sententiam promulgare, et "si promulgata fuerit, decernimus non valere. Adjicimus, ut "nulli de cætero qui de regno Scotiæ non fuerit, nisi quem "apostolica sedes propter hoc de corpore suo specialiter des-"tinaverit, licitum sit in eo legationis officium exercere. Pro-"hibemus autem ut controversiæ, quæ fuerint in regno illo de "possessionibus ejus exortæ, ad examen extra regnum posito-"rum judicum non trahantur, nisi ad Romanam ecclesiam "fuerit appellatum. Si qua vero scripta contra hujus liber-"tatis statutum apparuerint impetrata, vel in posterum, istius "concessionis mentione non habita, contigerit impetrari; "nullum tibi vel ipsi regno circa hujus prærogativæ con-"cessionem præjudicium generetur; præterea libertates et "immunitates tibi vel eidem regno, vel ecclesiis in eo con-"stitutis, a prædecessoribus nostris Romanis pontificibus in-"dultas, et hactenus observatas, ratas habemus, et illibatas fu-"turis temporibus statuimus permanere. Nulli ergo hominum "liceat hanc paginam nostræ constitutionis et prohibitionis "infringere, vel ei aliquatenus contraire. Si quis autem hoc "attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, et "Beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum Ejus, se noverit incur-"surum. Datum Laterani, iii. idus Martii, pontificatus nostri "anno primo."

No legate is to be sent to Scotland except direct from Rome; or appeals to be carried elsewhere than to Rome.

Benedict, ii. 235.

[1] *Dumbinensis*] So A.B. C. reads *Dublinensis*; D. I. *Dumblinensis*; G. omits the word.

[2] *Brehinensis*] So A. B. D. C. has *Breghinensis*.

A.D. 1189. *Annus XXX^{mus} V^{tus} et ultimus regni regis Henrici, filii Matildis imperatricis.*

Henry keeps Christmas 1188–1189 at Saumur.

Anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo octogesimo nono, qui erat annus tricesimus quintus et ultimus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem Henricus fuit die Natalis Domini, quæ die Dominica evenit, in Andegavia apud Saumur, et solemne festum ibi tenuit: licet quamplures de comitibus et baronibus suis, eo relicto, adhæsissent regi Franciæ et comiti Ricardo contra eum. Benedict, ii. 60, 61.

Conspiracy of Philip and Richard against Henry.

Post festum vero Sancti Hilarii, diruptis treugis quæ inter prædictos reges erant, rex Franciæ et comes Ricardus, et Britones, quibus prædicti rex Franciæ et Ricardus cartas suas dederant, et securitates, quod si ipsi pacem cum rege Angliæ fecissent, non dimitterent eos extra pacem, hostiliter intraverunt terram regis Angliæ, et circumquaque devastaverunt eam. Benedict, ii. 61.

Arrival of John of Anagni.

Venit ergo Johannes Anagninus[1] cardinalis ad prædictos reges ex parte domini papæ; et illos nunc blandis nunc asperis ad pacem faciendam exhortatus est. Ad cujus instantiam præfati reges, Divina inspirante gratia, cautionem dederunt standi judicio illius, et Remensis, et Bituricensis, et Rothomagensis, et Cantuariensis [archi]episcoporum, et statuerunt sibi diem colloquii juxta Feritatem Bernardi in octavis Pentecosten: et prædictus cardinalis et prædicti quatuor archiepiscopi statim protulerunt sententiam excommunicationis in omnes, tam clericos quam laicos, per quos staret quo minus pax fieret inter prædictos reges, exceptis personis eorundem regum tantummodo.

Conference fixed for June 4.

Ineffectual conference on June 4 at la Ferté Bernard.

Adveniente igitur die colloquii, rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ, et comes Ricardus, et Johannes Anagninus cardinalis, et præfati quatuor archiepiscopi electi, et episcopi et[2] comites et barones utriusque regni, convenerunt juxta Feritatem Bernardi ad colloquium. In quo colloquio rex Franciæ petiit a rege Angliæ Alesiam sororem suam donari in uxorem Ricardo comiti Pictaviæ, et ut fidelitates terrarum suarum eidem Ricardo fierent, et ut Johannes frater suus accepta cruce Benedict ii. 66.

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[1] John of Anagni started from Rome early in March; he was at Le Mans with the king May 19, having gone round by Paris. Epp. Cantuar. p. 282–290.

[2] *episcopi et*] electi, I.

Benedict, ii. 66.

A.D. 1189. June 4.

Jerosolimam iret. Cui rex Angliæ respondit, hoc se nunquam esse facturum; et obtulit regi Franciæ, quod si ipse consentire vellet, daret Johanni filio suo præfatam Alesiam cum omnibus supradictis plenius et perfectius quam petebat: sed rex Franciæ hoc concedere noluit, et sic finito colloquio discordes ab invicem recesserunt.

Philip rejects the intervention of the legate.

Johannes vero Anagninus cardinalis asserebat, quod nisi rex Franciæ ad plenum componeret cum rege Angliæ, totam terram suam sub interdicto poneret. Cui rex Franciæ respondit, quod sententiam suam non timeret nec teneret, cum nulla æquitate niteretur. Dicebat enim quod non pertinet ad ecclesiam Romanam in regnum Franciæ per sententiam vel alio modo animadvertere, si rex Franciæ in homines suos demeritos, et regno rebelles, causa injurias suas et coronæ dedecus ulciscendi insurgit: adjecit etiam quod prænominatus cardinalis jam sterlingos regis Angliæ olfecerat.

Benedict, ii. 67.

Philip takes the fortresses of Maine and attacks le Mans, June 12.

Et sic finito colloquio, rex Franciæ inde recedens cepit Feritatem Bernardi; deinde Montem-fortem; deinde Malum-stabulum; deinde Bellum-montem; deinde Balun; deinde Cenomannum veniens die Dominica,[1] fingens se Turonim iturum, proxima die Lunæ, cum rex Angliæ et sui securi esse viderentur de ulteriori processu regis Franciæ, disposuit acies suas insultum facturus in civitatem. Quod videns Stephanus de Turonis, senescallus Andegaviæ, ignem suburbio imposuit; ignis vero statim accensus in immensum, muros transvolans civitatem accendit, quod videntes Franci ad pontem quendam lapideum venerunt, ubi Gaufridus de Burillun[2] et multi cum eo ex parte regis Angliæ eis occurrerunt, volentes pontem diruere: ubi multus factus est conflictus, et magna pars exercitus hinc et inde interempta est. Et in illo conflictu prædictus Gaufridus captus est, et in crure vulneratus, et multi alii de exercitu regis Angliæ capti sunt, et cæteri incontinenti in fugam sunt conversi, volentes se in civitate recipere, sed Franci una cum illis civitatem ingressi sunt. Quod videns rex Angliæ de se desperans, et contra promissum suum veniens, cum septingentis militibus aufugit. Promiserat enim civibus illius civitatis quod non recederet ab eis, tum ea ratione, quia pater suus ibi quiescebat, tum ea ratione, quod ibi natus fuerat, et

Burning of the town, and panic and flight of Henry.

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[1] *die Dominica*] June 11, R. de Diceto, 644.

[2] *Burillun*] Burrillun, B.; Burilum, D.; Bruilhun, Benedict; Burillum, I.

A.D. 1189. June 12. He narrowly escapes capture.

civitatem illam plus cæteris diligebat. Rex vero Franciæ per tria milliaria insecutus est eum: et nisi vadum, per quod Franci transitum fecerunt, altum esset in immensum, alios sub tanta celeritate secuti essent fugientes, quod omnes capti essent. In illa autem fuga multi Walenses interfecti sunt. Benedict, ii. 68.

He takes refuge at Chinon. Philip takes le Mans.

Rex autem Angliæ cum paucis suorum venit usque Chinun, et ibi se in munitionem recepit. Residui vero qui remanserunt de familia regis Angliæ in turrim Cenomannensem se receperunt: statimque rex Franciæ turrim obsedit, et tum per effossores suos, tum per machinarum suarum insultus, tandem infra tertium diem dedita est ei turris cum triginta militibus et sexaginta servientibus.

Philip takes Mont Doubleau.

[1]Inde recedens cepit Montem Duplicem per deditionem tam castri quam domini. Cum enim vicecomes Castelli Duni hujus subversionis occasio, immo causa præcipua, in insidiis Gaufrido Vindocinensi[2] comiti armatus inermi occurreret, adeo graviter eum vulneravit, quod inprimis de vita ejus desperatum est; sed per Dei gratiam plenius convalescit. Rex autem Franciæ eo ipso gravius factum istud ferebat, quia prædictus vicecomes regi Franciæ astrictus tenebatur, quod nullum suorum vel in eundo vel in redeundo læderet vel gravaret dum esset in obsidione Cenomanensi. Benedict ii. 69.

Philip takes several castles and reaches Tours, June 30.

Inde recedenti redditum est ei castrum Troe cum Rupibus Episcopi, et Montorium, et Carceris castrum, et castrum Ligdi,[3] et castrum Calvi-montis, et castrum Ambasiæ, et castrum de Rupibus Carbonis. Tandem in septimana sequenti post festum Nativitatis Beati Johannis, feria sexta, in crastino apostolorum[4] Petri et Pauli, rex Franciæ Turonis venit.

July 2. Mediation of the count of Flanders and others.

Die[5] Dominica proxima sequenti, Philippus comes Flandriæ, et Willelmus archiepiscopus Remensis, et Hugo dux Burgundiæ accesserunt ad regem Angliæ, qui tunc temporis erat apud Saumur, ad componendum inter ipsum et regem Franciæ. Rex vero Franciæ prædixerat antequam iter arriperent, quod nihilominus a castro Sancti Martini, in quo per vadum Ligeris se receperat, in civitatem facturus esset assultum.

July 3. Philip takes Tours.

Proxima autem die Lunæ circiter tertiam, ex parte Ligeris, præ modicitate aquæ in immensum arctati et contracti, scalis muro appositis per vim capta est civitas, et in ea octoginta milites et centum servientes capti sunt. Proh dolor! ex una

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[1] *Inde*] Et inde, B. D. I.

[2] *Vindocinensi*] Vindonicensi, A. B. C.; Vidomensi, I.

[3] *Ligdi*] Castrum de Leir, Benedict.

[4] *in crastino apostolorum*] Rigord places this on the 23rd of June.

[5] *Die*] autem, ins. G.; vero, ins. D.

Benedict, ii. 69. parte Pictavi prætendebant regi Angliæ domino suo insidias, et ex alia parte Britones qui regi Franciæ dediti fuerant, et ab eo litteras patentes habebant impetratas, quod ipse nullatenus cum rege Angliæ componeret, nisi in pace dimissi fuerint Britones. Rex vero Angliæ in arcto positus, pacem fecit cum Philippo rege Franciæ in hunc modum. A.D. 1189. July 3. Henry submits.

Convenerunt igitur prædicti rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ, et Ricardus comes Pictaviæ, cum archiepiscopis et episcopis, comitibus et baronibus suis, circa festum apostolorum[1] Petri et Pauli ad colloquium inter Turonim et Azaise,[2] ubi "rex Angliæ ex toto posuit "se in consilio et voluntate regis Franciæ. Tunc vero rex "Angliæ iterum fecit homagium regi Franciæ, quia ipse in "principio istius guerræ quietum clamaverat regi Franciæ "dominium suum; et rex Franciæ quietum clamaverat ei "homagium suum. Tunc provisum est a rege Franciæ, quod "Alesia soror ejus, quam rex Angliæ in custodia habuit, reddita "esset, et tradita in custodia unius de quinque, quos comes "Ricardus elegerit. Deinde providit rex Franciæ, quod per "sacramentum hominum terræ assecuratum esset, quod prædicta soror sua tradita sit comiti Ricardo in reversione sua "de Jerusalem; et quod comes Ricardus haberet fidelitates "hominum de terris patris sui citra mare et ultra, et nullus "baronum vel miles, qui in hac guerra a rege Angliæ recesserit, et ad comitem Ricardum venerit, de cætero redibit "ad regem Angliæ, nisi in ultimo mense ante motionem "suam versus Jerusalem. Et terminus motionis erat in media "Quadragesima: ita quod prædicti reges, et Ricardus comes "Pictaviæ erunt ad illum terminum apud Vizeliacum. Et "omnes burgenses de dominicis villis regis Angliæ erunt "quieti in tota terra regis Franciæ per rectas consuetudines "suas, et non implacitabuntur de ulla re, nisi forisfecerint in "felonia. Et rex Angliæ dabit regi Franciæ viginti millia "marcarum argenti, et omnes barones regis Angliæ jurabunt, "quod si rex Angliæ noluerit has conventiones tenere, quod

Conference between Tours and Azai. July 4. Terms of peace. Benedict, ii. 70.

[1] *circa festum apostolorum*] Rigord gives the exact date, July 4, and places the interview at Colombieres, near Villandri, on the Cher. Ralph de Diceto makes it June 28, c. 645. The chronological difficulties of the last days of Henry are very great, but as, according to Matthew Paris, Henry died within three days of the treaty, Rigord's date is in this instance the true one.

[2] *Azaise*] A. has *Adaise*, corrected to Azaise (z written over d), thus: Adaise; B. C. I., Azaise; D. has Azasie; G. has Advaise. This is probably a proof that MS. G. is a transcript made direct from A.

A.D. 1189. July 4. "ipsi tenebunt cum rege Franciæ et comite Ricardo, et eos "adjuvabunt pro posse suo contra regem Angliæ. Et rex "Franciæ et comes Ricardus tenebunt in manu sua civitatem "Cenomannis, et civitatem Turonis, et castellum Ligdi, et "castellum de Trou: vel si rex Angliæ maluerit, rex Franciæ "et comes Ricardus tenebunt castellum de Gisortio, et castel-"lum de Pasci, et castellum de Nonancurt tamdiu, donec "omnia fiant quæ divisa sunt superius per regem Franciæ."

Benedict, ii. 70.

Benedict, ii. 71.

Storm during the interview.

Et dum prædicti reges ore ad os loquerentur, intonuit super eos Dominus, et ictus fulmineus cecidit inter illos duos, sed nullam intulit illis læsionem; at plurimum perterriti ab invicem separati sunt, et omnes qui aderant multum mirati sunt, quod tam subito auditus est tonitrus, cum nulla nubium præcessisset obscuritas. Iterum parvo facto intervallo, convenerunt reges simul locuturi, et iterum auditus est tonitrus major et terribilior priore, die permanente in pristina serenitate. Unde rex Angliæ plurimum conturbatus in terram corruisset ab equo in quo sedebat, nisi manibus circumstantium sustentatus fuisset. Et ex tunc ex toto posuit se in voluntate regis Franciæ, et pacem suprascriptam concessit, postulans ut nomina eorum omnium qui, illo relicto, adhæserunt regi Franciæ et comiti Ricardo, scripto commendarentur et sibi traderentur. Quod cum factum fuisset, invenit Johannem filium suum scriptum in principio scripti illius.[1] Et admirans supra modum venit ad Chinonem, et tactus dolore intrinsecus maledixit diei in qua natus fuit, et maledictionem Dei, et suam, dedit filiis suis, quam nunquam relaxare voluit, licet[2] episcopi et cæteri viri religiosi eum ad relaxationem maledictionis suæ sæpius commonuissent.[3]

Humiliation and mortification of the king on learning the treason of John.

He curses his sons.

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[1] Compare Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Inst. Princ.* p. 148.

[2] *licet . . . commonuissent*] licet a multis episcopis et viris religiosis esset commonitus, C.

[3] *commonuissent*] commovissent, Savile with MS. D.

Henricus rex, filius Matildis imperatricis, obiit.

Benedict, ii. 71. — A.D. 1189. Sickness and death of the king, July 6, at Chinon.

Qui cum [1] ægrotasset usque ad mortem, fecit se deferri in ecclesiam ante altare, et ibi communionem Corporis et Sanguinis Domini devote suscepit, confitens peccata sua, et ab episcopis et clero absolutus obiit, anno xxxv. regni sui, in octavis apostolorum Petri et Pauli, feria v. Regnaverat enim xxxiv. annos et menses vii. et dies iv. Quo defuncto, omnes reliquerunt eum, diripientes opes illius; vere mel muscæ, lupi cadavera, frumentum formicæ; non hominem, sed prædam sequebatur hæc turba. Tandem redierunt ministri ejus, et sepelierunt eum more regio. In crastino autem obitus illius, cum portaretur ad sepeliendum in ecclesia sanctimonialium Fontis Ebraudi, comes Ricardus filius suus et hæres venit ei obviam, et misertus illius flevit amare. Sanguis autem continuo fluebat de naribus regis superveniente filio. Filius vero processit cum corpore patris sui, usque ad abbatiam Fontis Ebraudi, et ibi eum sepelivit in choro sanctimonialium, et sic ipse "inter velatas velabatur." [2]

His body bleeds in the presence of Richard.

Burial of Henry II.

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[1] *Qui cum*] Cum autem C. This MS. has been transcribed from a copy imperfect in this place, and omits several half-words.

[2] See above p. 356. The MSS. continue without a break until the end of the year 1189.

END OF VOL. II.